# Early West Tibetan Buddhist Monuments

## Architecture, Art, History and Texts

EDITED BY CHRISTIAN JAHODA AND CHRISTIANE KALANTARI

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Christian Jahoda & Christiane Kalantari (eds)

# EARLY WEST TIBETAN BUDDHIST MONUMENTS

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## ARCHITECTURE, ART, HISTORY AND TEXTS

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# Preface

Most of the contributions collected in this volume were written during and as a result of the collaboration with Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po (1961–2015). This cooperation between him and Christian Jahoda began in 1999 during Tshe ring's stay in Vienna and has been continued since 2008 as part of two FWF research projects led by Christian Jahoda—"Oral and Festival Traditions of Western Tibet: Processes of Cultural Memory and Renewal" (P20637-G15, 2008–2013) and "Society, Power and Religion in Pre-Modern Western Tibet: Interaction, Conflict and Integration" (P21806-G19, 2009–2014)—and over the whole period of the cooperation under a research agreement between the Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences in Lhasa and the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna.

As a result of the two research projects, especially through visits, joint stays and fieldwork in Tibet (since 2005), joint conference visits and workshops in Beijing, Vienna, Vancouver and Munich (between 2008 and 2015), archive studies in London (British Library, 2003) and Rome (Giuseppe Tucci Archive, 2008), and several of Tshe ring's guest residences in Vienna (2008–2015), Christiane Kalantari, Hubert Feiglstorfer, Patrick Sutherland and Veronika Hein were also involved in this long-standing, fruitful scientific cooperation (in addition to the one with Guntram Hazod, which had already begun in the 1990s).

The highlights of this cooperation and the more than friendly relationship were probably the joint field research in Tibet in 2006–2007 and 2010, but this cooperation was abruptly ended by the premature death of Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po in June 2015 in Berlin, where he was a visiting professor at the Wissenschaftskolleg from 2014 to 2015 and formed a Tibet research group together with Guntram Hazod and Shen Weirong. As a result, the planned completion of some contributions and the work on the publication of this volume had to be interrupted for a long time.

During field research in Western Tibet between 2010 and 2014, Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po had come across new, highly interesting historical material (including texts, documents, paintings, sculptures etc.), on which this volume contains a contribution on a stela discovered by him in Kyuwang (Kyu wang), the birthplace of the great translator Rinchen Sangpo (Rin chen bzang po) (958–1055). For Tshe ring rgyal po it was above all a priority to make the works of Paṇḍita Drakpa Gyaltsen (Grags pa rgyal mtshan) on the early history of Western Tibet and his biography of the Royal Lama (*lha bla ma*) Yeshe Ö (Ye shes 'od) available in good text editions as part of the planned volume. Tsering Drongshar has continued his textual criticism work on these issues and, together with Christian Jahoda, has gradually brought it to a close by comparing it with recent publications in Tibet.

Common to all sixteen contributions is the thematic focus on early West Tibetan Buddhist monuments. The volume contains studies of the history of Western Tibet, of Buddhist temples and monasteries, stelae and miniature paintings in religious Buddhist texts from the period between the late 9th century and the 12th century, as well as two editions of historiographical texts and a report from the early 20th century that relate to the history of this period.

The preceding article by Roberto Vitali contains a description of the historical development of Western Tibet in the period mentioned above. By including geographical, economic and other factors, this contribution provides a new perspective on the change in political power relations.

In addition, the historically significant stelae in Chokro (lCog ro),

Purang (by Christian Jahoda and Christiane Kalantari) and in Kyuwang, Tsamda (by Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po) are comprehensively documented in illustrations and discussed in their more immediate and broader art-history, historical and cultural contexts.

With the text editions of two works by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan, the chapter on the early history of Western Tibet in *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs* ("Royal Genealogy of the Solar Lineage") with illustrations from the original manuscript (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po) and from *lHa bla ma ye shes 'od kyi rnam thar rgyas pa*, the Extended Biography of the Royal Lama (*lha bla ma*) Yeshe Ö (Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda), both in Tibetan "headed" (*dbu can*) script, essential historical text sources are made readily accessible. An overview (Christian Jahoda) preceding these two editions introduces the author Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1415–1498) and the content of his work on early historical events. The latter includes, among other things, the information contained in it on Zhang zhung and the genealogy of the kings of Purang, the publication of which was an important concern of Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po's research work.

The following contributions relate to Nyarma in Ladakh, the monastery complex there with the main temple and other buildings around it, but do so from different perspectives and disciplines, such as archaeology (Quentin Devers), architecture (Hubert Feiglstorfer), art history (Christiane Kalantari), historical social anthropology and by means of a historical report from 1917 by the scholar Joseph Tshe brtan Gergan (Christian Jahoda).

In contributions dealing with Tabo monastery and its founder Yeshe Ö, Christiane Kalantari studies newly discovered murals from the late 10$^{th}$ century; furthermore, Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po subjects the legend of the death of Yeshe Ö, which appears in historiographical Tibetan text sources from the 13th century onwards, to a historical-textual critical analysis. For the first time, Eva Allinger and Christian Luczanits present the results of research on miniature paintings in the oldest manuscripts preserved in Tabo.

Two final contributions make the complete book illumination of a *Yum chen mo* (*Prajñāpāramitā*) manuscript from Pooh, Kinnaur accessible, including a comprehensive analysis (Christiane Kalantari), and, based on a detailed documentation by Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, provide a detailed study of the Zhag cave temple in the Be Valley north of Dungkar (Tsamda) (Gu ge The ring rgyal po and Christiane Kalantari).

Christian Jahoda and Christiane Kalantari

Vienna, June 2020

# Spelling and Transliteration Systems

Usually on the first mention of Tibetan words and names in each article the spelling corresponding to the academic transliteration according to the Wylie system is given in brackets. Apart from this, names or words from Sanskrit are given in the academic transliteration throughout, as well as those from other languages. Those from Chinese are predominantly given in Pinyin. The only exception to this rule is the contribution by Roberto Vitali using the Wade-Giles romanisation for Chinese and for Tibetan exclusively academic transliteration according to the Wylie system.

All words in Tibetan are given in italics, with the exception of names. The following criteria have been used for the spelling of names: Tibetan names of historical or living persons are given in transliteration. In the case of Tibetan place names (whether original or Tibetanised), as far as these are mentioned in a historical context—e.g. in inscriptions—the Tibetan spellings as they occur there have been given in transliteration. In all other cases modern spellings, as they appear in recent publications, have been used or given additionally.

To indicate the genitive in Tibetan proper names and in order to avoid using the particle 'of', an apostrophe with the appropriate genitive ending has been attached, e.g. Ye shes 'od's. In contrast to Sanskrit terms, with Tibetan terms no plural formation with the addition of an 's' has been used.

# Introduction

This volume brings together sixteen contributions dealing with historical monuments and materials relating to Western Tibet primarily between the late 9th and the 12th century. Depending on the authors' specialisation and expertise, they present and discuss the historical evidence from different perspectives and with different disciplinary backgrounds, such as archaeology, architecture, art history, history, and social anthropology. In one way or another, the thematic focus of all contributions in this volume is related to the establishment of monastic Buddhism in Western Tibet, in particular the foundation of Buddhist monasteries. Five papers deal specifically with the Buddhist site of Nyarma in Ladakh, two with Tabo Monastery in Spiti, both among the earliest foundations of monasteries in Western Tibet from 996. The sPyan ras gzigs / Avalokiteśvara stela in lCog ro, Purang, donated by a member of the Dro ('Bro) clan, and the stela in Kyu wang, Gu ge, ascribed to *lo chen* Rin chen bzang po, a member of the Hrukwer (Hrugs wer) clan, the topic of two separate papers, are public statements of Buddhism in 9th/10th-century and early 11th-century Western Tibet, at a time when monastic Buddhism was supported by the state, the ruler and the royal lineage as well as allied aristocratic clans. The foundation of the West Tibetan kingdom and the genealogy of its royal lineage (*Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs*) by Gu ge Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan and the extended biography (*rnam thar rgyas pa*) of one its most prominent representatives, King Tridé Songtsuktsen (Khri lde Srong gtsug btsan) aka Songé (Srong nge) aka *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od by the same author, a 15th-century monk-scholar of the Ngor Sakya school, who descended from a Zhang zhung clan of Western Tibet, are the subject of three contributions which make these important textual sources available in annotated editions together with information on the author and content (Jahoda, pp. 73–87; Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, pp. 89–119; Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, pp. 121–169). In addition to a text-critical analysis of the legendary captivity and passing away of Ye shes 'od among the Gar log (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, pp. 327–342), the two final studies of an illustrated *Yum chen mo* / *Prajñāpāramitā* Manuscript in Pooh (Kalantari, pp. 363–405) and of the Zhag cave temple in Gu ge (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po and Kalantari, pp. 407–430) analyse outstanding examples of the continuing tradition of patronage of Buddhist texts and monuments.

Despite the fact that each contribution stands for itself (reflecting the authors' freedom granted by the editors to select from their field of specific research topics and related materials according to their choice), the question of the overall scientific goals and knowledge interests of the volume may be asked.

All contributions share a strong basis in the study of monuments and materials that provide evidence for the analysis of specific architectural, art-historical, archaeological, historical, and social anthropological questions. Based on the premise that these monuments and materials are inseparable from the history to which they bear witness and from the setting in which they occur,[1] they may be considered in toto as witnesses of "a particular civilization, a significant historical development or a historic event".[2] In the case

[1] Adapting Article 7 of the Venice Charter (1964) of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS): "A monument is inseparable from the history to which it bears witness and from the setting in which it occurs." See https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf.

[2] See Article 1: "The concept of a historic monument embraces not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development or a historic

of 9th–12th-century Western Tibet, these monuments and materials constitute historical sources and witnesses to an extended concept of political cosmology, in particular of an all-embracing imagination of a Buddhist kingdom that was already present at the time of the foundation of the kingdom in 907.[3] The most important government positions were awarded by the new ruler in accordance with the Buddhist concept of *maṇḍala*, as described in *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs* (see Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, this volume, pp. 101–102), a clear indication that governance and administration of the kingdom were based on Buddhist criteria *ab initio*. The newly formed alliance by the royal lineage with local aristocratic clans, whose members are explicitly mentioned in the context of these appointments, provided for a strong foundation and balance of political power in the West Tibetan kingdom (in contrast to the conditions before the downfall of the Tibetan Empire).

After a phase of formation and consolidation, presumably to be explained in view of the socio-political, religious, economic, and linguistic conditions which had characterised the former kingdom of Zhang zhung, the envisioned all-encompassing Buddhist transformation of society began to be put into reality on a grand scale only in 986 with the issuing of a "great edict" (*bka' shog chen mo*), in which the population was called upon to follow the Buddhist doctrine, with the publication of a "religious edict" (*chos rtsigs* [*gtsigs*]) in 988, which proclaimed a sort of religion-based constitution of the West Tibetan kingdom, and with the initiation of a wave of eight major foundations of Buddhist monasteries (together with other measures) by leading members of the royal West Tibetan lineage in 996.[4]

The totalising transcendental Buddhist representation of the state within the totality of the cosmic order, with the *btsan po* as the paramount figure,[5] which had developed in the Pugyel (sPu rgyal) dynasty in the period from 779 to 841, was transferred to Western Tibet "embodied" in the imperial persona of Kyidé Nyimagön (sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon) and his royal successors, later among others also in the design of Tholing Monastery, representing a built *maṇḍala* cosmology with Nampar Nangdzé (rNam par snang mdzad, Vairocana Buddha) as the central deity.[6]

These changes are also reflected in the conception of the Tibetan royal lineage. In Old Tibetan texts the origin of the imperial dynasty is essentially related in a mythic formula with reference to a divine ancestor who came from (the gods of) heaven to Earth as the lord of men (*gnam gyi lha las myi'i rjer gshegs pa*), the lord of "the polity of black-headed Tibetans" (*bod mgo nag po'i srid*" (see Hill 2016). Similar phrases are still found from the late 10th century in early monastic Buddhist contexts in Western Tibet, such as in the Renovation Inscription at Tabo from ca. 1042, with the main difference that the earlier ruler, Srong nge / Ye shes 'od, is characterised *in addition* as belonging to a lineage of bodhisattvas (*byang chub sems dpa'i gdung*). Around a century later, in *Yig rnying*, bKra shis mgon, the middle son of sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon, is the first to be mentioned among the rulers of the Tibetan royal lineage as the one who belonged to a lineage of bodhisattvas and protected Buddhism like his paternal ancestors (*yab mes chos skyong ba'i rgyal po byang chub sems dpa'i spruld pa'i gdung rgyud*) (p. 34, lines 5–6). Later, in the 15th-century source *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs*, the concept of the royal (now West) Tibetan lineage and its outstanding representatives is further elevated with reference to its claimed derivation from the Indic Solar lineage, including the family lineage of the historical Gautama Buddha (see Gu ge Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011: 276 / f.48b1–4).

The creation of a transcendental holistic image of the West Tibetan kingdom according to Buddhist principles must be seen as a process that went back at least to the time of the Tibetan Empire, when under the ruler Trisong Détsen (Khri Srong lde btsan) (742–ca. 800) not only was the "religion of the Buddha" (*sangs rgyas kyi chos*) established as a state religion, culminating in 779 in the foundation of Tibet's first Buddhist monastery in Samye (bSam yas) but also the concept of kingship and state government were adjusted accordingly, as he made all of his "vassals and councilors swearing never to persecute Buddhism, but to increasingly uphold and support it" (Dotson 2017: 4). Part of this development was the increasing inclusion of the Buddhist clergy in state affairs, which was visible, for example, in "the newly established 'religious gathering' [*chos 'dun sa/ma*], which was held in the presence of the emperor. (…) The situation culminated in the institution of the 'monk minister' [*chos blon*], who by the early

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event. This applies not only to great works of art but also to more modest works of the past which have acquired cultural significance with the passing of time." (https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf).

[3] See Jahoda, this volume, p. 78; for further information on the political cosmology, see also Jahoda (forthcoming).

[4] See Vitali 1996: 54, 68, 120, 233; Jahoda 2021.

[5] See Kapstein's remark "that the Tibetan imperial state itself came to be constituted, through a principle of homology, as the body and maṇḍala of the Buddha Vairocana", and that "the emperor himself was in some sense homologous with the cosmic Buddha, and that the ordering of the empire was therefore effectively equivalent to the generation of the maṇḍala." (Kapstein 2000: 60).

[6] See Bloch 2008: 2058 for the concept of the transcendental social and its relationship to the state and a totalising transcendental representation.

ninth century practically headed the governmental power." (Hazod 2014: 12).

When sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon, a descendant of the Central Tibetan sPu rgyal lineage, was invited by local aristocratic clans to take over kingship in Western Tibet in a Tiger year (most probably 906), he took the place of a king from the royal dynasty referred to in *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs* as gNya'/sNya shur ruling over the kingdom of Zhang zhung (see Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, this volume, pp. 99–100; Jahoda, this volume, p. 78). According to this source, the role of five related Zhang zhung clans from Gu ge, who had formed a wedding alliance with the royal Zhang zhung lineage, was the decisive factor in this change of power relations. Gu ge Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan, the author of this text, presents further valuable information on these clans, the royal gNya'/sNya shur lineage and the downfall of the Zhang zhung kingdom, obviously thanks to his access to earlier, possibly contemporary sources in Western Tibet, although a certain Buddhist- and clan-related bias cannot be excluded in his retrospective account due to his affiliation to the Ngor Sakya school and descent from an aristocratic West Tibetan lineage.

The contribution by Roberto Vitali opening the volume (pp. 1–23) provides an outline of macro-historical developments in Western Tibet from the 7th to the 15th century which is based largely on texts from the Bon tradition, a genealogy of the lDong clan, and contemporary Tibetan texts from Dunhuang. His account of the Zhang zhung "civilisation" not only analyses the overall historical development but provides a fresh characterisation of the political system ("forms of insular governorship"), of religious traditions (Bon and "religious practice with hermit features"), of the social organisation ("a clan system from ancestral times"), and also of economic ways of life of the populations in the territories belonging to this kingdom. He notes in particular the essential transition from a predominantly nomadic way of life during the Zhang zhung kingdom towards a more sedentary life, which appeared at the time of the foundation of the West Tibetan kingdom together with a shift of the main human settlements to lower altitudes, together with an aggregation of different groups of people.

The further sequence of articles in this volume predominantly follows chronological criteria, in terms of the time horizon represented by and in the source materials. In the case of written sources which often cover a longer period of time and are not easy to evaluate in terms of the historicity and validity of their content, they can be dated according to internal evidence (author, date and place of origin, references to other sources, etc.). On the other hand, in the case of works of art, such as the sPyan ras gzigs / Avalokiteśvara stela in lCog ro, Purang (Jahoda and Kalantari, pp. 25–60), whose exact date of creation is difficult to establish, it can nevertheless be identified as the earliest evidence of Buddhism in Western Tibet on palaeographic and for art-historical reasons, dating from a Horse year in the 9th or early 10th century, most probably sometime between 826 and 910. It may thus represent either a late example of Buddhist patronage in Western Tibet from the time of the Tibetan Empire or the earliest, in fact until now the only material witness of Buddhist art in Western Tibet from the time before Ye shes 'od.

Buddhist activities and even the foundation of temples are mentioned for sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon and his son bKra shis mgon, who is said to have built the temple of g.Yu sbra, most probably in the Khā tse/Khartse (mKhar rtse) area of Gu ge, the home of *lo chen* Rin chen bzang po's paternal ancestors. The Great Translator's family, presumably the whole Hrugs wer clan (closely linked to the royal West Tibetan lineage from the foundation of the kingdom), seems to have been among those where Buddhism had found strong support. Rin chen bzang po's first thirteen-year sojourn in Khaché (Kha che, Kashmir) and Gyagar (rGya gar, India), which lasted from 975–987, thus predating the official introduction of Buddhism as state religion, is a clear indication of this, and also of Rin chen bzang po's key role in the subsequent dissemination of Buddhism, not only due to his functions as chief priest (*dbu'i mchod gnas*) and Tantric Teacher (*rdo rje slob dpon*, *vajrācarya*) and achievements as a translator of texts but also through his public activities, the participation in the foundation and inauguration of Buddhist monasteries in central sites in the kingdom. The stela ascribed to him at Kyu wang in Gu ge represents an exemplary case of a public Buddhist activity and memorial statement with a lasting presence by a member of an aristocratic clan in a smaller place and is thus, like the lCog ro stela, a witness to a tradition of Buddhist patronage independent of the royal lineage (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, pp. 61–71). This stela can be dated on art-historical grounds to the first decades of the 11th century. Local oral tradition connects it to an incident in the life of *lo chen* Rin chen bzang po that is also recorded in his biography, the passing away of this mother which happened presumably around 1014/15.[7]

[7] This tentative date is based on a statement in his biography immediately following events dating to 996, where it is said that he extended the life of his mother for another eighteen years (Ku ge Kyi rang pa dPal ye shes Dzñā na śrī 1977: 89–90 / f.20a5–f.20b1). In a subsequent section it is reported that "after his mother had died he went to Kyu wang and practiced three times the *sādhana* of the *dPal ngan song sbyong ba / Sarvadurgatipariśodhana maṇḍala*" (*de nas kyu wang du yum grongs nas byon te / dpal ngan song sbyong ba'i dkyil 'khor gyis zhal gsum phye*; *ibid*.: 95 / f. 23a2-3). A four-fold image of Kun rig rNam par snang mdzad / Sarvavid Vairocana, the deity taking a central position in this *maṇḍala* (the text of which was also translated by Rin chen bzang po),

It is also an essential goal of the volume to make research materials on historical Western Tibet accessible in a better and more comprehensive form than has so far been available. This also concerns textual sources, such as two highly important historiographical texts by Gu ge Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan, which are published here in annotated editions and in the case of *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs* for the first time with colour illustrations of the original manuscript in order to provide a sound basis for references and future translation and comparison with further sources that have come to light recently (see Pa tshab Pa sangs dbang 'dus 2012, Martin 2019: 218, n. 90). In this volume, these works are analysed primarily in terms of the chronological information on foundations of monasteries and on the genealogy of the West Tibetan royal lineage.

With the exception of these two sources, in terms of methodology, the contributions on the stelae as well as those on Nyarma (including an archival report by Joseph Gergan), Tabo, the *Yum chen mo / Prajñāpāramitā* Manuscript at Pooh (sPu) and the cave temple at Zhag are in all cases based upon in-depth documentation and research by the authors *in situ*, which implies a strong contextual perspective. Wherever possible and applicable this comprises the analysis of inscriptions together with explicitly mentioned emic concepts.

The contributions on Nyarma, which deal with this important but hitherto little studied monastic site, mainly from the perspective of surface archaeology and architecture (Jahoda, pp. 171–199; Devers, pp. 201–224; Feiglstorfer, pp. 225–257), shed much new light on the variation of the built structures in terms of their function, construction and use, with a focus on their interconnections and the structural and constructive developments which took place over the course of time. Much attention is accorded to the dimension of space, both in terms of ritual use, for example in the case of circumambulation, and also in the spatial dimensions of the iconography, which is the core topic of an art-historical analysis of the Nyarma Main Temple (*gtsug lag khang*) (Kalantari, pp. 259–278). A fresh look on the foundation and founder of the earliest structure at Nyarma, which is based on a re-reading of relevant historical textual sources, is linked to the investigation of titles held by rulers and other members of the West Tibetan royal family and the elaboration of an overall coherent chronological framework of the rulers of the West Tibetan kingdom and their activities between 879 and 1042 (Jahoda, pp. 279–299) for which information is drawn mainly from Gu ge Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs* and *lHa bla ma ye shes 'od rnam thar rgyas pa*, in addition also from *Yig rnying* found in Tholing in 2011.

Several studies in this volume, likewise based largely on newly documented materials, explore the development of specific iconographic themes, their diachronic variations and evolutionary histories through comparative art-historical studies. In a larger regional context, their aim is to reconstruct and make development processes visible that go beyond the level of case studies and are also relevant for other areas. Monuments such as the unique lCog ro stela provide crucial testimony to the spread of early Buddhist culture in Western Tibet by influential clans in the region. In addition, they are evidence of the existence of an artistic landscape that connected Western Tibet with areas in India (also via Central Tibet) and Central Asia. This trans-regional approach towards early West Tibetan art includes sites that have so far only been little studied despite being known for a long time. Many of these sites are still barely accessible and were previously almost unknown in the West, such as the Zhag cave temple and the Buddhist monuments at Khartse.

The art-historical investigations of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* and of paintings from the foundation phase of Tabo Monastery (Kalantari, pp. 301–325) discuss fresh evidence documented by the author which is proof of the great artistic and stylistic diversity during this period. The fact that monasteries were repositories of mobile cult objects, often of exquisite splendour, and vital artistic centres (commissioned and sponsored by the monasteries' royal founders) where master artists invited from Buddhist centres outside Western Tibet, mainly Greater Kashmir, were active, is demonstrated by additional papers (Allinger and Luczanits, pp. 342–361; Kalantari, pp. 363–405). These two studies address iconographic issues as well as stylistic and chronological reassessments in the field of manuscript illumination in the temple collections of Tabo and Pooh (H.P) that cast a new light on the artistic landscape of Western Tibet. The investigations of the manuscripts' iconography in relation to the medium of contemporary wall-painting illustrate how much these illuminated manuscripts are to be seen as part of a correlated aesthetic religious ensemble. Like the monuments and the other materials analysed in this volume, they reflect the Buddhist rulers' and their aristocratic allies' all-embracing vision of an elaborate political cosmology (consequently realised in various media), equal to "a totalizing transcendental representation" of a political system where "the transcendental social [defined as an ordered encompassing whole] and the religious are identical" (Bloch 2008: 2058).

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is represented on this stela. The function of this *maṇḍala* in funeral rites which serve to purify against an evil rebirth is well known (see, for example, Heller 2017). Also the prominent appearance of the *mchod rten* motif fits with this view and at the same time explains why this stela is known as the Translator's *mchod rten* (and not *rdo ring*).

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# Preface

Most of the contributions collected in this volume were written during and as a result of the collaboration with Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po (1961–2015). This cooperation between him and Christian Jahoda began in 1999 during Tshe ring's stay in Vienna and has been continued since 2008 as part of two FWF research projects led by Christian Jahoda—"Oral and Festival Traditions of Western Tibet: Processes of Cultural Memory and Renewal" (P20637-G15, 2008–2013) and "Society, Power and Religion in Pre-Modern Western Tibet: Interaction, Conflict and Integration" (P21806-G19, 2009–2014)—and over the whole period of the cooperation under a research agreement between the Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences in Lhasa and the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna.

As a result of the two research projects, especially through visits, joint stays and fieldwork in Tibet (since 2005), joint conference visits and workshops in Beijing, Vienna, Vancouver and Munich (between 2008 and 2015), archive studies in London (British Library, 2003) and Rome (Giuseppe Tucci Archive, 2008), and several of Tshe ring's guest residences in Vienna (2008–2015), Christiane Kalantari, Hubert Feiglstorfer, Patrick Sutherland and Veronika Hein were also involved in this long-standing, fruitful scientific cooperation (in addition to the one with Guntram Hazod, which had already begun in the 1990s).

The highlights of this cooperation and the more than friendly relationship were probably the joint field research in Tibet in 2006–2007 and 2010, but this cooperation was abruptly ended by the premature death of Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po in June 2015 in Berlin, where he was a visiting professor at the Wissenschaftskolleg from 2014 to 2015 and formed a Tibet research group together with Guntram Hazod and Shen Weirong. As a result, the planned completion of some contributions and the work on the publication of this volume had to be interrupted for a long time.

During field research in Western Tibet between 2010 and 2014, Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po had come across new, highly interesting historical material (including texts, documents, paintings, sculptures etc.), on which this volume contains a contribution on a stela discovered by him in Kyuwang (Kyu wang), the birthplace of the great translator Rinchen Sangpo (Rin chen bzang po) (958–1055). For Tshe ring rgyal po it was above all a priority to make the works of Paṇḍita Drakpa Gyaltsen (Grags pa rgyal mtshan) on the early history of Western Tibet and his biography of the Royal Lama (*lha bla ma*) Yeshe Ö (Ye shes 'od) available in good text editions as part of the planned volume. Tsering Drongshar has continued his textual criticism work on these issues and, together with Christian Jahoda, has gradually brought it to a close by comparing it with recent publications in Tibet.

Common to all sixteen contributions is the thematic focus on early West Tibetan Buddhist monuments. The volume contains studies of the history of Western Tibet, of Buddhist temples and monasteries, stelae and miniature paintings in religious Buddhist texts from the period between the late 9th century and the 12th century, as well as two editions of historiographical texts and a report from the early 20th century that relate to the history of this period.

The preceding article by Roberto Vitali contains a description of the historical development of Western Tibet in the period mentioned above. By including geographical, economic and other factors, this contribution provides a new perspective on the change in political power relations.

In addition, the historically significant stelae in Chokro (lCog ro),

Purang (by Christian Jahoda and Christiane Kalantari) and in Kyuwang, Tsamda (by Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po) are comprehensively documented in illustrations and discussed in their more immediate and broader art-history, historical and cultural contexts.

With the text editions of two works by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan, the chapter on the early history of Western Tibet in *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs* ("Royal Genealogy of the Solar Lineage") with illustrations from the original manuscript (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po) and from *lHa bla ma ye shes 'od kyi rnam thar rgyas pa*, the Extended Biography of the Royal Lama (*lha bla ma*) Yeshe Ö (Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda), both in Tibetan "headed" (*dbu can*) script, essential historical text sources are made readily accessible. An overview (Christian Jahoda) preceding these two editions introduces the author Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1415–1498) and the content of his work on early historical events. The latter includes, among other things, the information contained in it on Zhang zhung and the genealogy of the kings of Purang, the publication of which was an important concern of Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po's research work.

The following contributions relate to Nyarma in Ladakh, the monastery complex there with the main temple and other buildings around it, but do so from different perspectives and disciplines, such as archaeology (Quentin Devers), architecture (Hubert Feiglstorfer), art history (Christiane Kalantari), historical social anthropology and by means of a historical report from 1917 by the scholar Joseph Tshe brtan Gergan (Christian Jahoda).

In contributions dealing with Tabo monastery and its founder Yeshe Ö, Christiane Kalantari studies newly discovered murals from the late 10$^{th}$ century; furthermore, Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po subjects the legend of the death of Yeshe Ö, which appears in historiographical Tibetan text sources from the 13th century onwards, to a historical-textual critical analysis. For the first time, Eva Allinger and Christian Luczanits present the results of research on miniature paintings in the oldest manuscripts preserved in Tabo.

Two final contributions make the complete book illumination of a *Yum chen mo* (*Prajñāpāramitā*) manuscript from Pooh, Kinnaur accessible, including a comprehensive analysis (Christiane Kalantari), and, based on a detailed documentation by Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, provide a detailed study of the Zhag cave temple in the Be Valley north of Dungkar (Tsamda) (Gu ge The ring rgyal po and Christiane Kalantari).

Christian Jahoda and Christiane Kalantari

Vienna, June 2020

# Spelling and Transliteration Systems

Usually on the first mention of Tibetan words and names in each article the spelling corresponding to the academic transliteration according to the Wylie system is given in brackets. Apart from this, names or words from Sanskrit are given in the academic transliteration throughout, as well as those from other languages. Those from Chinese are predominantly given in Pinyin. The only exception to this rule is the contribution by Roberto Vitali using the Wade-Giles romanisation for Chinese and for Tibetan exclusively academic transliteration according to the Wylie system.

All words in Tibetan are given in italics, with the exception of names. The following criteria have been used for the spelling of names: Tibetan names of historical or living persons are given in transliteration. In the case of Tibetan place names (whether original or Tibetanised), as far as these are mentioned in a historical context—e.g. in inscriptions—the Tibetan spellings as they occur there have been given in transliteration. In all other cases modern spellings, as they appear in recent publications, have been used or given additionally.

To indicate the genitive in Tibetan proper names and in order to avoid using the particle 'of', an apostrophe with the appropriate genitive ending has been attached, e.g. Ye shes 'od's. In contrast to Sanskrit terms, with Tibetan terms no plural formation with the addition of an 's' has been used.

# Introduction

This volume brings together sixteen contributions dealing with historical monuments and materials relating to Western Tibet primarily between the late 9th and the 12th century. Depending on the authors' specialisation and expertise, they present and discuss the historical evidence from different perspectives and with different disciplinary backgrounds, such as archaeology, architecture, art history, history, and social anthropology. In one way or another, the thematic focus of all contributions in this volume is related to the establishment of monastic Buddhism in Western Tibet, in particular the foundation of Buddhist monasteries. Five papers deal specifically with the Buddhist site of Nyarma in Ladakh, two with Tabo Monastery in Spiti, both among the earliest foundations of monasteries in Western Tibet from 996. The sPyan ras gzigs / Avalokiteśvara stela in lCog ro, Purang, donated by a member of the Dro ('Bro) clan, and the stela in Kyu wang, Gu ge, ascribed to *lo chen* Rin chen bzang po, a member of the Hrukwer (Hrugs wer) clan, the topic of two separate papers, are public statements of Buddhism in 9th/10th-century and early 11th-century Western Tibet, at a time when monastic Buddhism was supported by the state, the ruler and the royal lineage as well as allied aristocratic clans. The foundation of the West Tibetan kingdom and the genealogy of its royal lineage (*Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs*) by Gu ge Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan and the extended biography (*rnam thar rgyas pa*) of one its most prominent representatives, King Tridé Songtsuktsen (Khri lde Srong gtsug btsan) aka Songé (Srong nge) aka *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od by the same author, a 15th-century monk-scholar of the Ngor Sakya school, who descended from a Zhang zhung clan of Western Tibet, are the subject of three contributions which make these important textual sources available in annotated editions together with information on the author and content (Jahoda, pp. 73–87; Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, pp. 89–119; Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, pp. 121–169). In addition to a text-critical analysis of the legendary captivity and passing away of Ye shes 'od among the Gar log (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, pp. 327–342), the two final studies of an illustrated *Yum chen mo* / *Prajñāpāramitā* Manuscript in Pooh (Kalantari, pp. 363–405) and of the Zhag cave temple in Gu ge (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po and Kalantari, pp. 407–430) analyse outstanding examples of the continuing tradition of patronage of Buddhist texts and monuments.

Despite the fact that each contribution stands for itself (reflecting the authors' freedom granted by the editors to select from their field of specific research topics and related materials according to their choice), the question of the overall scientific goals and knowledge interests of the volume may be asked.

All contributions share a strong basis in the study of monuments and materials that provide evidence for the analysis of specific architectural, art-historical, archaeological, historical, and social anthropological questions. Based on the premise that these monuments and materials are inseparable from the history to which they bear witness and from the setting in which they occur,[1] they may be considered in toto as witnesses of "a particular civilization, a significant historical development or a historic event".[2] In the case

[1] Adapting Article 7 of the Venice Charter (1964) of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS): "A monument is inseparable from the history to which it bears witness and from the setting in which it occurs." See https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf.

[2] See Article 1: "The concept of a historic monument embraces not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development or a historic

of 9th–12th-century Western Tibet, these monuments and materials constitute historical sources and witnesses to an extended concept of political cosmology, in particular of an all-embracing imagination of a Buddhist kingdom that was already present at the time of the foundation of the kingdom in 907.[3] The most important government positions were awarded by the new ruler in accordance with the Buddhist concept of *maṇḍala*, as described in *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs* (see Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, this volume, pp. 101–102), a clear indication that governance and administration of the kingdom were based on Buddhist criteria *ab initio*. The newly formed alliance by the royal lineage with local aristocratic clans, whose members are explicitly mentioned in the context of these appointments, provided for a strong foundation and balance of political power in the West Tibetan kingdom (in contrast to the conditions before the downfall of the Tibetan Empire).

After a phase of formation and consolidation, presumably to be explained in view of the socio-political, religious, economic, and linguistic conditions which had characterised the former kingdom of Zhang zhung, the envisioned all-encompassing Buddhist transformation of society began to be put into reality on a grand scale only in 986 with the issuing of a "great edict" (*bka' shog chen mo*), in which the population was called upon to follow the Buddhist doctrine, with the publication of a "religious edict" (*chos rtsigs* [*gtsigs*]) in 988, which proclaimed a sort of religion-based constitution of the West Tibetan kingdom, and with the initiation of a wave of eight major foundations of Buddhist monasteries (together with other measures) by leading members of the royal West Tibetan lineage in 996.[4]

The totalising transcendental Buddhist representation of the state within the totality of the cosmic order, with the *btsan po* as the paramount figure,[5] which had developed in the Pugyel (sPu rgyal) dynasty in the period from 779 to 841, was transferred to Western Tibet "embodied" in the imperial persona of Kyidé Nyimagön (sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon) and his royal successors, later among others also in the design of Tholing Monastery, representing a built *maṇḍala* cosmology with Nampar Nangdzé (rNam par snang mdzad, Vairocana Buddha) as the central deity.[6]

These changes are also reflected in the conception of the Tibetan royal lineage. In Old Tibetan texts the origin of the imperial dynasty is essentially related in a mythic formula with reference to a divine ancestor who came from (the gods of) heaven to Earth as the lord of men (*gnam gyi lha las myi'i rjer gshegs pa*), the lord of "the polity of black-headed Tibetans" (*bod mgo nag po'i srid*" (see Hill 2016). Similar phrases are still found from the late 10th century in early monastic Buddhist contexts in Western Tibet, such as in the Renovation Inscription at Tabo from ca. 1042, with the main difference that the earlier ruler, Srong nge / Ye shes 'od, is characterised *in addition* as belonging to a lineage of bodhisattvas (*byang chub sems dpa'i gdung*). Around a century later, in *Yig rnying*, bKra shis mgon, the middle son of sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon, is the first to be mentioned among the rulers of the Tibetan royal lineage as the one who belonged to a lineage of bodhisattvas and protected Buddhism like his paternal ancestors (*yab mes chos skyong ba'i rgyal po byang chub sems dpa'i spruld pa'i gdung rgyud*) (p. 34, lines 5–6). Later, in the 15th-century source *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs*, the concept of the royal (now West) Tibetan lineage and its outstanding representatives is further elevated with reference to its claimed derivation from the Indic Solar lineage, including the family lineage of the historical Gautama Buddha (see Gu ge Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011: 276 / f.48b1–4).

The creation of a transcendental holistic image of the West Tibetan kingdom according to Buddhist principles must be seen as a process that went back at least to the time of the Tibetan Empire, when under the ruler Trisong Détsen (Khri Srong lde btsan) (742–ca. 800) not only was the "religion of the Buddha" (*sangs rgyas kyi chos*) established as a state religion, culminating in 779 in the foundation of Tibet's first Buddhist monastery in Samye (bSam yas) but also the concept of kingship and state government were adjusted accordingly, as he made all of his "vassals and councilors swearing never to persecute Buddhism, but to increasingly uphold and support it" (Dotson 2017: 4). Part of this development was the increasing inclusion of the Buddhist clergy in state affairs, which was visible, for example, in "the newly established 'religious gathering' [*chos 'dun sa/ma*], which was held in the presence of the emperor. (…) The situation culminated in the institution of the 'monk minister' [*chos blon*], who by the early

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event. This applies not only to great works of art but also to more modest works of the past which have acquired cultural significance with the passing of time." (https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf).

[3] See Jahoda, this volume, p. 78; for further information on the political cosmology, see also Jahoda (forthcoming).

[4] See Vitali 1996: 54, 68, 120, 233; Jahoda 2021.

[5] See Kapstein's remark "that the Tibetan imperial state itself came to be constituted, through a principle of homology, as the body and maṇḍala of the Buddha Vairocana", and that "the emperor himself was in some sense homologous with the cosmic Buddha, and that the ordering of the empire was therefore effectively equivalent to the generation of the maṇḍala." (Kapstein 2000: 60).

[6] See Bloch 2008: 2058 for the concept of the transcendental social and its relationship to the state and a totalising transcendental representation.

ninth century practically headed the governmental power." (Hazod 2014: 12).

When sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon, a descendant of the Central Tibetan sPu rgyal lineage, was invited by local aristocratic clans to take over kingship in Western Tibet in a Tiger year (most probably 906), he took the place of a king from the royal dynasty referred to in *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs* as gNya'/sNya shur ruling over the kingdom of Zhang zhung (see Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, this volume, pp. 99–100; Jahoda, this volume, p. 78). According to this source, the role of five related Zhang zhung clans from Gu ge, who had formed a wedding alliance with the royal Zhang zhung lineage, was the decisive factor in this change of power relations. Gu ge Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan, the author of this text, presents further valuable information on these clans, the royal gNya'/sNya shur lineage and the downfall of the Zhang zhung kingdom, obviously thanks to his access to earlier, possibly contemporary sources in Western Tibet, although a certain Buddhist- and clan-related bias cannot be excluded in his retrospective account due to his affiliation to the Ngor Sakya school and descent from an aristocratic West Tibetan lineage.

The contribution by Roberto Vitali opening the volume (pp. 1–23) provides an outline of macro-historical developments in Western Tibet from the 7th to the 15th century which is based largely on texts from the Bon tradition, a genealogy of the lDong clan, and contemporary Tibetan texts from Dunhuang. His account of the Zhang zhung "civilisation" not only analyses the overall historical development but provides a fresh characterisation of the political system ("forms of insular governorship"), of religious traditions (Bon and "religious practice with hermit features"), of the social organisation ("a clan system from ancestral times"), and also of economic ways of life of the populations in the territories belonging to this kingdom. He notes in particular the essential transition from a predominantly nomadic way of life during the Zhang zhung kingdom towards a more sedentary life, which appeared at the time of the foundation of the West Tibetan kingdom together with a shift of the main human settlements to lower altitudes, together with an aggregation of different groups of people.

The further sequence of articles in this volume predominantly follows chronological criteria, in terms of the time horizon represented by and in the source materials. In the case of written sources which often cover a longer period of time and are not easy to evaluate in terms of the historicity and validity of their content, they can be dated according to internal evidence (author, date and place of origin, references to other sources, etc.). On the other hand, in the case of works of art, such as the sPyan ras gzigs / Avalokiteśvara stela in lCog ro, Purang (Jahoda and Kalantari, pp. 25–60), whose exact date of creation is difficult to establish, it can nevertheless be identified as the earliest evidence of Buddhism in Western Tibet on palaeographic and for art-historical reasons, dating from a Horse year in the 9th or early 10th century, most probably sometime between 826 and 910. It may thus represent either a late example of Buddhist patronage in Western Tibet from the time of the Tibetan Empire or the earliest, in fact until now the only material witness of Buddhist art in Western Tibet from the time before Ye shes 'od.

Buddhist activities and even the foundation of temples are mentioned for sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon and his son bKra shis mgon, who is said to have built the temple of g.Yu sbra, most probably in the Khā tse/Khartse (mKhar rtse) area of Gu ge, the home of *lo chen* Rin chen bzang po's paternal ancestors. The Great Translator's family, presumably the whole Hrugs wer clan (closely linked to the royal West Tibetan lineage from the foundation of the kingdom), seems to have been among those where Buddhism had found strong support. Rin chen bzang po's first thirteen-year sojourn in Khaché (Kha che, Kashmir) and Gyagar (rGya gar, India), which lasted from 975–987, thus predating the official introduction of Buddhism as state religion, is a clear indication of this, and also of Rin chen bzang po's key role in the subsequent dissemination of Buddhism, not only due to his functions as chief priest (*dbu'i mchod gnas*) and Tantric Teacher (*rdo rje slob dpon*, *vajrācarya*) and achievements as a translator of texts but also through his public activities, the participation in the foundation and inauguration of Buddhist monasteries in central sites in the kingdom. The stela ascribed to him at Kyu wang in Gu ge represents an exemplary case of a public Buddhist activity and memorial statement with a lasting presence by a member of an aristocratic clan in a smaller place and is thus, like the lCog ro stela, a witness to a tradition of Buddhist patronage independent of the royal lineage (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, pp. 61–71). This stela can be dated on art-historical grounds to the first decades of the 11th century. Local oral tradition connects it to an incident in the life of *lo chen* Rin chen bzang po that is also recorded in his biography, the passing away of this mother which happened presumably around 1014/15.[7]

[7] This tentative date is based on a statement in his biography immediately following events dating to 996, where it is said that he extended the life of his mother for another eighteen years (Ku ge Kyi rang pa dPal ye shes Dzñā na śrī 1977: 89–90 / f.20a5–f.20b1). In a subsequent section it is reported that "after his mother had died he went to Kyu wang and practiced three times the *sādhana* of the *dPal ngan song sbyong ba / Sarvadurgatipariśodhana maṇḍala*" (*de nas kyu wang du yum grongs nas byon te / dpal ngan song sbyong ba'i dkyil 'khor gyis zhal gsum phye*; *ibid*.: 95 / f. 23a2-3). A four-fold image of Kun rig rNam par snang mdzad / Sarvavid Vairocana, the deity taking a central position in this *maṇḍala* (the text of which was also translated by Rin chen bzang po),

It is also an essential goal of the volume to make research materials on historical Western Tibet accessible in a better and more comprehensive form than has so far been available. This also concerns textual sources, such as two highly important historiographical texts by Gu ge Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan, which are published here in annotated editions and in the case of *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs* for the first time with colour illustrations of the original manuscript in order to provide a sound basis for references and future translation and comparison with further sources that have come to light recently (see Pa tshab Pa sangs dbang 'dus 2012, Martin 2019: 218, n. 90). In this volume, these works are analysed primarily in terms of the chronological information on foundations of monasteries and on the genealogy of the West Tibetan royal lineage.

With the exception of these two sources, in terms of methodology, the contributions on the stelae as well as those on Nyarma (including an archival report by Joseph Gergan), Tabo, the *Yum chen mo / Prajñāpāramitā* Manuscript at Pooh (sPu) and the cave temple at Zhag are in all cases based upon in-depth documentation and research by the authors *in situ*, which implies a strong contextual perspective. Wherever possible and applicable this comprises the analysis of inscriptions together with explicitly mentioned emic concepts.

The contributions on Nyarma, which deal with this important but hitherto little studied monastic site, mainly from the perspective of surface archaeology and architecture (Jahoda, pp. 171–199; Devers, pp. 201–224; Feiglstorfer, pp. 225–257), shed much new light on the variation of the built structures in terms of their function, construction and use, with a focus on their interconnections and the structural and constructive developments which took place over the course of time. Much attention is accorded to the dimension of space, both in terms of ritual use, for example in the case of circumambulation, and also in the spatial dimensions of the iconography, which is the core topic of an art-historical analysis of the Nyarma Main Temple (*gtsug lag khang*) (Kalantari, pp. 259–278). A fresh look on the foundation and founder of the earliest structure at Nyarma, which is based on a re-reading of relevant historical textual sources, is linked to the investigation of titles held by rulers and other members of the West Tibetan royal family and the elaboration of an overall coherent chronological framework of the rulers of the West Tibetan kingdom and their activities between 879 and 1042 (Jahoda, pp. 279–299) for which information is drawn mainly from Gu ge Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs* and *lHa bla ma ye shes 'od rnam thar rgyas pa*, in addition also from *Yig rnying* found in Tholing in 2011.

Several studies in this volume, likewise based largely on newly documented materials, explore the development of specific iconographic themes, their diachronic variations and evolutionary histories through comparative art-historical studies. In a larger regional context, their aim is to reconstruct and make development processes visible that go beyond the level of case studies and are also relevant for other areas. Monuments such as the unique lCog ro stela provide crucial testimony to the spread of early Buddhist culture in Western Tibet by influential clans in the region. In addition, they are evidence of the existence of an artistic landscape that connected Western Tibet with areas in India (also via Central Tibet) and Central Asia. This trans-regional approach towards early West Tibetan art includes sites that have so far only been little studied despite being known for a long time. Many of these sites are still barely accessible and were previously almost unknown in the West, such as the Zhag cave temple and the Buddhist monuments at Khartse.

The art-historical investigations of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* and of paintings from the foundation phase of Tabo Monastery (Kalantari, pp. 301–325) discuss fresh evidence documented by the author which is proof of the great artistic and stylistic diversity during this period. The fact that monasteries were repositories of mobile cult objects, often of exquisite splendour, and vital artistic centres (commissioned and sponsored by the monasteries' royal founders) where master artists invited from Buddhist centres outside Western Tibet, mainly Greater Kashmir, were active, is demonstrated by additional papers (Allinger and Luczanits, pp. 342–361; Kalantari, pp. 363–405). These two studies address iconographic issues as well as stylistic and chronological reassessments in the field of manuscript illumination in the temple collections of Tabo and Pooh (H.P) that cast a new light on the artistic landscape of Western Tibet. The investigations of the manuscripts' iconography in relation to the medium of contemporary wall-painting illustrate how much these illuminated manuscripts are to be seen as part of a correlated aesthetic religious ensemble. Like the monuments and the other materials analysed in this volume, they reflect the Buddhist rulers' and their aristocratic allies' all-embracing vision of an elaborate political cosmology (consequently realised in various media), equal to "a totalizing transcendental representation" of a political system where "the transcendental social [defined as an ordered encompassing whole] and the religious are identical" (Bloch 2008: 2058).

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is represented on this stela. The function of this *maṇḍala* in funeral rites which serve to purify against an evil rebirth is well known (see, for example, Heller 2017). Also the prominent appearance of the *mchod rten* motif fits with this view and at the same time explains why this stela is known as the Translator's *mchod rten* (and not *rdo ring*).

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Roberto Vitali

# Territory and Trends in Land Control: The Byang thang "Heartland" and the mNga' ris "Periphery"*

There could hardly be a better conveyed message about the hardship of life in Zhang zhung than the proverbial disparaging words about her new country, sent by Sad mar kar to her brother Srong btsan sgam po.[1] The Zhang zhung core area she talks about was, as is common domain, well inside the highlands of western Byang thang. Besides the capital of the kingdom at Khyung lung dngul mkhar,[2] the other major centre of Zhang

* Having been asked, owing to circumstances, to write a piece at the last moment—I express my gratitude to Christian Jahoda for inviting me to join—the theme I have chosen reflects the fact that several topics were already touched by the other contributors.

I thought it possible to jot down a short work on the macro-history of the lands composing mNga' ris in view of the progress that the knowledge of the regions in the west has made steadily throughout the years. Needing a holistic underlying concept, I opted for the idea of territory. Land occupation marks the history of every people, and mNga' ris is no exception.

[1] Sad mar kar's negative assessment of her life in Zhang zhung reads as follows (*Tun-huang Chronicles*, Chapter VIII: 408–412; see *Tun-huang Chronicles* 1992: 58): "The locality assigned [to me] is Khyung lung rngul (spelled so) mkhar. Other people from the surroundings say: "Seen from the outside it is erosions and rocks, but seen from the inside it is gold and jewels". [Having this castle] in front of me, is not this existence atrocious? There are fissures everywhere in these arid surroundings. The share of servants [assigned to me] is Gu ge rKang pran. Are not these servants atrocious? Gu ge deceives and detests us. As for the share of food [assigned to] me, this is fish and wheat. Is not this food atrocious? Fish and wheat are hard to chew. As for the share of cattle [assigned to me], these are deers and *rkyang*-s. Are not these herds atrocious? Deers and *rkyang*-s are non-responsive and wild".

The prevailing understanding of the Sad mar kar's episode in the *Tun-huang Chronicles* is that she informed her brother Srong btsan sgam po through sPug Gyim brtsan rmang cung, the sPu rgyal Bod emissary, about the right circumstances to attack the Zhang zhung king. This implies that a plan to crush and finish off the Zhang zhung ruler, of which she was part, had already been conceived by Srong btsan sgam po and that she gave, with her lead, a major contribution to implement it in the most promising tactical manner.

The Sad mar kar episode shows that queens were allocated territories, including their inhabitants, as their share of power. This was common practice in the dynastic period. A classic is the confrontation between the wives of Glang dar ma, Tshe spongs bza' g.Yor mo yum chen bTsan mo phan (for one, *lDe'u Jo sras chos 'byung* 1987: 141,6–7) and 'Ban bza' 'Phan rgyal (*ibid*.: 141,11), mothers of 'Od srung and Yum brtan respectively, in different tracts of the lands later known as dBus (the former in dBu ru'i byang ngos: *ibid*.: 141,18-19; the latter in g.Yo ru and parts of dBu ru).

According to *Bon ma nub pa'i gtsan tshigs* (1968: 261,3–263,2) Gu rub za sNang sgron legs mo, the junior queen of the Zhang zhung king, was cunningly offered two thirds of the territory of sPu rgyal Bod in order to betray the Lig myi rhya king and to be ambushed by the Central Tibetans.

[2] In his outline of the masters of Bon po *'Dul ba* (*Ti se'i dkar chag* 1973: 574,1–578,5), dKar ru Bru chen bsTan 'dzin rin chen associates these religious exponents with *bya ru can* rulers and the seats from where the latter exercised their functions. *'Dul ba* masters, *bya ru can* kings and their castles can be summarised as follows:

1. drang srong Khri lde 'od po from the land of sTag gzig was active during the rule of Zhang zhung srid pa'i rgyal po Khri wer La rje gser gyi bya ru can who resided at Gar ljang g.Yu lo rdzong mkhar, i.e. rGyang grags, in front of Gangs ri chen po;
2. Khri lde 'od po's disciple, drang srong Dang ba yid ring, was active during the rule of sPung rgyung gyer gyi rgyal po 'od kyi bya ru can who resided at sTag chen rngam pa'i yongs rdzogs mkhar in the land of Pu mar hring;
3. Dang ba yid ring's disciple, drang srong Gung rum gtsug phud, was active during the rule of Gu wer nor gyi rgyal po ga ljang 'od kyi bya ru can who resided at Dum pa tshal gser gyi mkhar of Zhang zhung Tsi na'i shod;
4. Gung rum gtsug phud's disciple, drang srong rDzu 'phrul ye shes, was active during the rule of sTag sna gzi brjid rgyal po Khri ldem lcags kyi bya ru can who resided at sTag sna dBal gyi rdzong mkhar in the centre of the town sTag sna gling [note: known as Bon ri sTag sna rong] at the foot of sPos ri ngad ldan in the land of Zhang zhung Tsi na;
5. rDzu 'phrul ye shes's disciple, drang srong Ye shes tshul khrims, was active during the rule of Sad hri gyer gyi rgyal po utpala 'od kyi bya ru can who resided at Mu rdzong chen po khro chu'i mkhar in the land of Zhang zhung Kha yug;
6. Ye shes tshul khrims's disciple, drang srong g.Yung drung tshul khrims,

zhung according to T'ang sources was north of Gangs Ti se at Ru thog, the ancient Suvarnabhūmi of the Indian tradition and Hsüang-tsang and its people the Suvarnagōtra,[3] still within the immense Byang thang plateau.

Especially during the sPu rgyal Bod period, holding sway over Byang thang was the bone of contention between antagonist powers. Due to the location of both rTsang stod—its southeastern territory bordering on Ru lag—and the vast tract of land known as Byang gi Zhang zhung—east of the kingdom's core area—their control affected the political status of the time. Indeed the takeover of Byang gi Zhang zhung, conquered by Khyung po Pung/sPung sad zu tse on behalf of Srong btsan sgam po,[4] created the conditions for

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was active during the rule of Slas kra Gu ge'i rgyal po rin chen 'od kyi bya ru can who resided at dNgul mkhar dkar po khro chu'i rmengs rdo can ("with foundation stones in molten metal");

7. g.Yung drung tshul khrims's disciple, drang srong gTsug phud rgyal ba, was active during the rule of Mu mar thog rgod rgyal po enda 'od kyi bya ru can who resided at Zhang zhung Ru thog gNam rdzong mkhar;

8. gTsug phud rgyal ba's disciple, drang srong Ye shes rgyal ba, was active during the rule of sTag sna gzi brjid rgyal po Khri Idem lcags kyi bya ru can [residing] at sTag sna dBal gyi rdzong mkhar in the centre of the town sTag gling at the foot of sPos ri ngad ldan in the land of Zhang zhung Tsi na.

The way dKar ru Bru chen bsTan 'dzin rin chen introduces the masters in the transmission line of Bon po *'Dul ba* has it that eight generations of rulers would have been involved in the support of these practitioners. If read in chronological sequence, this would mean that the earliest was the *bya ru can* king ruling from Gangs Ti se and the last the *bya ru can* king whose seat was Ru thog. However, the fact that each of these Bon po masters was the disciple of the previous one does not establish a chronological sequence of eight successive generations, for they could have been contemporaries in some cases. Therefore, it is not ascertained that six generations separated the king residing at the palace in front of Gangs Ti se from the one residing at Ru thog. In other words, no prove exists that the royal seat was transferred from place to place during these unprecised lapses of time or else that there were regional centres of power, as it is more likely but not sure.

bsTan 'dzin rnam dag's compactment of the four *dbus kyi mkhar* of Zhang zhung shows that three of the four *dbus kyi mkhar* of Zhang zhung correspond to castles inhabited by *bya ru can* kings (Gangs Ti se g.Yu lo mkhar, Khyung lung and sPos ri ngad ldan). See *g.Yung drung Bon gyi bstan pa'i byung khungs nyung bsdus* (620,6–621,6): "The four central (p. 621) castles were Khyung lung rngul mo mkhar on a peak in eastern Gu ge; Pu hreng sTag la mkhar in the centre of Pu hreng; Ma pang sPos mo mkhar to the east of [mtsho] Ma pang; and La shang g.yu lo mkhar to the north of Gangs ri [Ti se]. Some people include Gad kyi Byi ba mkhar in the enumeration, which is on the border of the upper side of Gro shod. The six regional forts were Dwang ra Khyung chen rdzong in Byang [thang] smad; Ra bzhi Seng ge rdzong in Byang [thang] stod, corresponding with the land north of Ru thog; Mang yul sTag mo rdzong [note: sPyi rong, sic for sKyid rong] in lHo smad; Se rib 'Brug mo rdzong in lHo stod, [situated] in upper Glo Dol po; rBal te rTa mchog rdzong in the west; and Gyim rngul Glang chen rdzong in the east".

[3] A crucial clue to associate Suvarnabhūmi (the "Land of Gold") with Ru thog is the note added in 650 to the entry concerning this kingdom in the second edition of Hsüang-tsang's travelogue, four years after its first publication. The note says that Suvarnabhūmi is not within the borders of India. It is called the Kingdom of Greater Yang-t'ung, the centre of which is Ru thog. This became the Zhang zhung stod of the *stong sde* system, a pillar of the state organisation of sPu rgyal Bod.

The way Hsüang-tsang locates Suvarnabhūmi is remarkably neat, for he adds that its western frontier bordered on Mo-lo-so/Mard. This indicates that Suvarnabhūmi, adjoining the latter territory to the east of Mo-lo-so/Mar yul, was located on the upper reaches of the Indus river, the area of Ru thog (see Beal 1981: 199). The antiquity of Ru thog is thus documented for the mid 7th century or environs but it seemingly goes back to a deeper past. This was the region, where deposits of a "superior sort of gold" are located.

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In terms of physical geography, Ru thog belongs to the "heartland" but was culturally part of the world of the Indian North-west. The endurance of the culturally developed but militarily weak Land of Gold is shown by the fact that it was still existing in the time of the famous Chinese pilgrims, visitors of India, but without a clear indication of its political status. It may mean that it floated in a condition of semi-independence.

Ru thog came to be part of the Byang thang "heartland" politically at a later stage when Srong btsan sgam po took over Zhang zhung and brought it into sPu rgyal Bod dynasty's fold, thus rescinding the traditional ties the area had with the cultures in its west. Finally, the Korean pilgrim Yue-ch'ao states that it was under the sPu rgyal Bod dynasty in the second quarter of the 8th century (Fuchs 1938: 443).

Cross evidence provided by *The Inquiry of Vimalaprabhā*, Hsüang-tsang and the Korean pilgrim Yue-ch'ao helps to get a fair image of Suvarnabhūmi's population, the Suvarnagōtra (the "Race of Gold").

*The Inquiry of Vimalaprabhā* (in Thomas 1935: 191–248) mentions close cultural and kinship ties between Khotan, the Gold Race Country and Baltistan. These ties suggest a common ethnic and cultural extraction of Indo-Iranic matrix. It cannot be ruled out that Zhang zhung and its rMu/dMu ancestral tribe (see any *rus mdzod*, where this association is invariably mentioned), which existed before the distinctive Tibetan race took shape, were the joining point of the nomadic way of life of Tibet's northern belt with Indo-Iranic values coming from Khotan, other oases of Central Asia and North-west India.

The rMu/dMu and the other *mi'u rigs*—the ancestral tribes of proto Tibetans populating the northern belt of lands of the plateau—mingled to form the Tibetan race during a presumably protracted span of time.

[4] I.O. 716, ii, is the text which mentions Khyung po Pung/sPung sad zu tse's takeover of Byang gi Zhang zhung that took place sometime after 638 (the execution of Myang Zhang snang) and before 644 (the conquest of Khyung lung). The text (I.O. 716, ii,3–5; *Tun hong nas thon pa'i Bod kyi lo rgyus yig cha* 1992: 70–71) reads as follows: "To yo chas la'i rje bo Bor yon tse brlags ste/ To yo chas la latsogs te Byang gi Zhang zhung thabs cad/ Khri srong rtsan gyi phyag tu phul te/ Zu tse slo ba nye'o/ btsan po'i blon po nang na/ sPung sad zu tse las slo ba (p. 71) nye ba sngan chad kyang ma byung ngo//"; "[Khyung po Pung/sPung sad zu tse] destroyed Bor Yon tse, the lord of the To yo chas la. He offered the whole of Byang gi Zhang zhung, including the To yo chas la, to Khri Srong rtsan [sgam po]. Zu tse was loyal and in favour. Among the ministers of the *btsan po*, there was no one closer to him than Pung sad".

lHo yo, so transcribed in the Gangs can rig mdzod edition of *mkhas pa lDe'u chos 'byung* for an original To yo—the similarity between *ta* and *lha* in any kind of Tibetan script is remarkable—was one of the *stong sde* of g.Yas ru according to this source (*ibid.*: 258,11). *lDe'u Jo sras chos 'byung* (110,20) writes it sTong yong; *Blon po bka' thang* (438,10) spells it sTod yongs, while *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (187,17–19) does not mention it in its classification of the g.Yas ru *stong sde*-s. *rGod ldem can gyi rnam thar* (73,4 and 86,4) says that the area of Tho yor nag po should be traced to the north of Ri bo bkra bzang, itself due east of

sPu rgyal Bod to inflict a deadly blow to the throne of the Lig myi rhya dynasty.[5]

Byang thang has been, since time immemorial, a most difficult territory for survival. Human habitat in high altitude Zhang zhung implied a way of life and cultural expressions that influenced the spread of civilisation in earlier times and in the successive periods. *'Brog pa* existence and uncompromising living conditions occurred in a vastness marked by loneliness and empty spaces.

Yet, Zhang zhung was more than a Byang thang nation. Besides *'brog pa* customs, sedentary life was popular in the lower altitude areas of the Zhang zhung kingdom, where the local conditions made existence more viable.

Due to this reason, Zhang zhung stands out among the other kingdoms in the history of Central Asia. Most commonly, nomadic lands did not forge kingdoms. Zhang zhung was an *ante litteram* model of state in the history of High and Central Asia, a political entity which anticipated of many centuries the creation of nations where sedentary life and nomadism were present at the same time. It was long after Srong btsan sgam po's destruction of Zhang zhung in 644–649 that a nomadic population, the Liao dynasty of the Khitan (947–1125) founded a kingdom which ruled over a mix of nomads and sedentary people (Drompp 1989: 146).

**Zhang zhung, the "Heartland" and the "Periphery"**

This leads me to examine where the old Zhang zhung civilisation developed before its destruction and where, therefore, Bon was spread anciently. To identify the lands that formed Zhang zhung according to the Bon po sources, I use a synopsis of Kyabs ston Rin chen 'od zer's 14th century *sPyi spungs khro 'grel*.[6] This text also helps to identify territories, part of the Byang thang "heartland" and outside it, that were Zhang zhung once.

This synopsis is found in *sNga rabs Bod kyi byung ba brjod pa'i 'bel gtam lung gi snying po (1997:* 24,1–8) by *slob dpon* bsTan 'dzin rnam dag (also see a compactment of the lands of Zhang zhung in dPal ldan tshul khrims's *bsTan 'byung skal bzang mgul rgyan* [1988: 33,12–18]).

sKyabs ston's *sPyi spungs khro 'grel* offers evidence conducive to a classification of the lands of Zhang zhung into six sectors:

- the eastern sector (Sum yul), an integral part of Zhang zhung according to the Bon po tradition. It was composed by Mar pa, sTag lo, Gu rib (not to be confused with the one in southern Byang thang), Khyung byid, Khyung po and 'U sang;
- the western sector (from sBal ti/La dwags down to Khu nu), composed by (from north to south): sBal ti, rKang phran, La dwags, Zangs dkar, Gar zha, Nyung ti, sPi ti and Khu nu;
- the southern sector—the Himalayan range from Uttarkand to Mustang—which included (from west to east): Drug nyi, Nyi ti, Kyo nam, Sha khog, mGar yang, Tshang ro, Ti dkar, Sle mi, 'Om blo, Dol po, Mustang, Se rib and Krug skyes up to Mang yul;
- the central sector (Gu ge, Pu hrang and Ru thog) plus the contiguous lands of Kha yug, Kha skyor and Kha rag;
- the south-western Byang thang sector, consisting (from west to east) of Ci sang, Ci na in Gro shod, Gu rib, and Tshog cu; and finally
- the central Byang thang sector inclusive of Ra sang, Nag tshang and Shang gyer.

This classification does not reflect the actual territorial composition of the Zhang zhung kingdom, for it is more extended than what history tells. I think, instead, that this is a synchronic reading of the diachronic history of Bon. It compacts the extension of Zhang zhung before its downfall with the subsequent migrations of people related to Bon from the west to the east, who went to occupy lands in Khams, and to the south of Byang thang. This is also proved by the use of place names from later periods.

Leaving aside the lands of the eastern division of Sum yul, Kyabs ston's assessment of other sectors of Zhang zhung shows

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Zang zang. One g.Yas ru *yul dpon tshan* was assigned to Zang zang (*mkhas pa lDe'u chos 'byung* 257,7–8).

The correspondence between To yo chas la and Tho yor nag po is likely, the latter being a name unaccounted for in the ancient literature, whereas the territory was known by the former name in older (Tun-huang) documents.

The incorporation of the Byang gi Zhang zhung territory To yo chas la into sPu rgyal Bod led to a change of denomination, for it became known as Tho yor nag po when it was included into *stong sde*-s ruled by the *lha sras btsan po*-s.

[5] The sPu rgyal Bod's conquest of Byang gi Zhang zhung was propedeutic to the definitive annihilation of the kingdom of the Lig myi rhya dynasty, for it brought the Central Tibetans closer to the capital Khyung lung. sPu rgyal Bod and Zhang zhung had conflictual relations on and off, marginally documented in the *Tun-huang Chronicles* (for one case see Chapter VI, 299–300, *Tun hong nas thon pa'i Bod kyi lo rgyus yig cha* p. 51). Srong btsan sgam po, through the services of his Khyung po minister from Zhang zhung, steered the balance of power to his favour and was able to unify the huge expanse of lands in the west under his rule.

[6] Karmay (1977: 22) thinks it may have been written in 1391, while *bsTan rtsis bskal ldan dang 'dren* (47, see Kvaerne 1990: 159), dates it to a long time afterwards, for it holds that it was completed in 1509.

well enough that its lands comprised a number of lower altitude areas along the Himalayan range, situated around a core region well within the territorial expanse of the Tibetan plateau.

In view of this consideration, I think it is legitimate to distinguish the expanse of territories that composed Zhang zhung between a "heartland" and a "periphery", in line with the classification found in Kyabs ston Rin chen 'od zer's *sPyi spungs khro 'grel*.

These lands crown the great open area of Byang thang which functions as their landmark in that it connects them in a sort of regional and cultural unity. Hence, it seems that people were inclined to settle in higher altitude areas with harsher weather but also in valleys and areas where a different range of activities was possible. The cave colonies in territories, such as those of Gu ge and Glo bo, are signs of this pattern of human habitat (see below the section "Changes induced by the sPu rgyal Bod takeover"). These people's lifestyle changed, favouring sedentary life side by side pastoralism rather than exclusive pastoralism, as in Byang thang.

**The Mackinder Theory**

In some cases, theories work for their simplicity, especially when they are so obvious that they are hardly deniable. The theory—not my own—I introduce here is simple in its generalisation. It goes back to quite a few decades ago and was conceived to assess inhabitation in Central Asia.

The concept of an Inner Asian "heartland" by Halford Mackinder in his 1904 article "The geographical pivot of history" considers territorial morphology, which is a constant rather than human presence, and concludes that people had been settling where geographical conditions were most favourable to their life style. In his article Mackinder then launches himself in his own assessment of the Central Asian people's territorial patterns of occupation and says that nomadism was the cultural "heartland" of Central Asia.

The T'ang emperor Wu-tsung was fully acquainted with the idea that geographic morphology, marked by the divide between pasture lands and cultivated fields, often was a political barrier to be recognised with. He said:

> "How could we dare to disregard the natural boundaries established by Heaven and Earth?" (Drompp 1989: 141).

A natural boundary theory forged Chinese foreign policy, conceived along a dichotomy between the pastoralist and agricultural worlds that is one of the backbones of Tibetan culture.

Mackinder's theory of Inner Asia and its nomadic core that bordered on the sedentary kingdoms, such as China, is a geo-historical vision which can be transferred to Byang thang—another heartland"— and the territories crowning it,[7] some of them bordering on or being part of the Himalayan range. Hardly anywhere else in the lands of the Tibetans, the division between Byang thang and mNga' ris exemplifies this basic concept of the local way of life. The ancient Zhang zhung civilisation also had major centres in areas, such as Gu ge, situated at a lower altitude and with warmer conditions that enabled the running of an economy not reserved to pastoralism.

Byang thang or, better, southern Byang thang—the sector closest to the areas I examine—played a crucial role as an economical and territorial reference, but people ended up running life in the lands enumerated by sKyabs ston, where the concentration of population, at least after the sPu rgyal Bod period, was higher owing to a warmer climate.

Nomadism was the "heartland" of Mackinder's theory, a suggestive way of reading the history of Central Asia by means of one all-comprehensive concept. Nomadism was the "heartland" of Upper West Tibet, too, which is consequent to the wild nature of Byang thang. The pivotal role of Byang thang also found expression inasmuch as it favoured the centrifugal choice of various groups. They settled in the lands/valleys that crown the highlands and gave birth to the adjoining sedentary cultures.

Hence, I see Mackinder's theory to be more suited to Byang thang and mNga' ris than to Central Asia, for it more markedly concerns geography and consequent specific living conditions.

**Changes Induced by the sPu rgyal Bod Takeover**

The archaic occupation of the western side of the Tibetan plateau underwent a drastic reform under sPu rgyal Bod. There was a general desertion of Zhang zhung both in terms of people and civilisation, induced by the new rulers, who substituted the old model with a new governorship.[8] With the change of the political system following

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[7] Mackinder stresses the point that the Inner Central Asian "heartland" has no physical outlet, i.e. rivers that cross it and leave its borders. Except the Ma pham g.yu mtsho region and its four great rivers, which have their sources in the "heartland" but eventually cross into India, the core of Byang thang has no physical outlet, too.

[8] m*Khas pa'i dga' ston* (185,11–17): "On the basis of the earliest [law known as] Khri rtse 'bum bzher, the *srid pa* and *khos ston pa* (the "taking care of the secular affairs and the *khos*") tasks were assigned by the king to the various ministers by means of their authority. The *khos dpon* of Bod was mGar sTong btsan yul bzung; the *khos dpon* of Zhang zhung was Khyung po Bun zung (spelled so for sPung sad); the *khos dpon* of the Sum pa was Hor Bya zhu ring po ("[wearing] a long hat [with] bird [feathers]"?); the *khos dpon* of horses was dBang btsan bzang dpal legs; the *khos dpon* of the mThong khyab was Cog ro rGyal mtshan g.yang gong. They were those who were appointed. sKyi shod Sho ma ra [for Bod], Khyung lung rngul mkhar (i.e. spelled the way in which it appears in Sad mar kar's song) [for Zhang zhung], Nam ra Zha don (spelled so) Gram pa tshal

the annihilation of Zhang zhung by the Central Tibetans, the ground realities in Byang thang changed in the intervening period. The annihilation of the Zhang zhung kingdom—however thorough in its devastation it was—did not mean the desertification of the "heartland".

sPu rgyal Bod substituted the culture it had destroyed with its system of governance that had applied to the regions on the plateau in the east of Byang thang. Erstwhile Zhang zhung did not become a sPu rgyal cradle but a strategic trampoline for the extension of the *lha sras btsan po*'s kingdom into Central Asia. The western front in their campaigns for the empire was open at the expense of the Western Turks, previous allies, and the Chinese.

After it was blown away, what remained of the Zhang zhung kingdom on the western side of the Byang thang steppes, where the kingdom had had its centre, were a clan system from ancestral time, doubtful forms of insular governorship,[9] and religious practice with hermit features.

Hence, the perception that derives from Byang thang in the days just before the end of its autochthonous kingdom is of a land with inhospitable areas where the ancient Zhang zhung civilisation had developed in conditions widely unknown. Extreme hermit life continued to prosper subsequently, owing to religious masters of immaculate determination.

This is elucitated in a significant manner by the life example and personality of the Bon po master Gyer spungs sNang bzher lod po, who owes its celebrity to one text in particular, entitled *Bon ma nub pa'i gtan tshigs*, which deals with him. This work is found in the collection of texts that are the literary heritage of *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud*.

Gyer spungs negotiated an agreement with Khri srong lde btsan so that Bon, although defeated, was not destroyed by the sPu rgyal king. The account claims that, following the annihilation of the Zhang zhung kingdom, he threatened Khri srong lde btsan with personal dire consequences if the sPu rgyal king would not consent to the survival of Bon. For this reason, his behaviour is acknowledged by the Bon po literature as having being crucial for the preservation of its religious tradition.

My concern for Gyer spungs regards another phase in his life, one that predates his activity in protection of Bon. Gyer spungs sNang bzher lod po is less well known for the years he spent in seclusion in Byang thang to practise *rDzogs chen* Bon po style, the philosophical basis of *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud*. His activity is meaningful to assess the lifestyle of the Zhang zhung people of the post-monarchic period and their religious practice.

Soon before the Khri srong lde btsan accident, and thus around the mid-eighth century, his teacher Tshe spungs Zla ba rgyal mtshan took Gyer spungs to the island of Da rog mtsho, the lake in the Byang thang area of Gu rib, northeast of Pu hrang, where they performed extreme penance.[10] What followed is an extraordinary case of

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[for Sum yul], and Ri bo g.Ya' dmar [for the cavalry and the mThong khyab? Or for the cavalry alone?] were [respectively] chosen [as seats of the *khos dpon*-s]".

[9] See Shar rdza bKra shis rgyal mtshan's *Legs bshad rin po che'i mdzod* for alleged rulers of Zhang zhung from the Khyung po clan in Karmay (1972, Tibetan text; *ibid*.: 206,32–207,8; translation *ibid*.: 12–13), which is a partial translation of Shar rdza bKra shis rgyal mtshan's work.

[10] Gyer spungs's mystic endeavour at Da rog is a story of enlightenment and abject privation, worth telling here (*Zhang zhung snyan rgyud bla ma'i rnam thar* 27,6–29,5): "Aged forty-seven, when he freed himself from all bondage, [Gyer spungs] gave [his teacher] Tshe spungs Zla ba rgyal mtshan (p. 28) an offer of much wealth. In the midst of Brag rong dkar po to the west of Ma mig, having been given the *sngo prod lnga* (the "fivefold direct instructions"), Gyer spungs promised not to give these [teachings] to anyone at all. The *bla ma* said: "You can give them even to one hundred men if they are worthy recipients". Thirdly, as for the extraordinary locality where he received the teachings, this was the area of Da rog. Men do not gather at its mTsho sman ("medicinal lake"). The way he practised penance at this place is as follows. For one year, the teacher and disciple, altogether two, stayed on the island in the lake with provisions for survival. Every meal, Gyer spungs used to save one morcel of *zan* (*rtsam pa*). Then the lake froze. The teacher and disciple, altogether two, having softened the pieces of *zan* that had been put aside, ate them. They put each leftover of the broth on the rocks serving as cushions. The lake froze again (i.e. this was the second winter of penance). They poured water over the leftovers of the broth, scratched the rocks, and ate them. The disciple thought: "Is it how we, the teacher and disciple, altogether two, are going to die? Supposing we should die, I wish to die jumping in the lake first before him". [The teacher] asked him: "rGyer spungs *lags*, are you in such a mental state of desperation that you are thinking to die?". He replied: "I am in such a state". He said: "If so, make a tour of this island and look about". He went and said that there was the corpse of a *rkyang*. The teacher told him: "[You] are a son of a pure family, so it is not good that you eat it". Somedays later, [Gyer spungs] went around [the island again], and reported that there was the corpse of a woman with the goitre upside down. (p. 29) [The teacher] said: "It is not good to eat flesh left on the path. Let us go to the community of the lake". Gyer spungs wondered what [Tshe spungs Zla ba rgyal mtshan] wanted to do. He was scared because he thought that there was no path [to the shore where they had] previously crossed (i.e. because it was not winter and ice had melted). [The teacher] said: "Gyer spungs! Hold on me and shut your eyes!". While having gone on for a long time, he thought he had forgotten his flint and, having opened his eyes, he looked back. There was a woman, with [beautiful] ornaments and dress, coming after them and rolling up a bundle of white cloth and, upon looking in front, a woman, like the one before, stretching a white cloth on which they, the teacher and disciple, were walking. He hardly had the time to look [again] that the cloth was taken away and disappeared. They instantly left the waters at the shore. They were then surrounded by many householders of each [place in] Byang (i.e. southern Byang thang). At the site of the *ru* [*ba*] ("nomadic settlement"), he said: "I am Gyer spungs", but being skinny and with a long beard, they did not recognise him. They exclaimed: "It is many years that Gyer spungs died, he is not him".

spiritual abnegation and human resolve, typical of the meditative discipline of this tradition.[11]

Da rog mtsho was familiar to the early Bon po masters, for areas of southern Byang thang in the Zhang zhung kingdom were both the scene of their predecessors' activity since time immemorial and a major centre of secular rule. One only needs to think of the seats of the *bya ru can* rulers of Zhang zhung to notice the centrality of the land.[12]

A sedentary way of life was already practised during proto-historical times, for the massive and numerous cave colonies in territories such as Gu ge and Glo bo seem to be signs of ancient occupation. A major point that needs to be ascertained through archaelogical investigation concerns the phases of cave inhabitation. Should the cave colonies be associated with troglodític existence? Or were they a habitat solution adopted in hermit communities to hold their practice in relative isolation during the historical period of Zhang zhung? A subsequent use was that some caves were occupied by religious practitioners when Buddhism became popular in mNga' ris with *bstan pa phyi dar*. They were sites for meditation but some were also transformed into veritable temples.

**From the "Heartland" to the "Periphery": the Preliminaries to the Creation of mNga' ris skor gsum**

Centuries later, after a long interregnum hardly covered by historical memory, one finds in the lands of Upper West Tibet a new politico-territorial reality. When mNga' ris stod reappears in the records of Tibetan history, one is brought to acknowledge the presence of ethnic groups that were settled, as for their main seats in areas at the "periphery", where a different socio-economic lifestyle was pursued, or else they had withdrawn, in some cases, from the empty spaces of the Byang thang solitude.

This eco-geopolitical reality was marked by a profound diversity. The central core, despite its isolation and hard living conditions, remained the Byang thang "heartland" where the Zhang zhung kingdom and its civilisation had disappeared under the blows of sPu rgyal Bod.

The main human settlements, organised in principalities across the centuries, established themselves at lower altitude areas. These settlements crowned the Byang thang "heartland" and connected it, owing to their location, with Mon yul and the provinces of India. This organisation, which still used the Byang thang "heartland" as the great basin from where important economic resources were drawn, created the conditions that linked altitude pastoralism, its way of life and products, with the world of the lowlands and its completely different living arrangements and commodities.

The inversion of trend consisted in the fact that the "periphery" came to exercise control over the "heartland", the reverse of the power structure that existed during the Zhang zhung kingdom's period.

It was not so much the diffusion of Tibetan Buddhism in the lower valleys at the "periphery" that led to switch focus towards them away from the highlands, after Bon in the Zhang zhung kingdom must have forged the way of life through its practice in areas at an altitude.[13] It was the transition towards a more sedentary life solution

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After they were told the accounts [of his endeavours], they believed him. They immeditely brought water, then they brought white goat and white *'bri* milk. After some days, he was given [normal] food, and recovered his shape".

[11] Here follows a list of *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* masters, all belonging to the proto-historical period of these teachings, who devoted their life to hermit life, and the caves where they meditated (*sNga rabs Bod kyi byung ba brjod pa'i 'bel gtam lung gi snying po* 37,1–38,18):

Zla ba rgyal mtshan meditated at Brag dmar chad gshig,
Ra sangs Klu rgyal at sPo dmar,
Ta pi hri tsa at sTag thabs seng ge'i brag,
Ra sangs Ku ma ra at Ne rings,
Gu rib Lha sbyin at Bya tshang gi gnas,
Zhang zhung Sad ne ga'u at Dwang ra g.Yu bum and
Gu rib dPal bzang at sGro tsa can gyi brag. These are places in the Byang thang region to the east of Gangs Ti se.
Khyung po bKra shis rgyal mtshan meditated at Sa ti phug of Zhang zhung,
Khyung po Legs sgom at mTsho ri do,
Ma hor sTag gzig at Gangs Ti se,
Tshe spungs Zla ba rgyal mtshan at Brag rong dkar po to the west of yul Ma mig,
Gyer spungs sNang bzher lod po at Do brag sha ba can of Dwa rog mtsho gling and at Sha ba brag of sGo mang ru ba to the west of Byang gNam mtsho,
Pha wa rGyal gzig gsas chung at Me rgyung dkar nag,
dMu shod Tram chen po at Shod tram phug of rTa sgo,
dMu rGyal ba blo gros at Dwa rog lcags phug and Zang zang lHa brag and, finally,
*dpon chen* bTsan po at Dwa rog brag.

[12] These *bya ru can* kings of Da rog are found in a second list of dKar ru Bru chen bsTan 'dzin rin chen's *Ti se'i dkar chag* (600,3–4), one that classifies these kings on the basis of the territory they ruled and reckons a larger amount of them. The kings were bDud 'dul dbal gyi rgyal po wearing a *bya ru* with a radiant solar disc in crystal and Li wer gyer gyi rgyal po wearing a *bya ru* with a radiant moon disc in crystal.

[13] *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* (Tibetan text in Vitali 1996: 51,16–19, translation ibid.: 108) outlines the customs prevailing in mNga' ris stod before the advent of Nyi ma mgon's dynasty. They amounted to practices that had little to do with Buddhism although the religion may have had an influx owing to his wide diffusion in the Indian North-west. The *gtsug lag*—a term that needs a thorough discussion also from the viewpoint of the culture of Upper West Tibet, an attempt I cannot do in a limited space—was Bon. The funerary rites were black (which I suppose were non-Buddhist) inasmuch as cemeteries were used

that brought people towards the valleys surrounding Byang thang.

The role that the adoption of Tibetan Buddhism exercised was to promote aggregation between different groups of people inhabiting lower altitude areas after political entities were formed locally. Besides bringing civilising elements to his kingdom, Ye shes 'od's promotion of Buddhism was a factor of unity. Buddhism preexisted his reign in Gu ge marginally and on a larger scale in La dwags than elsewhere in his kingdom—unless the signs of pre-Nyi ma mgon Buddhism have mostly disappeared from the other areas of mNga' ris skor gsum—owing to the influence irradiated from the Indian northwest. lHa bla ma's taking care of the education of groups of individuals from the regions of his kingdoms was in syntony with the aspirations of the local intelligentsia. The case of young Rin chen bzang po is enlightening in this respect.

The transfer that marked the passage from a high-altitude kingdom to the various lower valleys of the "periphery" around the Byang thang "heartland" did not occur in synchronicity. The history of these lands records remarkable time fluctuations between one occupation and another. The ways and causes of these population reshufflings that determined these events is dissimilar in most cases.

The birth/consolidation of sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon's mNga' ris skor gsum kingdom was achieved through clan alliance. This was the strategical basis of sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon's conquest of the lands in Upper West Tibet. His starting point was the ties he established with the 'Bro, a non-indigenous clan, who had gone to occupy Pu hrang by migrating into it, possibly during the sPu rgyal period.[14]

Another non-indigenous group of people settled in Upper West Tibet was the prominent Cog ro clan, one of the divisions of the lDong tribe from Mi nyag. They held a tract of land in Pu hrang that was eventually assigned to *lo chung* Legs pa'i shes rab, a Cog ro ba himself, by means of a *bka' shog*, the text of which is integrally (?) recorded in *Rin chen bzang po'i rnam thar 'bring po*.[15] This authenticates the assertion in the *Hermanns Manuscript*—which I rather like to call *lDong rus mdzod*.[16] A line says:

> "The Bu rang (spelled so for Pu rang) *rgyal po* is one lDong" (*lDong rus mdzod* f.13a = Hermanns 1948: 197,32).

*Lo chen* Rin chen bzang po's mother was a Cog ro,[17] which shows that his paternal clan, the Hrugs wer of Zhang zhung pa origin did not refrain from intermarriage with people originally from outside mNga' ris stod, and it is probable that the intermarriage was not the first occasion of this occurrence. All this shows that the Cog ro had

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to dispose of the bodies, as documented for sPu rgyal Bod. The people followed a heretical religion (which one?). I wonder whether the passage echoes the conditions of the teachings in Central Tibet and is derived from there, with the exception of Bon that is stereotypically associated with the west of the plateau.

[14] The presence of the 'Bro clan in Pu hrang is documented on both the inscribed faces of the *rdo rings* bearing a relief of sPyan ras gzigs and standing in a field between Zhi sde in the east and Cog ro in the west (Tshe ring chos rgyal and Zla ba tshe ring 1994: 4–20, text of the inscriptions *ibid*.: 4–6). Also see Vitali (1996: 168–169, n. 231).

The two epigraphs record the name of the 'Bro chieftain, Khri brtsan sgra mGon po rgyal, who was the sponsor of the *rdo rings*. This is a proof that the 'Bro were devotees of sPyan ras gzigs and therefore their profession of the Buddhist religion was a point that made them empathic towards sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon. The founder of the mNga' ris skor gsum kingdom descended from a line of rulers, i.e. gNam lde 'Od srung and dPal 'khor btsan, who promoted Buddhism. Khri brtsan sgra mGon po rgyal also says in the inscription that he was a *zhang*, a sign that he belonged to the old sPu rgyal Bod order. This was one more point that made the 'Bro close to sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon.

The 'Bro chieftain of the inscription also associates himself to the name Seng ge, typical of his clan, also borne by Nyi ma mgon's 'Bro wife, Seng dkar ma. Her's is not a proper name but a title deriving from a symbol of rank peculiar to the 'Bro heroes (the *seng ge dkar mo'i gong slag*, i.e. "the white lioness fur collar"), which some clan members wore as a sign of greatness (*mkhas pa lDe'u chos 'byung* p. 265,17). The title was also used by the 'Bro of sTod.

[15] The ordinance that allotted land to the Cog ro in Pu hrang smad reads in in *Rin chen bzang po'i rnan thar 'bring po* (106,5–107,2) as follows: "Due to his kindness in rendering service to him, by means of his body and speech, even at the risk of his life, [the land of] Cog re (sic for Cog ro) up to Ku shu in Go ge (sic for Gu ge) on the upper side; the three lower [areas of] the Ti ma la ("pass") including the river flowing from the snows and glacier (or the Kha dar river?) [the borders being marked by] Te thang in the east; the snow range in the south; sNga ma myong ("not being there before") in the west; and the river (*gtsang po*) in the north, including the fertile (*gzang* sic for *bzang*) fields, groves and pastures of the localities were granted by a sealed order (*bka' rtags*) of lHa bla ma me (sic for *mes*) dbon ("lHa bla ma and his successors") and the personal seal (*phyag rtags*) of the *lo tsa ba*, to lo chung (p. 107) Legs pa'i shes rab. No small or large community whatsoever can come to reclaim (*bzhes thang*) them. No petition can be filed (*kha mi rgyab*). [This] seal (*rgya*) cannot be obliterated (*tib* spelled so for *gtib*, lit. "to cover, obscure")".

[16] *lDong rus mdzod* (198,1–5): "The lDong has eighteen great clans (*ru chen* sic for *rus*): Cog ro, Cog khri and Kha rang, altogether three; sBas, sBa rje and dBu dkar, altogether three; mDa min, mDa tshal and mDa 'jon, altogether three; sNyan, Yag snyen and Theg bzang, altogether three; Yal ra, lHom gring and Yag pa, altogether three; Zi na, Sum pa and Sum bu, altogether three, which makes eighteen".

The manuscript's title page is lost and I prefer to call it *lDong rus mdzod* rather than the *Hermanns Manuscript* because the text mainly deals with the genealogies of this ancestral tribe. Hermanns had no part in writing it but only in finding the copy that is known to us. To give his name to this text was an exercise in eurocentric colonialism that was not uncommon in the time he lived.

[17] *Rin chen bzang po'i rnam thar 'bring po* (58,4–5): "The name [Lo chen']s mother was Cog ro za Kun bzang shes rab bstan".

*Rin chen bzang po'i rnam thar bsdus pa* (234,3): "The name of [Lo chen']s father was ban chen po gZhon nu dbang phyug. His mother's name was Cog ros (i.e. Cog ro) Kun bzang shes rab bstan ma".

One wonders whether Rin chen bzang po's father was a practising monk.

moved to the erstwhile Zhang zhung dominions, settled there and intermingled with the local people.

While Pu hrang was occupied by people from outside, Gu ge, at the time of Nyi ma mgon's conquest, was still populated by indigenous people—the Mang wer, Mol wer, sKyin wer, Hrugs wer and Rum wer.[18] The Khyung po, who antagonised Nyi ma mgon's takeover of their land, occupied ministerial roles in Zhang zhung in great antiquity.[19]

Traces remain of the presence of Nyi ma mgon's 'Bro loyalists in the handling of La dwags (see Snellgrove and Skorupski 1980: 119–150 for the inscriptions inside A lci 'Du khang and gSum brtsegs, collected and translated by P. Denwood), once the region was subtracted from the hands of its Dardic rulers. It cannot be ruled out that the 'Bro participated in Nyi ma mgon's takeover of both Gu ge and La dwags.

The status of La dwags prior to Nyi ma mgon's takeover is an indication that, after the downfall of the sPu rgyal Bod empire, the land has slipped away from the hands of the Zhang zhung pa and ended up in the control of the Dard, people deployed along the mountain ranges of the Indian Northwest.[20]

The 'Gar, who are found in Ya rtse according to literary evidence,[21] may have been a splinter group additional to the four great divisions of this clan, none of which is associated with Upper West Tibet, unless it should be considered as a branch of their *'phrul rgyud*.[22]

Given the Khyung po's major role in old Zhang zhung, it should not be inconceivable that a local 'Gar group, fellow members of the Se Khyung dBra tribe, had come to settle in the lands where the sun sets.

The 'Gar of sTod must have come into contact with unspecified local inhabitants, defined as sKal Mon. As to the Ya rtse dynasties (see the Dullu inscription in Tucci 1956: 46–49), the royal line established by Na ga lde/Nagaraja, of possible Indo-Iranic origin, was followed by a branch of the Pu hrang royalty. They ruled in alternance with genealogical segments from Ya rtse.

Overall, history tells that, owing to compulsions that destabilised their status, a scion of dPal 'khor btsan left his seat in gTsang, most likely rGyal rtse before the Shar kha pa established the town as their capital,[23] and migrated west, focusing on the "periphery" rather than the "heartland" as his new territory.

The itinerary followed by Nyi ma mgon to move west from rTsang highlights another peculiarity of Byang thang, which served as the quintessential transfer route for the traffic between dBus gTsang and mNga' ris stod. Byang thang's rather flat morphology made it a preferred way of travelling rather than the Himalayan range or the valleys that fell subsequently under Nepal, much more difficult to negotiate. The ancient and principal route crossed southern Byang thang from Gung thang to Pu hrang stod via Sa dga', Glo bo, Pra dum, Bar yang and the Mar yum la. Another route—a late transit—was to

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[18] *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs* (429,4–6) defines them the Zhang zhung *mched* lnga. They were the Mang wer Od tshang swa ged tshe (spelled so), the Mol wer, the sKyin wer Srong kyed tsha, the Hrugs wer g.yung drung gZher sto ged tsha and the Rum wer Sha zher rtse, altogether five.

[19] The opening lines of P.T. 1287 (67,1–68,7) reads: "There is a *rgyal bran* (spelled so) in each land. Minor castles are located in each of them. The main [personalities] among those who rule the *rgyal bran*-s and those who serve as *blon po*-s are as follows. [In] Zhang zhung, there were Dar pa'i rjo bo Lig snya shur, *blon po* Khyung po Ra sangs rje and sTong Lom ma tse, altogether two".

Follows a record of rulers and ministers for each minor kingdom.

[20] See A. Stein (reprint 1979) for the earliest reference to the Dārada in Kalhaṇa's work that appears in the text during the reign of the Ephthalite king Mihirakula who ruled in Kashmir in the first half of the 6th century (*ibid*.: *Taranga* I, n. 289). A. Stein (*ibid*.: *Taranga* I, n. 312 and nos. 312–316) says that lands included in the Dardic confederation were Citral, the Yasin Basin, the valleys along the course of the Indus such as Gilgit, Chilas, Bunji up to the Kisangangā valley to the north of Kashmir, to which La dwags gsham should be added. The Dardic people—it seems—held them loosely since the time of Herodotus.

[21] *Yar lung jo bo chos 'byung* has two assessments of the Ya rtse ruling class. One sees them as descendants of the 'Gar clan (72,6–9), which refers to an early time: "The royal line of Ya tse descends from the Bod kyi chos blon (sic: he was a famous warrior), 'Gar Srong btsan (sic for sTong btsan). It is believed that Se ru dGe ba'i blo gros, who mastered the two sciences, after having investigated [the matter] with gSer thog pa Rin do rje, put [this statement] into written form".

The other one refers to the Ya rtse genealogy as a branch of the Pu hrang rulers during the 12th century. See Vitali (1996: n. 777).

The outline of the rulers in Ya rtse before Naga lde, found in the Dullu inscription, is marred by various lacunae (for its text see Tucci 1956: 46–49). The last kings whose names are still readable in the part of concern are Mahipala, succeeded by a ruler whose name is defaced but which ends in "dhi", and by Jakakhya (lines 14–27), who may have not belonged to the same dynasty. The conquest of Naga lde, the Nagaraja of the inscription, followed. For the list of the fourteen Pala kings see Tucci (*ibid*.: 49–50).

[22] *Chos sdings pa'i rnam thar* (415,2–3): "There are four lineages in the 'Gar [clan]: the *chos rgyud* (the "lineage of religion") of lHa rje dPal byams; the *'phrul rgyud* (the "lineage of miracles") of Sungs btsan yul bzung (i.e. Srong btsan yul bzung); the *dpa' rgyud* (the "lineage of heroes") of bTsan pa Dred po; and the *kal rgyud* (sic for *skal*? the "lineage of fortune"?) of Nye rang Pha mdzug. They are altogether four. The *'phrul rgyud* came to exist (*byung*) in dBus rTsang, [and] Mon until Dol po. The *dpa' rgyud* [came to exist] from rGya 'Jang in Sa mda' and elsewhere (*rnams su*). The *kal rgyud* came to exist from Brag ra Gling chen, Mu nyag (spelled so for Mi nyag) stod smad, all of those. The *chos rgyud* originated from Yangs pa can, [and] from Dol zor to Li yul, all of those".

[23] The Shar kha pa prince 'Phags pa dpal built a fort at rGya grong/rGyal grong and erected a building on rGyal rtse's higher peak, where the late sPu rgyal dynasty king dPal 'khor btsan had a kingly palace. For this reason, he called it rGyal mkhar rtse ("the peak of the royal castle") (see *Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags kyi rnam thar* 12,8–14).

the north of it, that connected gTsang via mTsho chen and farther north to dGe rgyas and dGe rtse. Less frequented but ancient was another route farther north, which crossed the area of the Nag tshang lakes from gNam mtsho all the way towards dGe rgyas and Ru thog.

sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon's plan to move west and forge his kingdom had vague similarities with the policy adopted by the *lha sras btsan po*-s. The purpose of his journey was to gain control of territories that had belonged to the ancestors sitting on the sPu rgyal throne. However, there was no point to duplicate the ancient conquest of Zhang zhung achieved by Srong btsan sgam po. His plan to replicate the Central Tibetans' control of several lands of the erstwhile Zhang zhung kingdom came to terms with the reality he found locally. For one, the 'Bro loyalists were already in control of Pu hrang.

**mNga' ris skor gsum: Emphasis on the "Periphery"**

Nyi ma mgon knew that there was no empire to forge and rule. His choice was not to reign over the lands on the upper side from a centre of power far away in dBus gTsang, like the *lha sras btsan po*-s did. His choice was local but, in the beginning, he followed the old sPu rgyal Bod's pattern to settle and rule from the locality chosen as the capital of old. That was Khyung lung, but then he was inspired by a change of perspective about the lands he was planning to control. It was no more the centrality of the "heartland". It was the centrality of the "periphery". His campaigns aimed at conquering the areas of the "periphery", which he newly planned to make the core of his kingdom, using the support of lower altitude power structures, such as the 'Bro in Pu hrang, to consolidate his presence and prepare his conquest of the *skor gsum*.

Unlike the *lha sras btan po*-s, he aimed at taking Gu ge not to make it the centre of a distant governance anymore and La dwags not to make it a trampoline for conquests in Western Central Asia.

Despite his changes from the way sPu rgyal Bod had controlled the territories in the west, Nyi ma mgon somewhat retained tracts of the old *lha sras btsan po*'s policy. His sons, the sTod kyi mgon gsum—children of local mothers—brought the embryonic policy of their father to fruition. The criterion adopted was to divide the dominions among the aspirants to the throne. Splitting the unity of the kingdom was typical of a conspicuous number of states. It was meant to guarantee a succession without rivalries.

None of the sTod kyi mgon gsum accepted to rule from the capital of their father. They chose to elect their three capitals in lower altitude valleys of the "periphery".[24]

In order to assert their self standing, the sTod kyi mgon gsum did not choose to stay at a higher altitude castle but decided to transfer their seat to valleys of mNga' ris stod at the "periphery" of the old Byang thang "heartland" to privilege another way of life that prospered locally. A combination of factors—the choice of the "periphery" and the need to have individual governance—resulted in the new status of the kingdom as three divisions.

The passage of mNga' ris skor gsum into the hands of the sTod kyi mgon gsum marked the abandonment of the higher altitude land. This was where Nyi ma mgon had initially elected his residence to the north of mtsho Ma pham (*Nyang ral chos 'byung* 457,20), and then had built *sku mkhar* Nyi bzung at Ti se after bringing the *skor gsum* under his sway (*ibid*.: 458,14).[25]

Nyi ma mgon's selection of his capital was a sign that his kingdom was planned to encompass a huge territorial expanse not too dissimilar from the lands of Zhang zhung in the west. Choosing the capital at Gangs Ti se stressed the territorial unity of the kingdom beyond the limits of its land components. But Nyi ma mgon's campaigns are an indication that the ancient capital of Zhang zhung in the period of the *bya ru can* rulers was not going to be the permanent centre of his dominions.

Territorial lines of diffusion were at the basis of the moves towards the "periphery". Besides the political reasons that induced Nyi ma mgon to take over the various areas of his kingdom by means of different tactics, they were dictated by the morphology of Upper

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[24] *Jo bo dngul sku mched gsum gyi dkar chag* (f.6b,4–5): "Hence, the king's eldest son dPal lde Rig pa mgon, having been assigned the castle g.Yu gong sPe mo che, said: "I am not going to stay here. That cloud is moving towards Mar yul. That is where I will go". He went to Mar yul La thags (spelled so). La thags, Zangs dkar, Gar zha and 'Brog Chu shod, the upper and lower lands, were given to him to rule".

Ibid. (f.6b,6–7): "The middle son bKra shis lde mgon, having been assigned g.Yu gong sPe mo che mkhar, said: "I will not stay here. That cloud is in Pu rang. That is where I will go". Pu rang, Brad, Ya rtse, Glo bo, Dol po, 'Brog Gro shod, rGya Nyi ma, Bar ka [which are the] *byang skor*, were given to this son to rule".

Ibid. (f.6b,1–2): "The youngest son lDe gtsug mgon, having been assigned the castle g.Yu gong sPe mo che, said: "I will not stay here. That cloud is in Gug ge. That is where I will go". mNga' ris Gug ge, Pi ti Pi sKyog, which constitute one *khri skor*; 'Brog Mur la mtsho skyes, Phun rtse, g.Yu gong and gSer kha gSur ngur rin chen 'byung gnas were given to him".

The assignment of the lands to the sTod kyi mgon gsum varies according to the sources.

[25] The foundation of *sku mkhar* Nyi bzung is commonly attributed to sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon but one voice out of the chorus is Padma 'phrin las's *'Jam dbyangs rin cen* (spelled so) *rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar* (in *bKa' ma bla ma rgyud pa'i rnam thar* p. 272,6), which says: "The middle of the sons born to rGod lde (i.e Nyi ma mgon) conquered Bal po. He founded *sku mkhar* Nyi bzung in sPu rang".

bKra shis mgon's conquest of the Kathmandu valley is no less controversial. No cross referential evidence is found anywhere else that the mNga' ris skor gsum kingdom controlled the Kathmandu valley even temporarily.

West Tibet. The three *skor* of mNga' ris echo the configuration of the land admirably. They were divided on the basis of a geographical criterion. Gu ge Pu hrang formed the southern block, compact in morphology and having the Mountain and the Lakes as the "heartland". The *skor* of La dwags composed by two parallel valleys separated by a mountain range stretched on the south-east north-west axis. The northern valley had its eastern limit in the region of Ru thog and Pang gong mtsho, its "heartland". It extended to Drang rtse, Nub ra, Kha pa lu and Shi gar. The southern valley, too, had its eastern limit in the region of Ru thog and Pang gong mtsho. It comprised La dwags stod and gsham, Pu rig, all the way to sBal ti at the other extremity. The *skor* on the western side of the Himalayan range united Pi ti and Khu nu to Zangs dkar.

The tactical decision was to keep Zangs dkar separated from La dwags and Pi ti from Gu ge in order to obtain the third *skor*. This was the division superseded with the death of lDe gtsug mgon.[26]

The choice to settle in Pu hrang by the 'Bro clan members may have been induced by its favourable climatic conditions that allowed them to embrace agriculture as in their ancestral land in rTsang and by the vicinity to the *axis mundi*. The choice of Gu ge as the centre of the other *skor* reflected a historical legacy from the days of the Zhang zhung kingdom. The choice of La dwags stod as the capital area of this *skor* rather than Ru thog "heartland" as in the days of the Zhang zhung kingdom was probably due to multiple reasons, besides moving to the "periphery". It is likely that it was meant to keep the belligerent Dardic population under control and to bring the region under the *bstan pa phyi dar stod lugs* fold.

Nyi ma mgon's takeover of the lands that eventually formed the *skor* assigned to lDe gtsug mgon, is not dealt with in the sources. His location was more peripheral to India, and Nyi ma mgon may have had to contend the regions composing it with Mon pa political realities. The reason for the absence of a historical record in the Tibetan literature is nowhere found. It is possible that Pi ti and Khu nu were somewhat attached to Gu ge and the conquest of the latter may have brought the consequence that these regions passed under Nyi ma mgon. The same case may be made for Zangs dkar, which may have followed the fate of La dwags. But, if this was the case, all these regions were dismembered from their previous political positions in order to form a big enough share of dominions to be ruled by one of the sTod kyi mgon gsum. Whereas the literature is clear enough in identifying in Tho ling the capital of the *skor* of Gu ge Pu hrang, and Shel/Nyar ma as the capital of the *skor* of La dwags, no trace is preserved concerning the capital of lDe gtsug mgon's division.

Again, no clues are given on the relations between the three *skor*, only the state of the art of their secular and religious conditions in limited cases.

Meant to give a share of power to each of Nyi ma mgon's sons, events led eventually to the opposite: their reunification under the *skor* of Gu ge Pu hrang.[27] Most sources classify the territories originally allotted to lDe gtsug mgon's *skor* as part of bKra shis mgon's dominions, which indicates that they were incorporated into the division of Gu ge Pu hrang. Also, the royal line of Gu ge ended up ruling in La dwags (see above n. 28), which led to the actual control of the three *skor* under a single governance.

The inevitable reunion of the three *skor* brought as consequence the adoption of another system of rulership, characterised by the division of tasks and power among members of the same branch of the royal family, who engaged in handling different aspects of rulership side by side (on the code of laws promulgated by Ye shes 'od see Vitali 1996: 209–231). Within the hierarchy at court, the division of power among members of the royal family, established by Ye shes 'od, attributed to him a superior status over his kins.[28]

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[26] See Vitali (1996: 284–285, n. 432) for the reference to lDe gtsug mgon as gShegs lde, or the "dead king" in *Zangs (dkar) bZang la'i rgyal brgyud kyi dka chags* (Dargyay 1987: 23).

[27] *La dwags rgyal rabs* (43,3–9) is vague in its treatment of the royal lineage stemmed from dPal gyi mgon, for it does not do more than giving names to its rulers which are titles and thus not useful for an identification. Other sources point towards the control of the region by the successive members of the Gu ge Pu hrang royal house until the Dardic resurgence under Utpala (see below n. 35). The activities of the Gu ge Pu hrang dynasty that associated them with rulership in La dwags can be summarised as follows:

- it was Ye shes 'od who founded Nyar ma *gtsug lag khang* (*Rin chen bzang po'i rnam thar 'bring po* 89,1–2), rather than any of the La dwags rulers mentioned in *La dwags rgyal rabs*.
- Nyar ma was made the centre of the mNga' ris skor gsum dynasty in La dwags.
- lHa lde built his *sku mkhar* and a temple at Shel (*mNga' ris rgyal rabs*; Tibetan text in Vitali 1996: 61,13–14, translation *ibid*.: 115).
- 'Od lde founded dPe thub (*mNga' ris rgyal rabs* Tibetan text *ibid*.: 61,18–19, translation *ibid*.: 115).
- rTse lde was the mNga' ris skor gsum ruler who suppressed a Dardic attempt to severe links with the other *skor*-s of the kingdom (*mNga' ris rgyal rabs* Tibetan text *ibid*.: 72,13–73,12, translation *ibid*.: 123–124).
- dBang lde is mentioned in an A lci inscription as the king exercising control of La dwags with the support of ministers of the 'Bro clan, the old-time loyalists of the mNga' ris skor gsum royal house.
- Probably dBang lde's son bSod nams rtse, too, controlled La dwags.

[28] That Ye shes 'od stood supreme in the hierarchy of the royal family he himself had delegated to have a share of power transpires from *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*, *lHa bla ma Ye shes 'od kyi rnam thar* and *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs* passim.

An aspect never clarified in the literary material on the mNga' ris skor gsum dynasty is why none of the two sons of Ye shes 'od, De ba ra dza and Naga

The sTod kyi mgon gsum's move towards the "periphery" terminated the grand plan of their father, who did not aim at resuscitating the erstwhile Zhang zhung state, but at recreating the living conditions that he had left behind in dBus gTsang when he moved west to forge his kingdom.

Internal dissent among the three *skor*, which might have been a cause for the merging of the three divisions, is not mentioned in the historical documents until the coup that assassinated rTse lde and overthrew his legitimate succession (see below at the end of this section).

Whereas Zhang zhung was a case of coexistence of nomadic and sedentary customs, mNga' ris skor gsum was a kingdom which focused on a sedentary economy and way of life. It is symptomatic that Gangs Ti se, the great core of Zhang zhung on the "heartland", was not chosen as the supreme capital over the three regional ones of mNga' ris skor gsum. Equally significant is that the mountain and the lakes on the higher altitude plateau hardly were the theatre of religious practice during *bstan pa phyi dar stod lugs*. This was not the case in the following periods, for, from rje btsun Mid la and Pa tshab lo tsa ba onwards, Ti se and the lakes regained centrality, but only in religious terms.[29]

A marked difference exists between the role of Buddhism in *lha sras btsan po*'s Tibet and the mNga' ris skor gsum kingdom. Buddhism in sPu rgyal Bod was not a pacification factor that unified the various forces at play. On the contrary, it provoked bitter enmity and, at the end, the antagonism with the older order was a major reason for the implosion of the sPu rgyal Bod state.

Buddhism in mNga' ris skor gsum was the factor that unified the people of the kingdom to the extent that no signs are preserved of internal dissent until, eventually, at court towards the end of the 11th century. But it is probable that in the eulogistic vision that is communicated in the literature such episodes have been omitted, except traces of religious discord (e.g. Bon and Sangs rgyas skar rgyal. On the latter see *Rin chen bzang po'i rnam thar 'bring po* 86,5–87,4).

Another factor of aggregation in the mNga' ris skor gsum state was the protection of the kingdom from aggressive neighbours who professed an antagonist religion and had a deeply different culture.

However, ethnic lines were a factor of disgregation in the unity of mNga' ris. The assimilation of the indigenous groups into Gu ge was less dramatic than in La dwags. This was due to a more focused presence of the sPu rgyal Bod administration during its existence than in La dwags. In the days of Nyi ma mgon, the La dwags Dard were less assimilated to the Tibetan culture than the Gu ge Zhang zhung pa.

Strife among kins, a typical feature of the handling of power in a number of Central Asian kingdoms and common to the *lha sras btsan po*'s governance too, did not occur within the borders of the mNga' ris skor gsum kingdom for most of the time. But when discord took place on the occasion of rTse lde's assassination, it marked the end of the period of the kingdom's splendour.

The centralisation of power was not antagonised. No signs exist that the loss of the *skor* of lDe gtsug mgon and eventually the one of dPal gyi mgon were imputable to internal clashes. The one case of infighting between Nyi ma mgon and a relative of his was the conflict with his brother Khri bKra shis brTsegs pa dpal.[30] The reason for the enmity is nowhere given in the sources, but it probably was the definition of the frontiers between the two brothers' possessions.

Another episode of fratricide warfare was the advance of an army sent by Kho re, Ye shes 'od's brother who succeeded him on the secular throne of the mNga' ris skor gsum kingdom, as far as Tshong 'dus mgur mo.[31] Given the old strife between Nyi ma mgon and bKra

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ra dza, was made *lha bla ma*. An educated guess could be that they, unlike their father and Byang chub 'od, did not involve themselves in both the Noble Religion and duties of secular nature, but focused on Buddhism exclusively.

[29] rJe btsun Mid la's visit to Gangs Ti se is traditionally said to have occurred in 1093 (*bsTan rtsis kun las btus pa* 165), but a different record of his presence at Gangs Ti se holds that it took place at an unspecified date after 1094. For such an assessment see, for instance, *lHo rong chos 'byung* (92,12–13) which says that rje btsun Mid la was accompanied on his journey to Ti se by Ras chung pa rDo rje grags pa (1084–1161). They met first in that year.

Pa tshab Nyi ma grags was at the mountain *axis mundi* in earth tiger 1098. He left for Kha che in 1076, the year of the Tho ling *chos 'khor*, because his disciple lha rje Zla ba'i 'od zer (b. 1063), who wished to accompany him, was a boy aged fourteen at the time (*Deb ther sngon.po* 283,5–12). Pa tshab lo tsa ba returned to Tibet and stayed in Pu hrang to translate *mDzod kyi 'grel bshad* by Gang ba spel twenty-three years thereafter (i.e. in 1098) (*ibid*.: 416,3–7). Its colophon documents that the work was indeed undertaken at Gangs Ti se (see Suzuki ed., *The Tibetan Tripitaka*, vol. 118: 94–4 = f. 391a).

[30] The battle field in the war between sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon and Khri bKra shis brTsegs pa dpal was the area of Nyang smad where Zhwa lu is also situated. This fact proves that the mNga' ris skor gsum ruler, after accomplishing the conquest of his dominions, intruded deep in his brother's territory. The outcome of the war is nowhere mentioned and, given the absence of a trace of annexation of gTsang into mNga' ris skor gsum, it is probable that Nyi ma mgon's troops did not accomplish a steady takeover. However, it is likely that the mNga' ris skor gsum kingdom held a right of extracting tribute from areas of Central Tibet (see below n. 33).

*Zhwa lu lo rgyus* (18,11–14) reads: "Since this one (i.e. lCe sTag gi rgyal mtshan) fought like a tiger against the troops of the people from Gu ge and Cog la, who had attacked rgyal po bKra shis [brtsegs pa] dpal, the descendant of mnga' bdag Ral [pa can], and painted a tiger on his horse flag, he became known as lCe sTag gi rgyal mtshan (the "[one who bears] the tiger banner")".

[31] *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* (Tibetan text in Vitali 1996: 61,1–2; translation *ibid*.: 114):

shis brTsegs pa dpal that mobilised members of the lCe clan in the region of Zhwa lu, it seems that there was a recrudescence in the fratricide animosity between the two royal houses in the sensitive area of Nyang smad.

The collection of gold from dBus gTsang dating to over a century after the conflict between Nyi ma mgon and bKra shis brTsegs pa dpal may be a sign that the sTod mNga' ris skor gsum kingdom was having some rights over Central Tibet in the days of Byang chub 'od.[32] It reads as a historical adaptation to the legend of Ye shes 'od's captivity in the hands of the Gar log, a fact dismissed by the most reliable sources on the history of Upper West Tibet, but the intrinsic reliability of a tax collection remains intact. According to this account, several areas of Central Tibet were subject to pay taxes to mNga' ris skor gsum.

Prosperity in the mNga' ris skor gsum kingdom was put at the service of the master plan of its royal house which left a major mark on the history of Tibet. This was achieved by means of a combination of factors:

- suitable living conditions,
- trade,
- taxes on the products of both the higher and lower land that transited across the "periphery",
- agriculture as the most suited economic resource given the morphology of the territories, and
- gold.

Like the end of the legitimate sPu rgyal dynasty, Central Asian empires and many states around the world and at all times, the great period of the mNga' ris skor gsum kingdom reached a terminal point owing to its implosion. The 1080s internicine struggle that resulted in the assassination of rTse lde and the coup to the mNga' ris skor gsum throne marked its decadence. The situation of instability precipitated further after dBang lde, an illegitimate ruler who was a member of the royal family, sat on the throne. A vendetta eliminated the usurper and, in retaliation, further capital punishments were meted out to rTse lde's loyalists. The feud sealed the fate of one of the most brillliant phases in the history of Tibet.[33]

In the meantime, a minimum of thriving continued for a short while due to some contributions to religion by dBang lde's son, bSod nams rtse, but away from the centre of the kingdom. *bsTan pa phyi dar stod lugs* was over.

### 'Brog pa Fluid Control: a Moderate Return of the "Heartland"

Following the reduction in importance of the mNga' ris skor gsum kingdom, the old stability of the region was weakened by the resurgence of assertive non-Tibetan tribal groups and by warfare. Ethnic ambitions went hand in hand with personal ambitions to rule and the wish to control trade and resources. A change in the political situation of mNga' ris stod took place during the first half of the 12th century with the Dard Utpala from La dwags.[34] Significantly, it did not occur in

"[Khor re] subjugated [territories] from gTsang Tshong 'dus mgur mo as far as the 'Khor lo la".

The delta of years, during which Khor re took over lands as far as the vicinity of Zhwa lu, where Tshong 'dus mgur mo is located, fell between 986 that marks his ascension to the secular throne left to him by Ye shes 'od, and 996 when, in his turn, he entered the religious fold, stepping down in favour of his son lHa lde.

[32] *mkhas pa lDe'u chos 'byung* has a controversial account concerning Byang chub 'od's quest for gold in dBus gTsang, which I read as a collection of taxes in the precious metal (*ibid*.: 392,17–21): "When the men of dBus gTsang went upwards (to Central Tibet), there were no main and branch communities, districts, divisions or separate traditions. When *btsad po lha bla ma* (Byang chub 'od) came from sPu rangs to collect gold, the various taxation areas and districts were partitioned. 'Dre tsho ("the 'Dre division") was established [with its centre at] Tag nag Bye tshang. Tshong tsho was established [with its centre at] Myang ro 'Dre brdas. Lo tsho was established [with its centre at] rGyan gong Ri phug. rBa tsho was established [with its centre at] dBu rag. Rag tsho was created [with its centre at] dGe rgyal. The Klu mes [division] was established [with its centre at] Kho chu (Khwa chu?). The Sum pa [and] Klu mes [division] was established later [than the others]. Their division was known as 'Bring".

The chronology of the creation of these six or seven *tsho*, associated with lHa bla ma's levy and canonically attributed to the men of dBus gTsang after their return from A mdo or their disciples, needs to be double checked.

The same episode of Byang chub 'od's quest for gold is recounted in a prophecy of *Padma bka' thang* (chapter 92:, 563,15–564,3) but with no reference to the creation of any *tsho*: "sPu rangs rgyal pos dBus la gser 'dod 'byung/ sde gyes shing gnas gzhir thob bsha' byed/ Grom pa rGyang (p. 564) la sbas pa'i gter ka 'di/ mi bzhag 'don pa'i rtags der bstan nas byung/ gter ston dpon gsas Khyung thog ces bya 'byung//"; "After [Śākyamuni]'s *nirvāṇa*, the king of sPu rangs will come to dBus in search of gold. The leaders of the communities will be established and power divided in four localities. Signs will indicate without fail that it is time to rediscover the treasure hidden at Grom pa rGyang. gTer ston dPon gsas Khyung thog will appear [for the purpose]".

Defining Byang chub 'od as the king of Pu hrang is appropriate because he sat on both the religious and secular throne of mNga' ris skor gsum at the same time.

[33] On this event and the subsequent developments see *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* (Tibetan text in Vitali 1996: 74,9–75,11, translation *ibid*.: 125–126). For an assesment of the coup and the dynastic consequences that brought to the end of the golden period in mNga' ris skor gsum see Vitali (*ibid*.: 335–345).

[34] Departing from his power base of La dwags stod and gsham, Utpala embarked upon the conquest of a large number of regions in Upper West Tibet from sBal ti and Nyung ti (on the north south axis) and as far in the east as Pu hrang and Glo bo. *La dwags rgyal rabs* (33,10–19) reads: "His son (i.e. successor) was lha chen Ut pa la. During his reign, this king gathered the troops of La

the wake of a second Qarakhanid invasion after the first one that affected mNga' ris skor gsum some one hundred years before, in 1037.[35] The invasion by these Muslim people from Kashgar had devastating effects but did not alter the new reality of the regions in the west.

The subsequent split of Gu ge into lHo stod and Byang ngos, run by separate rulers, was another sign of protracted divisionism that resulted in a new strife at court, which, however, did not affect the smooth balance of things within the mNga' ris skor gsum kingdom. It was characterised by peaceful coexistence like in the glorious days of mNga' ris skor gsum kingdom, during which the three divisions were under a single power. Gu ge lHo stod and Byang ngos had separate governance but no inimical relations. They amounted to rivalries between two queens who expected separate rule.[36]

Besides the decline of the mNga' ris skor gsum kingdom following the coup d'etat at the court of Gu ge, the events in the "heartland" and the "periphery" that marked the period were:

- a regained centrality of Byang thang, which took place in the southern stretches of the "heartland", owing to
- the influx of the Men Zhang *'brog pa*-s, who went to settle in the territories of Pra dum and Bar yang.

The relocation engendered a switch in the political balance. Preeminence was lost to mNga' ris stod, for the Men Zhang brought the centre stage of the political scene to mNga' ris bar.[37] The spread of Men Zhang pa activity extended from Pra dum and Bar yang into the adjoining valleys at the "periphery".[38]

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dwags stod gsham, altogether two, and invaded Nyung ti. The king of Nyung ti had to pay tribute that included *mdzo*-s and iron for as long as Ti se and Ma pham exist, [which] is still paid to this day. Also, he brought under his dominion [the territories] from Glo bo and Pu hrangs to Bre srang gi yul [and] Chu la me 'bar in the south; as far as Ra gan 'greng shing and sTag [and] Khu tshur in the west; [and] as far as Ka Zhus in the north. They gave tribute every year and [their representatives] came to pay homage".

With the more stable sovereignty over Nyung ti (i.e. Kulu) as the exception, Utpala's standing outside La dwags was rather more that of a conqueror than a fully-fledged ruler. Given the huge expanse of lands he subdued, his dominions were made up by lands with drastically different territorial nature, localisation and culture, and populated by people of remarkably different ethnicity. Indeed, no sign exists of a continuity of his sway. I tend to read the fact that he extracted tribute "every year" as a statement valid for a limited amount of time. He did not establish a dynasty over the lands he overran outside the borders of his original kingdom.

[35] Similar to the mNga' ris skor gsum kingdom which had passed its prime, the Gar log invaders of Upper West Tibet during the first half of the 12th century were the Qarakhanid whose power was weakening in those years. Despite being enfeebled, for they had conceded sovereignty to the Seljuk, they were still able to defeat the Qarakhitay who had come to exercise pressure upon their dominions (see Pritsak 1953–1954: 42; Bosworth 1971: 1116).

Possibly owing to the difficult conditions in Southern Turkestan, the Qarakhanid moved once again into mNga' ris stod, the land of a weak neighbour. The factional conditions of mNga' ris skor gsum kingdom, due to dBang lde's coup which led to Pu hrang separating genealogically from Gu ge and La dwags, precipitated with the death of the latter's son bSod nams rtse. The three sons of bSod nams rtse, ruling each one in a territory of the erstwhile mNga' ris skor gsum kingdom (*mNga' ris rgyal rabs*; Tibetan text in Vitali 1996: 75,14–17, translation *ibid*.: 126), had to suffer at the hands of the Qarakhanid. Of bSod nams rtse's sons, bKra shis rtse was killed while 'Od 'bar rtse was taken to the land of the Gar log in captivity. Jo bo rGyal po ensured the continuity of the lineage by temporarily occupying the throne of Gu ge (Tibetan text *ibid*.: 75,17–76,3, translation *ibid*.: 127).

[36] The division of Gu ge into the kingdoms of Byang ngos and lHo stod took place around the mid 12th century after the death of bSod nams rtse's grandson rTse 'bar btsan.

The strife is well described in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* (Tibetan text in Vitali 1996: 76,11–15, translation *ibid*.: 127), which suggests that the enmity had roots of old that went back to dBang lde's coup: "Later, as a grand funeral ceremony was held at Tho gling (spelled so) for their father rTse 'bar btsan who had died, *chang* had not even been served that a quarrel broke out between some Byang ngos monks and some men of lHo phyogs. Owing to the enmity between the two queens, rgyal mo lHa rgyan and Blo ldan rgyal mo, a struggle [for the throne] broke out. The kingdom, which was a single noble example, was divided into two antagonistic territories".

lHa rgyan originated the Byang ngos lineage. From Blo ldan rgyal mo stemmed the line of lHo stod.

[37] The history of the Men Zhang and their gTso tsho ba kins was characterised by an itinerant phase that forged their destiny. Originally nomads of Gu ge, they were *phyi 'brog*, a term that defines them as groups of pastoralists from the area external to the core of this region, and thus towards sGar dbyang sa/sGar dgun sa. The name Phyi 'brog to address the pastoralists from this area was still in use centuries later during the dGe lugs pa period. One finds a reference to the *phyi 'brog*, who are not the Men Zhang in this case, as late as in *sTag tshang ras pa'i rnam thar* (f.32a4) completed in 1663. The biography mentions the *phyi 'brog* of Gu ge when it deals with the circumstances surrounding the La dwags king Seng ge rnam rgyal's military campaign which laid siege to rTsa hrang and seized it.

The Men Zhang and gTso tsho ba's migration to the east that occurred towards the end of the 11th century reminds one rather more of Central Asian nomads than Tibetan pastoralists. Repulsed from La stod lHo smad, the point of their maximum advance, they settled, in the best nomadic tradition, in the contiguous, successive valleys of the "periphery" from mNga' ris smad to mNga' ris bar, but they did neither come to inhabit their ancestral land Gu ge nor Pu hrang. Hence, they did not push their return westwards all the way to mNga' ris stod. The rationale behind their widespread territorial distribution is the Men Zhang and gTso tsho ba's tribal complexity, composed of several groups under the authority of numerous chieftains, a structure that required land for all these subdivisions.

[38] The Men Zhang took over the area of 'Brong pa in southern Byang thang, where Srong btsan sgam po built Pra dum *lha khang* as one ot the temples of the *srin mo* scheme. After its establishment in 'Brong pa, one Men Zhang division moved further westwards to Gro shod. At that time, it split into two branches. The elder branch held sway over western Gro shod inclusive of Bar yang, while the younger ruled over eastern Gro shod (*Chos legs kyi rnam thar* f.9a2 and f.9a6). The western limit of Gro shod is at the sources of the Brahmaputra. Central Gro shod or Gro shod gzhung is the Bar yang area, also called Gru gsum kha.

Nomadic life style gave the Men Zhang conditions of mobility absent in the agricultural world of the mNga' ris "periphery" and enabled them to roam and occupy lands within their reach. The location of their settlements in southern Byang thang gave them the chance to spread into the "peripheral" valleys. In different stages during the 12th century, they went to occupy the territorial arc at the "periphery", composed by Glo bo, where they played a prominent role, and Dol po (mNga' ris bar). Splinters of the clan were located farther west towards Sle mi (*Chos legs kyi rnam thar* f.30a,5–f.30b,1). They also settled in areas of Mang yul Gung thang (mNga' ris smad),[39] thus recreating on a small scale the *'brog pa*-s/agriculturists blend of the erstwhile Zhang zhung kingdom. The other major event of the period was:

- an influx from Byang thang into mNga' ris bar, but with a different transfer pattern and a circumscribed destination in the mNga' ris bar "periphery".

The Ya ngal family moved from gTsang stod into Glo bo perhaps slightly before the Men Zhang's migration and concentrated first on Mustang (early 12th century) and then contiguous Dol po (13th century);[40]

One more historical phenomenon during the period should not be neglected:

- a renewed occupation phase of holy sites in the wider expanse of the mNga' ris region was engendered from the late 12th century by bKa' brgyud hermits.

Long after Gyer spungs Nang bzher lod po's penance, the bKa' brgyud pa school undertook the diffusion of hermit practice in the footsteps of rje btsun Mid la.

Although the pattern of territorial diffusion adopted by the bKa' brgyud pa somewhat echoed the ways that transpire from Bon po sources about the hermits of ancient Zhang zhung, their frequentation of secluded retreats occurred in a different manner. The bKa' brgyud *ri pa*-s went for the hardship of solitary practice during the better seasons of the year. Owing to the harshness of weather, many of them spent winters in the more bearable conditions of the lower altitude valleys.

During these interludes, they did not disdain from ingratiating the local potentates. Hence, in addition to religious practice, the bKa' brgyud pa in mNga' ris established influential diplomatic ties with the local headmen but did not attempt to exercise a direct control over the lands in the "heartland" and the "periphery". However, new significant political ties introduced a novel state of affairs in the wider region (see the next section).

## Religious Influence Superseded: The Foreign Hegemony in mNga' ris

- 'Bri gung's secularism

Support to the school, negotiated by the 'Bri gung pa in a meeting with Jing gir rgyal po's Mongols, sealed their territorial control over mNga' ris stod.[41] The event was a turning point in Tibetan history, inasmuch as, from then on and throughout the centuries, religious schools surged to play a direct role over secular affairs. The political patronage ensuing from this agreement introduced a new secularism in the highlands, which, in the long run, enforced religious schools to a position of authority that impinged on the management of political matters at large.

The 'Bri gung pa's covenant with the Mongols was established a few decades before the Hor princes—each one of them—accorded their famous "protection" to noble families of Tibet and the religious schools, supported by these aristocrats, to which they belonged.[42]

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[39] The association of the Men Zhang with Gung thang led them to become one of the four principal communities (*mi sde sgo bzhi*) of the area, which formed the ethnic and territorial basis of mNga' ris smad. The *mi sde sgo bzhi* (*Chos legs kyi rnam thar* f.9a2–3) were Gungthang, Nub ri, Mang yul sKyid grong and the Men Zhang rGya tshang pa, the root communities of the *brgya tsho bcu gsum* (*Gung thang gdung rabs* 99,15–17). The territory of the *mi sde sgo bzhi* was also known as lHo Nub Gung gsum (*Chos legs kyi rnam thar* f.9a3), composed by Mang yul (lHo), Nub ris and the '*brog pa* lands in Byang (Nub) and Gung thang (Gung).

[40] See *Ya ngal gdung rabs* (f.34a3–f.34b1 and f.35a1–2). The Ya ngal clan's propagation of Bon had religious repercussions, for it brought a reinvigorated practice of Bon according to a reformed *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* discipline. The tradition passed from keeping its older hermit features to novel monastic connotations in lower Glo bo, and in Dol po subsequently.

The foundation of bSam gling by Yang ston rGyal mtshan rin chen marked the Ya ngal clan's religious takeover of Dol po in the name of *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* (*Zhang zhung snyan* rgyud *bla ma'i rnam thar* 91,4–93,3).

[41] On 'Bri gung gling pa's mission to the border of the "ocean of sand" (the Tarim Basin) in order to meet Jing gir's Mongols who had just taken over South Turkestan see *'Bri gung gling Shes rab 'byung gnas kyi rnam thar* (23,3–24,2) and Vitali (1996: 414–416 and n. 687). Shes rab 'byung gnas was the earliest Tibetan recorded in the sources to have come into contact with the sTod Hor. His meeting with them led to the earliest case of Mongol patronage of a Tibetan temple, Kha char *lha khang*, originally founded in the year of the monkey 996 by Khor re and lHa lde with different degrees of personal involvement.

Benefitting of the support of the sTod Hor, the 'Bri gung pa exercised authority over secular matters, too, for more than half a century (ca. 1219 to 1290) until the catastrophe of the sack of 'Bri gung in the latter year.

[42] With Mo 'gor rgyal po's 1250 reform, each one of the Tibetan aristocratic families traditionally controlling areas and estates in Central Tibet were forced to pay tribute to one or another Mongol prince in exchange for protection and favours, including that of living life at court, a burden and a privilege at the

Hor pa patronage described in the sources as a Bodhisatvic preoccupation was, rather, a form of control over the most influential people of Tibet. The Mongol headmen availed themselves of the Tibetan aristocrats' appanages, mainly in terms of tribute coming from their estates, in exchange of empowerment in favour of the noble families.

In the time of their meeting with Jing gir rgyal po's representatives and during the successive quarters of the 13th century until around 1280, the 'Bri gung pa were especially strong in Pu hrang.[43] Their presence for hermit purposes in the area of the great Mountain and the Lakes (Pu hrang stod),[44] and at the local court (Pu hrang smad), where they were active, favoured a transfer of land control beyond the limits of the region. The salient historical event marking the escalation of the 'Bri gung pa's political influence was that sTag tsha Khri bar's son, dNgos grub mgon, became the ruler of La dwags after he had held the same position in Pu hrang during the years of his father's rule.[45] They all were 'Bri gung pa loyalists.

▪ The key dominions of the Yuan/Sa skya alliance in the "heartland" and the "periphery"

The axis of power was switched from the rest of mNga' ris to mNga' ris smad soon before the Sa skya pa's deadly blow inflicted upon the 'Bri gung pa with the 1290 *gling log*. The 'Bri gung pa and their Phag mo gru pa allies lost mNga' ris stod. It was taken over by the Sa skya pa by treachery,[46] and authority over the mNga' ris "periphery" at large was entrusted to their feudatories, among them the Gung thang Khab pa.

The Yuan/Sa skya pa dominance of Tibet brought about a new state of political affairs in the valleys of the mNga' ris "periphery". This was a single dominance of a vast tract of the valleys opening towards the Himalayan range. The locations of the *glang gi las thabs bcu gsum*, established during the late 13th century by the Gung thang Khab pa are indicative of the politically sensitive areas where the Yuan/Sa skya authority felt it necessary to exercise strict control. The Gung thang ruler, 'Bum lde mgon, built these forts or took hold of them,[47] collectively known under that name, after formal delegation

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same time. It was protection at a price, the reward for paying heavy taxes to the Mongol princes being the recognition of these aristocratic families' authority over the lands from which this taxation came.

Sa pan's famous letter to the Tibetan chieftains contains a number of caveats, recommendations and orders of a secular nature and no religious advice (see A myes zhabs, *Sa skya pandi ta'i rnam thar*: 135,11–140,7). The way it is formulated indeed gives the impression that he is writing from a Mongol perspective so much so that one wonders whether it was actually drafted by him or whether he was passing on the orders and recommendations of his overlords.

In the letter Sa pan urges Tibetans to pay taxes to the Mongols. This is a direct sign that, rather than protection to the main families of the Snowland, it was a matter of Mongol exploitation of their subjects, but the association with a Mongol prince was at the same time a guarantee of control over their estates.

[43] The support that the 'Bri gung pa received from the local potentates (those of Gu ge, Pu hrang and Ya rtse) had already steered them to a position of great standing in the region during the years 1191–1219 that fell before the covenant with Jingir's Mongols.

The establishment of the 'Bri gung *ri pa*-s at Ti se on stable bases from 1191 onwards that reached an institutional peak wirh the appointment of a *rdor 'dzin* in 1215 allowed the 'Bri gung pa to go a step forward. It set the precondition to find powerful interlocutors which had prominently come on the forefront of those Asian lands, of which Upper West Tibet was part. 'Bri gung gling pa's 1219 expedition would have not been possible without the decades of ties that his school had been able to establish with Gu ge, Pu hrang and Ya rtse.

[44] The 'Bri gung grub thob chen po Seng ge ye shes meditated for three years at Ti se Shel 'dra and met rGod tshang pa at that time. Seng ge ye shes was given bSam gtan gling and Pu hrang rGod khung by the Pu hrang kings sTag tsha and A tig. Afterwards, he dwelled for three years at lCags ye Ye shes rdzong (*'Bri gung Ti se lo rgyus* f.30b6–f.31a1). He then went to Dol po and founded Shes dgon pa, well known to western visitors.

'Bri gung gling pa, despite the claims in his biography that he was an ardent meditator, went beyond strict spiritual concerns emphasised in his biography. He was the ambassador of 'Bri gung, the man with the task of strengthening the existing links with local powers and creating new ones, and also easing the relations Ghu ya sgang pa, the *rdor 'dzin* head of the school's *ri pa*-s, entertained locally.

Seng ge ye shes had a hermit disposition, although he did not disdain to care for the secular side, too. He was an dBus pa, but was bound to remain in sTod, if not definitively, at least semi-permanently.

[45] *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* (Tibetan text in Vitali 1996: 69,13–18 and 70,12, translation *ibid.*: 121 and 122) provides evidence that sTag tsha left the throne to his elder son dNgos grub mgon in the years between 1208 and 1215. The latter had already been coopted to the throne by 1208, for *gNyos lHa nang pa'i rnam thar* (94,18–95,4) has a reference to more than one Pu hrang *ra dza* in that year. dNgos grub mgon left the Pu hrang throne to his younger brother rNam lde mgon (aka A tig or A tig sman) at an unspecified time between 1208 and 1215, for *'Bri gung Ti se lo rgyus* holds that rNam lde mgon was the Pu hrang *jo bo* in the latter year.

*La dwags rgyal rabs* (44,8–13) says that a king of Mar yul who patronized the 'Bri gung pa in the same period was dNgos grub.

*'Bri gung Ti se lo rgyus* (f.27b6–f.28a2) also mentions dNgos grub mgon as the king of Mar yul. The text adds that he supported the 'Bri gung *ri pa*-s at Ti se in wood pig 1215 together with the Pu *hrang jo bo*-s, sTag tsha Khri 'bar and gNam lde mgon. Hence, by 1215 dNgos grub mgon's enthronement on the La dwags throne had already taken place.

[46] Sometime after 1276 the governor of mNga' ris stod (namely the *gnam sa dpa' sh*i) was assssinated by order of 'gro mgon 'Phags pa in order to transfer the control of Upper West Tibet from the 'Bri gung pa/Phag mo gru pa alliance to the Sa skya pa (*Si tu bka' chems* in *Rlangs Po ti bse ru* 114,1–8).

[47] Records of the foundation of most castles included in the *glang gi las thabs bcu gsum* are not available, so that this state of the matters does not allow to ascertain whether they were built during the reign of 'Bum lde mgon. At least one of them dates back to centuries before, which shows that 'Bum lde mgon's was a takeover of preexisting structures and probably an edification phase, too. *Kho char dkar chag* (f.5b = p. 41,1–2) reads: "Hence, the king (i.e.

by his cousin 'gro mgon 'Phags pa over the territories where they stood.[48] Of the *glang gi las thabs bcu gsum* (*Gung thang gdung rabs* 108,8–109,1),[49] ten were in mNga' ris. This is indicative of the the territorial structure the Sa skya pa/Yuan domination imposed upon the lands in the west.

The location of the forts of mNga' ris was as follows:

- one in Gu ge Pu hrang,
- one in the land of the Men Zhang in southern Byang thang,
- three in Mustang: one each in Glo stod (to control the Men Zhang), Glo bar and Glo smad (to control the Ta mang),
- one in Dol po,
- two in central and one in peripheral Mang yul, and
- one in sNyi shang (i.e. Ma nang).

The arc in the mNga' ris "periphery" that was under the dominion of Gung thang extended from next door in the south (Mang yul) farther west to Gu ge Pu hrang, these two regions combined together under the single control of the dKar dum fort. The presence of three forts in Glo bo, plus one each in the nearby territories, the land of the Men Zhang in southern Byang thang, and Dol po,[50] vis-à-vis only one for both Gu ge Pu hrang is an indication of the areas considered sensitive by the Gung thang pa feudatories of Sa skya.

No fort was built in La dwags and no evidence is provided in the historical literature about who was in charge of the latter region (see Vitali 2005). It may have been that the Sa skya pa kept a direct control of the land. Guru *lha khang*, built at the end of the period of their dominance, celebrates the direct line of masters of Sa skya pa school including Sa skya pandi ta Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182–1251) and down to Bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1312–1375) rather than any line of their feudatories.

La dwags during the time of the Yuan dynasty was the theatre of military activity, for it was another front opened in the war between the Chagatai and the Delhi Sultanate besides the main battlefield which was Khurāsān.

Given that La dwags was the region used as a new launch pad by the Chagatai, the Yuan's arch rivals, to gain military success, I would consider the possibility that the Sa skya pa directly handled La dwags. This hypothesis finds some credit in view of the threat posed by the Chagatai and a Muslim advance from Delhi into the Himalayan region (the Qarāchīl expedition). During those years, indeed, some rulers of La dwags were foreigners (on all this see Vitali 2005).

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Kho re), having followed the advice previously [given to him by his *bla ma*], built the upper and lower castle at dKar dung along with the *gtsug lag khang* known as gSer mkhar". These events took place in the year of the monkey 996, the construction date of Kha char.

Bal po rdzong, too, predates the reign of 'Bum lde mgon.

[48] The forts are collectively called *glang gi las stabs bcu gsum* ("thirteen districts established by the campaigns of the ox") in *Chos legs kyi rnam thar* (f.9a,5–6). As is well known, the origin of the name derives from the fact that young 'Bum lde mgon witnessed at Sa skya the parade of 'Phags pa's horses while he was on an ox. His association with the ox was maintained in the name given to the lands, where he held sway, by means of the network of forts.

*Gung thang gdung rabs* (108,8–109,2) says:

"To subdue the territory of Gu ge Pu rong ['Bum lde mgon] built dKar gdum Nam gyi khyung rdzong;

to subdue the territory of the Phyi 'brog Men Zhang, he built Bya rtsi rnam rgyal thar po and in Glo stod near mTsho dbar [he built] Ni ri g.Ya rdzong dkar po;

to subdue the territory of Glo bo mtsho (spelled so for tsho) bzhi, he built gTsang rong Bya pho'i ze ba;

to subdue the territory of the Ta mang Se mon, he built Kun srin rdzong in Glo smad;

to subdue the territory of Dol po, he built Dol po'i Yi ge drug ma;

to subdue the territory of La stod Byang, he built La ru'i Gad rdzong dkar po;

to subdue the territory of La stod lHo, he built Khun tsho Gad rdzong dkar po;

at sKyid grong sgo bzhi kan 'dzim kha he built Rag mar gyad non thar po;

at sKyid grong mthil he built Seng ge rdzong and Glang mkhar gsal ba'i yang rtse;

to subdue the territory of both rGya and Bal, he built Bal po rdzong dmar;

to subdue the territory of sNyi shong rong, he built Bang rdzong gnam gyi ka ba;

to subdue the territory of Nub ri mtha' 'khob kha, he built Rod (*ibid*.: 109) kyi brag rdzong nag po.

[in addition], at the fortification of Phyag pa pha bzhi, he built Chu dbar rdzong chung 'dzom shor".

The concept behind the definition *glang gi las thabs bcu gsum* needs a closer scrutiny. Thirteen were the lands in which 'Bum lde mgon established his control by an equal number of forts, but *Gung thang gdung rabs* adds another land and another fort at Chu dbar, the great bKa' brgyud hermitage of Mid la ras pa's fame, north of the present-day Nepal border.

[49] The process that led to the constitution of the *glang gi las thabs bcu gsum* was completed in a span of more than ten years from 1267 to ca. 1280. Some Men Zhang groups were coopted into Gung thang's *brgya mtsho bcu gsum* which date to 1267–1268 (*Gung thang gdung rabs* 99,15–100,1).

The creation of the mNga' ris smad *khri skor* formed by Gung thang, Glo bo and Dol po in 1267 (hence before the establishment of the dBus gTsang *khri skor bcu gsum*) is another sign that the nucleus of 'Bum lde mgon's possessions is to be assigned to the late 1260s. On the mNga' ris smad *khri skor* see *rGya Bod yig tshang* (277,18–278,1).

It was after 1276 that the control of Gu ge Pu hrang from the 'Bri gung pa/Phag mo gru pa alliance was transferred to the Sa skya pa with the assassination of the *gnam sa dpa' sh*i governor of mNga' ris stod. The event gave way to 'Bum lde mgon's control of the region from the fort dKar dum (*Si tu bka' chems* in *Rlangs Po ti bse ru* 113,11–114,8).

[50] The construction of a fort in Dol po may have been induced by the strategical reason to keep control over the Ya rtse inimical neighbour but also by the fact that, owing to its harsh terrain, it would have made a Gung thang pa prompt intervention difficult in case of military necessity.

**mNga' ris bar's Surge to Predominance**

Economic control out of Byang thang and into the valleys around it, which favoured exchanges of goods with the lower lands in the south, was a main cause for discord between principalities occupying valleys at the "periphery". Profit from commerce and the charge of tolls on transiting merchandise triggered these disputes for the control over trade routes to Mon yul and the Indian provinces.

Tibet's relations between the Byang thang "heartland" and the valleys of mNga' ris "periphery" was a reverse case from Inner Central Asia. In the latter region, nomads resorted, more commonly than not, to looting and extortions of sedentary populations. In Tibet, the Byang thang pa hardly had recourse to similar acts, with the exception of the internicine warfare between the Men Zhang kins from southern Byang thang and Mustang, a status of belligerence induced by the Glo pa turned sedentary rather than the nomads.[51]

In line with what has been said above, fratricide warfare between the nomads of southern Byang thang and Glo bo, who were close kins, was not so much for the control of the steppe land but of the commercial tracks. The route in Mustang gave the easiest access to trade from the north with the lowlands in the south. The Mustang dynasty went all out to eliminate its *'brog pa* kins from southern Byang thang and other relatives settled within the boundaries of the area they inhabited, to arrogate to themselves unconditional control of the resources of Byang thang and the trade towards India.

Hardly any principalities settled in the mNga' ris "periphery" attempted to control areas of Byang thang, being more content to make war to other principalities, and not so much to administer the nomadic products but their trade.[52]

Contrary to the historical trends of the Inner Asia nomads, internal antagonism, a feature typical of the nomadic world and less common to sedentary cultures, was a strategy pursued by the *'brog pa*-s who had turned sedentary. Rarely it affected groups of the Men Zhang and the gTso tsho ba, but factionalism was not all the time absent in the relations between these two groups of nomads that led to search for alliances with members of their respective antagonist camps.[53]

Cohesion became improbable when the Glo pa, after the adoption of a more sedentary way of life, showed an assertiveness comparable to the fierce nomads of Inner Central Asia.[54] Their militaristic inclination brought them to a collision route against their Men Zhang and gTso tsho ba relatives, hardly keen to be submitted by anyone.

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[51] The campaigns waged against groups of their nomads' kins by the kings of Mustang who succeeded one another on its throne and led the kingdom to unsurpassed splendour (A ma dpal, A mgon bzang po and bKra shis mgon) are listed here in chronological order:

- takeover of the control of the passes leading to India from Dol po, Gu ge and Pu hrang (before 1427);
- takeover of communities of southern Byang thang away from Mar yul (1435);
- takeover of areas in Se rib and unspecified localities in Dol po (?);
- defeat of the 'Phred mkhar ba (1437);
- eviction of an army of the Byang pa from Wa (1437);
- relocation of the sKye skya sgang ba to Glo smad along the frontier with the lowlands (1437);
- destruction of the last vestiges of the Glo bo Zhang pa sNa tshags pa (1441);
- defeated of the Hor, called by the Glo pa against the gTso tsho ba (1444);
- betrayal and assassination of the gTso tsho ba chieftains (1445).

Earlier on, A ma dpal's grandfather Shes rab bla ma removed the power of another *'brog pa* group, the Shi sa ba, and opened the way for the foundation of the Mustang kingdom (mid 1350s).

[52] In the trade between the Byang thang "heartland" and the lowlands giving way to the Gangetic plain, the biggest revenues were from the taxes levied on salt along the route from Mustang to Mu khum (rDzong and Mukhtinath) (*Chos legs kyi rnam thar* f.18b,2–4). Trade on the route that passed from Dol po to rDzong dkar (Jomsom) gave lower revenues. To this income one should add the earnings gained by those controlling trade in the opposite direction. They amounted to bartering salt for rice and various grains sold by them in the highlands for a profit. Hence, among all lands inhabited by the Men Zhang clans, control of Mustang, the easiest land to cross, was most valued.

[53] The striking instance of internal antagonism among the southern Byang thang nomads was the 1375 revolt of the gTso tsho ba against the Men Zhang after the latter's coup that led them to usurp the throne of Gung thang temporarily.

Due to the enfeeblement of their Sa skya pa overlords after ta'i si tu Byang byub rgyal mtshan's takeover of Sa skya and the downfall of the Yuan dynasty, the Gung thang Khab pa were unable to avoid the coup and were saved by the intervention of the gTso tsho ba. The coup turned out to be the occasion for a fight for predominance among the clans of southern Byang thang.

The gTso tsho ba saw in their Men Zhang sNa tshags pa kins' placing the infant bSod nams lde on the Gung thang throne the ultimate act of illegality, which caused their rebellion against them (*Chos legs kyi rnam thar* f.13b5–14a,5).

The gTso tsho ba defeated the Men Zhang, and the Sa skya pa heir apparent to the Gung thang throne was reinstated. The Men Zhang, despite the defeat, continued to exercise a prominent role in mNga' ris bar and mNga' ris smad.

The opportunity that motivated the Men Zhang to go for the coup and take the Gung thang throne was that a princess of the Men Zhang sNa tshags pa married the Gung thang king Phun tshogs lde (r. from 1365). In 1370, she bore the Men Zhang child, bSod nams lde. He was second in line of succession to the throne and could bypass his elder step-brother mChog grub lde, son of the senior queen and Sa skya pa heir apparent. In 1371 a revolt ensued, Phun tshogs lde was assassinated and the throne was usurped, after which the Men Zhang ruled Gung thang for five years (*Gung thang gdung rabs* 117,18–118,1).

[54] Warfare between Glo bo and other lands of the mNga' ris "periphery":

- takeover of the control of the passes leading to India from Dol po, Gu ge and Pu hrang;
- dispossession of territories from the control of Gu ge;
- A mgon bzang po's troops blocked in their advance to Sle mi due to Pu hrang's protection extended to some gTso tsho ba fleeing;
- the passage of Pu hrang again under the jurisdiction of Mustang (temporary);
- Glo bo defeated by Gung thang;
- Pu hrang invaded and annexed by Glo bo.

Aware of the mobility of *'brog pa* reactions, the Glo pa realised that one way to grant stability to their kingdom was to suppress their Men Zhang and gTso tsho kins, which they achieved with ruthless cruelty.[55]

The *'brog pa*-s, given their less regimented social life and kinship structure were less respectful of the established power and readier to topple the headmen in charge. This was understood by Glo bo's royal family, which accomplished to eliminate every possible competition by their kins, mindful of the coup staged by the Men Zhang to the Gung thang throne around the last quarter of the 14th century (see above n. 54).

Glo pa antagonism towards its rivals was brought to a wider stage. Mustang fought against principalities outside the mNga' ris region. They engaged opponents from Mon pa lands in the south and other rivals from farther away, such as La stod lHo and Byang.[56]

As for mNga' ris, Glo bo's militaristic dominance brought the kingdom to clash in the valleys at the "periphery" both in the east and the west.[57] In the east, the long-term conditions of belligerence against Gung thang did not modify the political equilibrium between the two power houses of the period. In the west, on the contrary, Glo pa campaigns managed to severe the old ties that linked Pu hrang to Gu ge.[58] The consequence was that Pu hrang was ever since in the religious sphere of the Ngor pa school,[59] which had its basis in

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[55] The confrontation between Glo bo and groups of *'brog pa*-s of southern Byang thang escalated to one of its last bloody act in 1445. Playing the card of treason, Mustang betrayed the gTso tsho ba, killing and torturing their chieftains on a single circumstance.

*Chos legs kyi rnam thar* (f.27a6–f.28a3): "On that occasion, Gung thang was unable to use its strength, so it was decided to opt for a peaceful settlement. The troops of Glo bo withdrew. When (f.27b) people of the gTso tsho ba settlements intruded into Gro shod during early summer, drung chen A mgon and his brother thought: "Earlier the Khab pa and the gTso tsho ba, the chiefs and their servants, created much trouble together. If we do not negotiate with them, no one can tell what will happen in the future". They decided to negotiate with the gTso tsho ba. They told the gTso tsho ba: "There are many reasons why we and [you] gTso tsho ba must hold talks. Come with [your] headmen [to discuss them]," and accordingly [gTso tsho] Rig 'dzin 'bum led [the delegation of] about ten headmen together with their assistants and went to Glo bo. At that time drung chen A mgon remained behind because he went to see the *dmag dpon* (i.e. A mo gha). [His] *tsha bo* (A mgon's maternal nephew), who was not far [from the gathering place], went down [to the meeting]. He said: "Is Byi wa mkhar's rotten smell still around?". Realising that nothing good would ensue, [Rig 'dzin 'bum] became like a frog in a pot. No way-out was left. Then, not many days after, many butchers were each given a task. Rig 'dzin 'bum and his brother; Ar dpon, a chief from my own (i.e Chos legs's) household; one called *dpon* rGyal; five notables; and Rig 'dzin 'bum's minister (f.28a) dge bsnyen dPal zis (spelled so) were murdered. Moreover, the eyes of five or six chieftains were taken out. Concomitantly, the Glo [pa] troops killed a younger brother of Rig 'dzin 'bum, who came to rescue them from outside [the meeting]. The eyes of a *phu bo* ("elder brother", i.e. a cousin of Chos legs) from my *phyi tshang* (lit. "external nest", i.e. "the maternal line of the family") and two or three other people were taken out. They took away all these men's horses that were there. The [various] communities, the gNyer pa tsho lnga and each of the most valiant chiefs of Glo bo shared *rkyang* meat".

[56] Warfare between Glo bo and lands beyond mNga' ris:
- inroad into the Kathmandu valley;
- military success at gNya nam;
- defeat of La stod lHo troops;
- campaign against unspecified localities in Mon yul and Ko phang;
- warfare against unidentified Mon pa;
- strife between Mustang and the people called gTsang Nyang rdzong pa;
- war between Glo bo and La stod lHo;
- invasion of Glo bo by troops of La stod lHo and Byang.

[57] Signs of confrontation between the various principalities during the 15th century were the non-infrequent marriage alliances, a testimony of tense relations that were counteracted, in most cases with little success, with giving out their princesses to the rivals.

Especially the repercussions of matrimonial alliances in mNga' ris during the period of Glo bo's maximum splendour were not always of mutual benefit. Regional powers fought despite being related by marriage. That of A mgon bzang po is a case in point. Close to the age at which the *lha sras btsan po*-s used to wed, A mgon bzang po was given the sister of Phun tshogs lde, the king of Gu ge, as consort (*Blo bo rgyal rabs mu thi li'i 'phreng mdzes* 15,9). Matrimonial bonds between the royal families of inimical Gu ge and Glo bo were renewed when a princess from the former kingdom married the Glo bo king A seng rDo rje brtan pa in the third quarter of the 15th century (rGod tshang ras pa sNa tshogs rang grol, *gTsang smyon gyi rnam thar* 153,6). These ties did not prevent the countries to keep entertaining a mutual antagonist policy.

If a comparison is made with the past, no trace of land appanage to the queens appears in the documents describing these diplomatic activities, unlike the custom of allotting lands to these ladies that existed in the time of sPu rgyal Bod (see above n. 2).

[58] In order to obtain fundamental advancements to the fortunes of Glo bo, A ma dpal went on a collision route with Gu ge and was able to break the century old ties that linked the latter land to Pu hrang. *Ngor chen gyi rnam thar* (537,3) is apologetical in celebrating A ma dpal's lucrative trade with the neighbouring countries by means of setting up barter marts in Dol po, Gu ge and Pu hrang. But the biography omits that he made these achievements with ruthless persecution of anyone trying to obstacle his plans.

*Blo bo rgyal rabs mu thi li'i 'phreng mdzes* (13,1–2) is cruder in its assertions that A ma dpal wiped out all possible opposition, for he carried out purges in Gu ge, Pu hrang and Mar yul.

[59] Breaking his stay in Mustang, Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po (1382–1456) paid a visit to Pu hrang in late 1436 and the beginning of the following year (Vitali 1996: 391 and n. 631). Here he gave extensive teachings to the local *bla ma*-s and people, and made offerings at the ancient temple of Kho char.

Since then, Kho char, which had entered Sa skya's orbit during the Sa skya pa period when it was under the rule of the Pu hrang jo bo bSod nams lde—a disciple of Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364) and Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan (1292–1361)—was tended by the Mustang royalty.

*Glo bo mkhan chen gyi rang rnam* and Sangs rgyas phun tshogs's *Ngor chen gyi rnam thar* concur in saying that, following Ngor chen's activity in Pu hrang and the support extended to him by the local dignitaries and the king of Gu ge, the Ngor school became prominent in Pu hrang. It would seem then that Pu hrang was not under Glo bo at the time.

Glo bo's inveterate hostility towards Gu ge Pu hrang went through frequent

Mustang, while Gu ge became the stronghold of the dGe lugs pa in the west.

**An Advance into the Valleys of mNga' ris from the Outside World**

A reversal of tendency slipped, slowly but inescapably, into the mNga' ris "periphery". Down the centuries from after *bstan pa phyi dar* onwards, mNga' ris from sKyid grong to La dwags and sBal ti witnessed, in different periods, a territorial contraction owing to the advance of the cultures popular in the lands to the south and west, their trade partners. The people of these countries, who practised different religions, saw in the lands of mNga' ris the extreme limit where they could spread. It was, therefore, both a religious and ethnic advance, a cultural enrichment that, on the other hand, created difficulties to the fragile equilibrium of the mNga' ris world. The exception to this state of affairs was Ya rtse, an enclave with the distinctive mark that the Tibetan world and its practice of Buddhism coexisted for centuries with the Hinduism of the high Himalayan valleys, but, in the long run, the latter took the upper hand.

In the days of Glo bo's predominance, La dwags and neighbouring territories were becoming a new mNga' ris "periphery". Islam had focused attention on the Himalayan valleys to the east of Kashmir. La dwags and contiguous lands were witnessing a Muslim influx. Little they could do against ravaging Muslim campaigns—mainly by rulers and adventurers from the Northwest but also from beyond—with the purpose of looting.[60] Although sometimes these armies were stationed locally for a while, some of them did not aim at perpetual land control, so that they did not leave long lasting marks on the local way of life, but others entailed drastic political change.[61]

Sufi mystics and Muslim converts from neighbouring regions came to travel in the Himalayan valleys of the western mNga' ris "periphery". The purpose of these endeavours could have not been more different from plunder. The mystics came to preach Islam.[62]

Sent by their teacher, Tsong kha pa's disciples returned to their native lands with the important task of spreading the new and vibrant tenets of his doctrine. In line with the capillary policy established by him on the plateau almost ubiquitously, his disciples travelled back to the vallleys of the mNga' ris "periphery", from where they had gone to Central Tibet for studies.

The presence of those pioneers attracted consent inasmuch as the local potentates in Gu ge, Zangs dkar and La dwags accorded their favours to Tsong kha pa's disciples. The dignitaries of these lands were keen to welcome back their children who brought to their lands the most advanced doctrine of those days. The acceptance of Tsong kha pa's creed had a secular side, for it kept the advance of Sufism at bay, restricted, as it was, to fringe areas.

The capillary diffusion of the dGe lugs pa teachings in valleys of the mNga' ris "periphery" provided the embryonic potential for the school to walk the extra step and become, in the long run, the dominant secular power on the plateau. The mNga' ris "periphery" was one early laboratory for the promotion of the political and religious system that became the dGa' ldan pho brang theocracy centuries thereafter.

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reversals of fortune (see Vitali 1996 passim beween p. 471 and p. 537).

It was only sometime after 1450 that Pu hrang again passed under the jurisdiction of Mustang (Vitali 1996: 520–523). There is evidence that, up to that year, the region had not yet been retaken by Glo bo.

The outcome of Glo bo's invasion of Pu hrang of the years 1496–1498 under the command of the Mustang king bDe legs rgya mtsho (see *ibid*.: 536–537) was that the region returned under the control of Mustang in a more continuative manner.

[60] Military campaigns waged by Muslim conquerors during the period were those of:

- Sultan Shahabuddin, the son of the Kashmiri king Shah Mirza (*Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*);
- Rai Madri, the lieutenant of Sikandar Khan (1394–1416), who headed a campaign against sBal ti but advanced as far as La dwags proper (*Tārīkh-i-Hassan*); and
- Zain ul-Abidin (r. 1420–1470) (*Dvitiya Rājataraṅgiṇī* and *La dwags rgyal rabs*).

Moreover:

- Muslim troops were in La dwags in 1444;
- Gu ge had to endure a Hor pa offensive from Mar yul in the years 1447–1448;
- unidentified Hor were still in Mar yul at the time of a visit of Thang stong rgyal po to La dwags in 1459.

[61] *La dwags rgyal rabs* (in Francke 1992 [1926]: 37,3–7 and 37,12–14) includes Bha ra and Bha gan among the kings ruling in La dwags.

[62] The history of the advance of Sufism into the valleys of the Western Himalaya is shrouded in a veil of obscurity. Historical records hardly mention the names of the masters involved in this activity of proselytism and the dates of these events (see Rovillé 1990: 117–119; Sheikh 2010: 81–84; and Zain-ul-Aabedin 2009: 7–14). It seems that these teachings, coming from Kashmir, initially found fertile ground in the more outlying territories of the Himalaya and to La dwags.

A first phase of historically documented diffusion concerned sBal ti and possibly Pu rig, and the Sufi teachers who spearheaded it seem to have been Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani and his disciples (*ibid*.: 9). Princes from Su ru mKhar rtse, who had migrated to Kashmir and converted to Islam, are said to have built Kha che Masjid in Mul be (*ibid*.: 4).

As for La dwags, the predominant view among scholars is that the earliest masters, who would have reached it roughly at the same time as the diffusion in sBal ti and Pu rig, were the disciples of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani (d. 1382).

Presumably later in the 15th century, another wave of Sufi masters reached sBal ti (and perhaps Pu rig). They were disciples of Sayyid Muhammad Nīrsbakhsh, who had adopted the precepts of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani. Indeed, the La dwags Muslims see in his tradition—that of the Nīrsbakhshi—the most important one in the region. This activity generated a religious fervour: Islam became an accepted religion in the region of the Indus River, with centres in La dwags and the areas to its north-west.

## A Last Word

The very nature of the Byang thang "heartland" had centrifugal features that favoured a cultural expansion towards the mNga' ris "periphery". It was the geographic, cultural and geopolitical conditions of the "heartland" that led to the decentraliation of its core and permitted the occupation of the valleys at a lower altitude. The regions of the mNga' ris "periphery" prospered to the extent that the economic, political and religious balance was shifted from the higher to the lower lands. By taking centre stage, the valleys at the "periphery" ended up bearing conflictual relations for supremacy.

The centrifugal conditions that led people—either temporarily and on a small scale (e.g. the bKa' brgyud hermits) or in a definitive manner and with the migration of entire ethnic groups (e.g. the Ya ngal clan)—were, in any event, significant enough to create ripples in the history of the "heartland" and the "periphery". The existential nuances between a "heartland" and a "periphery" were so intertwined that they never cracked the intrinsic unity of the two worlds.

This is also proved by the morphological tracts in areas of the West Tibetan world. Although civilisation developed in the ravines of the land,[63] Gu ge is a peculiar valley of the "periphery" which is also a "heartland". The table lands, at the flanks of which the Gu ge ravines took shape in formations that an imaginary geological architect invented in the most visionary way, are the continuation of the Byang thang highlands. The *'brog*-s of Gu ge are located on these table lands and no human settlement or temple has been established there. These territorial conditions favoured a combination of *'brog pa* and *zhing pa* lives altogether. Gu ge in its peculiar manner is the essence of the lands of the plateau in the west.

From the viewpoint of trends in land control, the territory of mNga' ris experienced only a single unitary phase in the course of the centuries after the collapse of sPu rgyal Bod until the advent of dGa' ldan pho brang. It is common place both with Tibetan historians of old and Tibetologists to see sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon's mNga' ris skor gsum as a regional kingdom inasmuch as it did not control the entire Tibetan territory. In a simile referring to *bstan pa phyi dar*, the kingdoms of mNga' ris skor gsum and Tsong kha are decribed, respectively, as the "hat" and the "boots" of the plateau (*mKhas pa'i dga' ston* 433,11–14). dBus gTsang in the middle was loose with a number of principalities owing to the fact that Khri srong lde btsan did not tighten his belt properly. This prompted Guru Rin po che to come out with that prophecy on the future status of Tibet (*mDo smad chos 'byung* 27,23–27), a beautiful way to represent the political conditions of Tibet in the late 10th or 11th century, which, nonetheless, does not take into account the actual weight of the mNga' ris skor gsum state.

sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon's was a kingdom that included in its dominions a huge territorial mass to the point that it could hardly be defined as regional. The extension of Zhang zhung did not surpass the one of mNga' ris skor gsum by much. The Bon po literature includes Sum pa Glang gi gyim shod (i.e. western Khams) in Zhang zhung, but one should investigate whether this land attracted Bon and its clans during or after its downfall of the kingdom and whether they established a dominion locally.

mNga' ris skor gsum extended from Bru sha and the other territories on the western side of the Himalayan range up to mNga' ris bar (Glo bo and Nyi shang included) and controlled Gung thang (mNga' ris smad) for an unsprcified amount of time (*bsTan 'dzin ras pa'i rnam thar* f.2b2-3). Its cultural world extended to dBus—and lHa sa in particular—all the way to Khams and to gTsang as far as the border of Nyang stod with the lowlands of India, where *bstan pa phyi dar stod lugs* had its strongholds.

The end of the mNga' ris skor gsum apogee engendered territorial regionalism. Since the death of rTse lde and across the centuries, Gu ge and Pu hrang kept having different dynastic lines with very limited exceptions, but close ties. Gu ge itself became divided and the other regions of erstwhile mNga' ris skor gsum had separate rulership. Not even the Yuan/Sa skya pa supremacy brought back unity inasmuch as Sa skya assigned to different feudatories the control of separate lands of mNga' ris and seemingly kept direct control in one case. Glo bo's assertive military policy led the kingdom to be *a primus inter pares* but not to have steady control of lands that surpassed regional divisions. The rule of the priest-king chain of rebirths—dGa' ldan pho brang—achieved to restore an overall unity in mNga' ris under its authority that was exercised from far away and with a centralised vision.

[63] The ravines of Gu ge, where the Zhang zhung pa and then the mNga' ri stod people have been responsible for one of the greatest civilisations in Tibetan history, are associated with a myth that found some credit in colonial India. The legend says that the geleogical sediments hide and preserve in the ravines of Gu ge relics going by the name *'brug rus* or "bones of the dragons" (Strachey 2007 [1853]: 48). Could these be underground vestiges of ancient Zhang zhung?

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Christian Jahoda and Christiane Kalantari

# Power and Religion in Pre-Modern Western Tibet: The Monumental Avalokiteśvara Stela in lCog ro, Purang*

In January 2007, together with the late Tsering Gyalpo (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po) from the Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences in Lhasa, the authors of this essay were able to carry out several weeks of field research in Western Tibet.[1] In the context of this field research, which included all seven main administrative districts or circles (*rdzong*)[2] of the government district or prefecture of Western Tibet (mNga' ris sa khul) of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR, China), it was possible to carry out intensive exploration at several key sites and, depending on time and circumstances, more or less comprehensive audiovisual and occasionally also photographic documentation on selected research themes. Alongside Tsamda, Purang was one of the main areas of the joint field research in the course of which a stone stela in lCog ro (also Cog ro) village with a relief of a standing Avalokiteśvara and an inscription was examined.

In February 2010, in the course of another field trip to Purang,[3] additional documentation of the stela and its inscriptions was carried out. Based on recent (re-)discoveries of comparative stelae in other areas of historical Western Tibet (mNga' ris skor gsum) and historical texts, new findings from relevant ongoing research (also in Central Tibet, Nepal and Ladakh) as well as additional photographic documentation (not available previously, partly also from archives), this contribution discusses the monumental Avalokiteśvara (sPyan ras gzigs) stela in lCog ro, Purang, in a considerably wider, trans-regional context. At the same time, it draws on the results of additional research in Khorchag ('Khor chags) (see Tsering Gyalpo, Jahoda, Kalantari and Sutherland 2012 [2015]) and thereby also enables a stronger comparative perspective than was possible before.[4]

## Historical Setting

The extensive historical Buddhist culture of Western Tibet (mNga'

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[1] This field work was carried out on the basis of a research agreement between the Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences (TASS) in Lhasa and the Austrian Academy of Sciences (AAS) in Vienna. The participants were the late Prof. Tsering Gyalpo, Director of the Institute for Religious Studies, TASS, Christian Jahoda, at that time collaborator on the OeNB Project 10944 "Political Space, Socio-Economic Organisation and Religious Geography in Western Tibet" (director: Prof. Ernst Steinkellner), AAS, and Christiane Papa-Kalantari. The funding of part of the travel costs for the field work by Christian Jahoda and the cooperation partner Tsering Gyalpo was assumed by the FWF research focus S87 "Cultural History of the Western Himalaya", University of Vienna.

[2] Purang (sPu rang, also sPu hrengs, etc.), Gar (sGar), Tsamda (rTsa mda'), Ruthog (Ru thog), Gergye (dGe rgyas), Gertse (sGer rtse), Tshochen (mTsho chen).

[3] Again this field work was carried out on the basis of a research agreement between the Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences in Lhasa and the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna. Besides Tsering Gyalpo (TASS), the participants were Hubert Feiglstorfer, Veronika Hein, Christian Jahoda, Christiane Kalantari and Patrick Sutherland.

[4] See Jahoda and Papa-Kalantari 2009; Papa-Kalantari and Jahoda 2010.

1. Front (east) view of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela, lCog ro village, Purang District, Tibet Autonomous Region, PR China (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2004).

2. South view of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela with inscription lines 1–7 on upper part (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2004).

3. North view of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela with inscription lines 1–12 on upper part (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2004).

ris) became known above all through the research journeys by Giuseppe Tucci in 1933 and 1935, and the publications based on them.[5] This culture is inseparable from the West Tibetan kingdom and its regional sub- and successor kingdoms of Guge (Gu ge), Purang and Ladakh (La dwags) founded by a descendant of the Central Tibetan dynasty around 911 (see Jahoda, "On the foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, Ladakh", this volume, p. 292; see also Vitali 2003: 54–55 who—based on different sources—suggested 912 as *terminus post quem* for the establishment of the mNga' ris skor gsum kingdom).

The members of the royal line and the noble families associated with it who established themselves in this region (or had previously already lived there) were responsible for founding a large number of monasteries and temples in the time from the late 10th century onward. The outstanding founders and promoters of this Buddhist culture were the ruler Srong nge (in full: Khri lde Srong gtsug btsan) and later Royal Lama (*lha bla ma*) Ye shes 'od (947–1019; 1024 according to Vitali 2003: 55, 61) and the Great Translator (*lo chen*) Rin chen bzang po (958–1055) (see, for example, Vitali 2003: 55–56, 61, 64 and Jahoda, "On the foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, Ladakh", this volume, pp. 280–287).

There are reports of a few foundations of Buddhist monuments predating the major foundation phase starting in 996. One of the

[5] Not only were major scientific publications (such as Tucci 1936; Tucci 1949) responsible for this but also above all the travel reports and popular science books (such as Tucci and Ghersi 1934; Tucci 1937; Tucci 1973), which contain many otherwise rare observations and much information, and are therefore still extremely valuable for current research. See Nalesini 2008 for an overview on Tucci's expeditions between 1926 and 1954.

Since the 1990s, a new wave of cultural-studies researches in West Tibet have been carried out in various fields, although predominantly on the archaeology, general history, the history of art, cultural and religious history, Tibetan philology and social anthropology. See for example Levine 1992; Levine 1994; Tshe ring chos rgyal and Zla ba tshe ring 1994; Luczanits 1996; Pritzker 1996; Vitali 1996; Huo Wei and Li Yongxian 2001; Vitali 2003; Heller 2004; Tshe ring rgyal po 2005; Tshe ring rgyal po 2006; Huo Wei 2007; Orofino 2007; Heller 2010; Tsering Gyalpo, Jahoda, Kalantari and Sutherland 2012 [2015]; Tropper 2016; Tshe ring rgyal po 2011 and 2014; Tropper 2018 and 2019.

earliest sources which contains evidence for this is Sonam Tsemo's *Chos la 'jug pa'i sgo* from 1167. According to Petech, the translation of a relevant section, which describes an event that took place in a place along the upper course of the Sutlej river in 992 CE, reads thus:

> "All the *yab-mched* [that is, members of the royal dynasty] of the Upper and Lower Areas met at sPeg-mkhar of the Cog-la region, and on this occasion a great oration [*mol ba chen po*][6] was delivered [...]. The hermitage of Pa[..]-sgam in the Rum region was renovated."[7] (Petech 1997: 233).

The holding of royal dynastic meetings on the occasion of important temple foundations even before 996 (that is, before the time of the foundation of the three main temples of Guge, Purang and Maryul (Mar yul, a region along the Indus river in Upper Ladakh] in Tholing, Khorchag and Nyarma)[8] is also mentioned in the *lHa bla ma Ye shes 'od kyi rnam thar rgyas pa* (Extended Biography of the Royal Monk Ye shes 'od) written by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan at Tholing in 1480.[9] According to this text, such a meeting was held for example in 987 in Purang where, in an authoritative speech or declaration Khri lde Srong gtsug btsan decided that a temple (*gtsug lag khang*) was to be built in the castle of mKhar ltag at sKya ru for the protection of the kingdom.[10]

4. Building housing the sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela with a number of weathered stone stelae in front of it, lCog ro village, Purang District, Tibet Autonomous Region, PR China (C. Kalantari, 2007).

**Location**

Just a few kilometres south of the town of Purang,[11] the present administrative centre of the district bearing the same name, on a raised position on the right bank of the rMa bya or Peacock river (known as Karnāli in Nepal) is the municipality of Zhi sde (Zhi sde *shang*), which is named after the village of Zhi sde (Zhi sde *grong tsho*). Approximately half way between the town of Purang and the village of Zhi sde is a small farming settlement called lCog/Cog ro. This name recalls the Cog ro noble family, who according to the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* were closely allied with sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon, the founder of the West Tibetan kingdom in the second decade of the 10th century (see also Vitali 1996: 171–172). At the centre of the settlement there is a former Buddhist temple, which has long been used as a warehouse, whose floor plan makes the claimed legendary foundation by the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po seem not unlikely.

The actual aim of the visit to this settlement was to document and reinvestigate a stone stela from an earlier period with a relief portrayal of a standing Avalokiteśvara on one side and a two-part religiously motivated historic inscription[12] on two other sides, which had previously, in September 2004, been photographed by Tsering Gyalpo under different circumstances—when it was still

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[6] Although Petech (1997: 233) preferred to translate the Tibetan phrase *mol ba chen po* as "great oration", he also held "a great discussion" as a possible translation. Roberto Vitali, who quoted this passage in his *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang*, translated *mol ba chen po* as "great discussion" and also as "consultation" (Vitali 1996: 250, n. 361, and 251).

[7] "chu pho 'brug gi lo la cog la yul sPeg mkhar du sTod sMad kyi yab mched gdan 'dzom pa'i dus su mol ba chen po mdzad/ Rum yul Pa sgam gyi dben sa gsar du btsugs pa'i dus su brtsis na/ lo 3125" (cf. ST, f.316a-b; SP, f. 297b).

[8] The most common Tibetan spellings for these places are mTho lding, Tho gling and Tho ling, 'Khor chags, Kho char, Kha char and Khwa char as well as Myar ma, Nyar ma, Nya mar and Nyer ma.

[9] See Gu ge paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011 for a facsimile edition of the original *dbu med* text, Do rgya dBang drag rdo rje 2013 for an annotated edition of the text in *dbu can* script and Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od* by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan: The Tibetan text," this volume, pp. 121–169, for an improved *dbu can* edition, in particular with regard to the spelling of a large number of contracted ligatures and of otherwise shortened forms (including numbers).

[10] Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od* by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan: The Tibetan text," this volume, p. 132. See also Gu ge paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011: 290 (f. 9b).

[11] This town also appears on maps as Burang (Chin. Pǔlán). It is partly identical with the pre-modern sKyid thang or sKyid rang.

[12] As far as is known, the first (English) translation of the inscription and dating of the stela was undertaken by Vitali (1996: 168–169, n. 231). See also Denwood 2007: 51.

5. sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela on a stepped cement plinth (view of front/east and south face) (C. Kalantari, 2007).

6. Front (east) view of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela (C. Kalantari, 2007).

7. Front (east) view of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela (P. Sutherland, 2010).

standing in the open air (see Figs. 1–3). The following descriptions, historical comparative analyses and attached illustrations of this stela, which has so far not been publicised in the appropriate form, serve to open it up and make it known for further art-history and philological investigations. Above and beyond this, the study is an attempt to incorporate the stela in the context of the cultural and art history of the sPu rgyal dynasty as well as the early phase of the "later dissemination of Buddhism" (*bstan pa phyi dar*) in the West Tibetan kingdom. Based on the observations made by Giuseppe Tucci in Zhi sde in 1935, on the oral accounts recorded in lCog ro by Tsering Gyalpo until 2006 and on the statements of the inhabitants of the settlement interviewed on site in 2007, additional social and cultural-anthropology perspectives on this stela are opened up, which are supplemented by observations on the present-day and historic function of similar as well as simpler prehistoric stelae in the immediate and wider vicinity of Western Tibet.

**Documentation and Description**

The viewing and documentation of the stela, as well as a following interview with villagers on the subject, took place on 16 January 2007 and for reasons of time and because of the priority of other projects had to be carried out in only a few hours.

The stela is in a one-room shrine-like building on the northern edge of the settlement of lCog ro and seems to have been installed there sometime between October 2004 and June 2005.[13] The building is on the western side of the street and is surrounded by fields behind it. On the eastern side, in front of the building, are

[13] This gap results from the photographic documentation by Tsering Gyalpo in the course of a visit in September 2004 (when the stela was still standing in open air, obviously already in front of the building—which seems to have been built in 2002 according to local informants), and another one in June 2005 when he revisited the site. At that time the stela had already been placed inside the building.

8. South-east view of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela (H. Feiglstorfer, 2010).

9. North-east view of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela (H. Feiglstorfer, 2010).

10. South-west view of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela (H. Feiglstorfer, 2010).

some more crudely made stelae (Fig. 4), which according to the villagers were previously situated elsewhere (see below).

The base of the stela is let into a stepped cement pedestal, which on the front or eastern side allows a view of the base, which was probably previously partly underground, which makes it possible to recognise a wreath of lotus leaves. Together with the 18-cm-high lotus base, on the front the stela is 185 cm high with an average width of ca. 51 cm in the lower part and 49 cm in the upper part. The sides are each ca. 18 cm wide (Fig. 5).[14]

As before, i.e. before the erection of the building, the stela is set up with the front, distinguished by the relief image of Avalokiteśvara, facing east (Figs. 6 and 7).[15] On the two narrow sides, facing south and north, there are two Tibetan inscriptions in *dbu can* writing, which both start at about the shoulder height of Avalokiteśvara, approximately 130 cm from the upper step of the concrete base (see Figs. 8 and 9). Both inscriptions use the whole available width of the sides, up to the edge. The 19-line inscription on the southern side, which starts by giving the year and the month of the request for the erection of the stela, can be taken as the beginning of the text. That on the north side, with 24 lines, testifies to the execution of the task through reference to the confession made in the presence of Avalokiteśvara and through the dedication. While the whole surface of the two sides with inscriptions is smoothened, the reverse side facing west is only crudely hewn (see Fig. 10).

[14] The width of the sides thereby corresponds to the stela in Pooh in Upper Kinnaur, whose measurements were likewise given as 18 cm by Thakur (1994: 369). On this stela, see below.

[15] The uppermost part of the stela seems to have been lost through erosion. This is evident owing to the missing part on the upper curve of the oval nimbus.

The nature of the surface of the stela[16] displays certain differences on the four sides. Particularly noticeable on the front are the butter offerings attached in many places or the stains that have clearly been caused by them, which cause the stone to appear somewhat darker and the relief to stand out somewhat more in these places. Similarly noticeable are places with red pigment, which are to be found on the right hand and right upper arm of Avalokiteśvara, in the area of the upper part of the hip clothes and from there to the right edge. On the northern side the whole lower half is marked by this red pigment. The lower part of the inscription (about eight lines), which is free from the pigment—apart from a few places in the last two lines where it somewhat covers the inscription—is particularly easily readable as a result of the contrast. On the south side, the red layer of pigment is noticeable in the whole area of the inscription, but apart from the first seven lines seems to be less intense or faded. On the back only some parts in the area of the upper ca. 20 cm of the stela are covered in red pigment, while the colour of the remaining surface largely reflects the natural character of the stone. The red pigment on its surface may point towards cultic use at some time. It is not possible to tell when this pigment was applied, whether it was possibly immediately following the completion of the stone or at a later time, perhaps even recently.[17] In this case too, knowledge of the pigment and its chemical-physical characteristics would be very useful for further conclusions. As it is known that until around 15 years ago the stela stood in the open on the road between lCog ro and Zhi sde (see Tshe ring chos rgyal and Zla ba tshe ring 1994: 4 and 5–6 for illustrations),[18] and it must therefore be assumed that it was exposed to strong sunlight on the east and southern sides, this may possibly explain why the colour of the paint is for the most part less intense on these two sides in comparison to the northern side.

**Art-History Findings**

On the front of the regularly worked, cubic block of stone of the lCog ro stela there is a chiselled figurative portrayal (Fig. 5). The characteristic style provides evidence of a complex and cosmopolitan artistic layering: the figural typology reveals Central Tibetan stylistic features while Chinese-Central Asian material culture and symbols of authority and prestige are reflected in details of the costume and in the overall-layout. The form, function and meaning of this image in a West Tibetan religious-artistic context will be dealt with in greater detail in the following, which goes beyond the common scholarly consensus of "foreign influences".[19] It features a richly bejeweled bodhisattva, in the appearance of a young man, wearing a loincloth or *dhotī*. Iconographic characteristics are the right arm, which is lowered in the gesture of granting a wish (*varadamudrā*) and the lotus (*padma*), which is held in the left hand and grows upwards over the left shoulder.[20] Alongside these features the figure is above all identifiable by a motif on the crown, which highly probably represents a Buddha Amitābha figure. These features identify the figure as the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (sPyan ras gzigs dbang phyug), the bodhisattva of compassion, the supreme saviour of all suffering beings and the spiritual son of Amitābha (Figs. 6, 7 and 11). A nimbus containing a circle of flames frames the face, and an *ūrṇā* graces his forehead between the eyebrows. The bodhisattva's sumptuous princely *saṃbhogakāya* jewellery indicates supramundane splendour.[21] It is complemented by the full, ankle-length loincloth, which is arranged in schematic rounded folds and accentuated by its volume. It is decorated with curves that recall

[16] From a geological point of view this stela seems to involve an iron-rich limestone or a calcarus, yellow-brown oxidising sandstone with rounded fracture textures (as can be seen on the back of the stela), at least as far as a provisional assessment on the basis of the photographic documentation permits. Without knowledge of the geology of the immediate and wider vicinity, a conclusion on the origin of the stone is not possible (Dr Rudi Jahoda, personal communication, August 2008).

[17] The colouring of inscriptions seems to have been a widespread feature of Tibetan inscriptions on stone and rocks dating from the 7th–9th centuries. See Dieter Schuh (2013: 144–145) who also refers to a Tibetan inscription at Skardu in Baltistan which states that the belivers are summoned to restore the colour from time to time.

[18] This publication was not known to the authors at the time of the field research in 2007. It was only discovered and consulted during the course of the literature researches for this article. The same is true for another publication that appeared in China, which contains a rubbing of the inscriptions and a free illustration of the front of the stela (without the lotus base) with a not very accurate tint, both however without detailed commentary (Zheng 2000: 173–174). Only since the completion of the manuscript did it become known that Prof. Wang Yao had given the Avalokiteśvara stela as the subject of his lecture for the 10th Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies (IATS) in Oxford in 2003 (see Wang Yao 2003). It has not been possible to discover whether this lecture has since been published in written form.

[19] Based on the documentation and analyses of Vitali (1990), Luczanits (2004) and Heller (1997, 2006), this article attempts for the first time to assemble the various trends and regional types of this style and in particular to define the stylistic connections between the examples from Western Tibet.

[20] Here the stalk does not grow out of the ground, as is classically the case, but ends at the level of the navel.

[21] A large diamond-shaped attachment in the form of leafy tendrils adorns the upper arm ring, while the bejewelled hip ornament decorates the abdomen section and holds the loincloth (*dhotī*). A ribbon or decorative band that hangs from the hip decoration in the middle of the body and reaches down over the knee may represent a chain with hanging flower-shaped decorations or a belt that holds the *dhotī* in place. The shoulders are each covered by a straight line of beads, which are perhaps to be understood as falling strands of hair.

schematically arranged folds. The double curves at regular intervals, however, reflect decorative styles on textiles, consisting of detailed patterns arranged in rows above one another as are frequently seen in Indian and Nepalese printed textiles and the ornamental traditions in the region. The artist is here probably translating an Indian *dhotī* of fine cotton with a typical detailed pattern, which is usually shown wrapped around the body and clinging to the legs, into a Tibetan idiom distinguished by heavy, loose clothes of wool or silk brocade, which lends volume and plasticity to the figure.

**The Cult of Avalokiteśvara in the Early History of Buddhist Tibet**

The cult of Avalokiteśvara—and with it the ideal of sacrifice and redemption for other sentient beings and the salvation of the world—spread across the whole of India in the late Mahāyāna period (from the 6th century onward). In the Vajrayāna the bodhisattva assumes various many-headed and many-armed shapes.[22] Among its many manifestations in Tibet the deity appears as the attendant figure to a central Buddha, as for example in the sanctum of the main temple (*gtsug lag khang*) at Tabo dating from the end of the 10th century (in the latter case with one head and two arms; see Luczanits 2004: fig. 21). In the later Alchi gSum brtsegs (ca. 1200), it assumes a prominent four-armed manifestation as part of a central group of cultic figures consisting of colossal clay sculptures of the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Maitreya (*ibid*.: 209).[23]

In the ca. 12th century Zhag cave, Avalokiteśvara is depicted in the entrance corridor in a six-armed form identifying it as Sugatisandarśana Lokeśvara. He is flanked by two standing local males and a kneeling figure, which are most likely the donors—wearing the typical attire of the West Tibetan aristocratic elite—portrayed as pious devotees. The kneeling donor appears to be being blessed by Avalokiteśvara. This iconographic type is also found at Dungkar (Dung dkar), where Avalokiteśvara is venerated as the sovereign of a *maṇḍala* (cf. Tsering Gyalpo and Kalantari, "Guge kingdom-period murals in the Zhag grotto in mNga' ris, Western Tibet", this volume, Figs. 18–19, pp. 415–416).[24]

11. Detail of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela showing the butter offerings and the red colouration (C. Kalantari, 2007).

On the basis of texts such as *Chos rgyal srong btsan sgam po'i maṇi bka' 'bum* and other sources, the introduction of the Avalokiteśvara cult in Tibet was connected by later Tibetan historians with King Songtsen Gampo (Srong btsan sgam po), who is seen as an emanation of this bodhisattva.[25]

[22] The divinity is frequently worshipped in this form in Kashmir and also at a stela in Kashmir. See Linrothe 1999: fig. 8, 8a.

[23] On the cult of Avalokiteśvara see also de Mallmann 1948.

[24] At Khorchag a monumental Mañjuśrī in silver—commissioned by the royal family for the foundation of a temple around 1000—was complemented in the 13th century with statues of Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya, forming the famous "Three Jobo Silver Brothers" (Jo bo ngul sku mched gsum). The triad became an important focus of cult throughout Tibet and many copies were made to emulate its sacred presence (Tsering Gyalpo, Jahoda, Kalantari and Sutherland 2012 [2015]: 17–18, 24, passim).

[25] See Kapstein 1992. Even if there was cause for critical analyses and doubts, as Kapstein mentions (*ibid*.: 84), as early as the lDan/lHan kar ma catalogue (compiled in the year 812, with supplements up to the end of the ruling period of King Ral pa can; see Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: xviii–xxii) there are Tibetan translations of texts that were of fundamental importance for the cult of Avalokiteśvara (see also Lalou 1953). In addition, on the basis of his recent

12. Standing bodhisattva with *dhotī*; Tabo (Spiti, HP, India), main temple (*gtsug lag khang*), ca. 10th century, clay, height 195 cm (P. Sutherland, 2009).

Ian Alsop (1998) described the royal introduction and transmission to Nepal and Tibet of holy images of Avalokiteśvara—regarded as tutelary deity of the first historical king of Tibet. A famous specific image of 'Phags pa Lokeśvara (Ārya/Noble Avalokiteśvara), which served as a prototype for various replicas, assumes a special position in the mythic installation of the sacred image. As Alsop described, one image was brought to Kathmandu under difficult circumstances during the reign of Narendradeva (641–680) with the help of the king's spiritual advisor. Narendradeva was contemporary with Songtsen Gampo (see Vitali 1990: 71–72; Dotson 2009: 82) and, according to the transmission, he was the inaugurator of the cult and the yearly festivals of Avalokiteśvara which still exist in Nepal (Vergati 1995: 206). He is still regarded as protector of kingship and of the prosperity of the country up to the present day. This pattern of royal transmission may have been adopted in Tibet as a means of legitimation. The *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* [Clear Mirror of the Royal Genealogies] describes a group of four sacred images; one was miraculously brought (from Nepal) during the time of Songtsen Gampo to Tibet; in a Tibetan version of the story the place where it was found and installed lies on the border between India and Nepal and can be perhaps identified as Khorchag (Alsop 1998: 89), situated in close geographic proximity to lCog ro.

An important Buddhist icon in the Potala, known as Ārya-Lokeśvara, appears to be linked to this legendary transmission; the latter image displaying strong Newari features is presumably patterned after the famous ca. 7th century prototype (Alsop 1998: fig. 15). The statue featured as a model for various replicas in Tibet: one is from Mustang, which is kept in the royal chapel in the palace of the rulers of Lo at Tsarang, south of Mönthang (sMon thang) (Lo Bue 2010: fig. 1.2.); another is kept at Nako, Kinnaur (Alsop 1998: fig. 19).

Further studies will be necessary to determine the chronological sequence and forms of veneration of Avalokiteśvara in India and Central Asia, particularly to the extent that this has a bearing on its introduction into Tibet.[26]

*Stone Stelae and Reliefs in Stone in Early Tibetan Art*

The bodhisattva of the lCog ro stela is depicted standing in an upright pose (*samāpada*) on a lotus pedestal. The figure fills almost

researches of the Tibetan texts found in Dunhuang, which mainly date from the 10th century, van Schaik points out that sufficient evidence can be found for the presence and growing popularity of Avalokiteśvara as early as this time and the view that there is no evidence of an Avalokiteśvara cult in Tibet before the 11th century needs to be revised in the light of these findings (van Schaik 2006: 66).

[26] On the symbolic and increasingly political importance of the Avalokiteśvara cult in Tibet in the post-dynastic period see also Sørensen 2007.

the whole oblong frontal panel of the block and is worked in shallow relief, gaining somewhat in volume against the slightly recessed background. It is carved into the surface of the stone in simple outlines with light modelling along the contours. The rendering of the powerful physique, with its stiffness, broad shoulders, splayed feet and large hands, pays scant regard to natural proportions: the head seems too big for the upper body, while the relatively short legs are covered by an ankle-length loincloth or *dhotī*. The individual parts of the body flow into one another, displaying virtually no articulation. The almond-shaped eyes and the wings of the nose are carved in harsh, straight furrows into the schematic, shovel-shaped face. A heavy crown rising from a band of pearls rests on a circlet of curls. The bangle on the upper arm is decorated with a large lozenge-shaped upper element in the form of foliate tendrils, while the jewel-studded ornament on the hips decorates the belly and covers the knob of the band which holds the loincloth in place. From the centre of the ornament on the hips the two ends of the band ending in a decorative manner in a floral element fall to below the knee. The prominence of the large decorative elements in the crown, on the upper arms, hips and legs, which are worked in detail with a relative degree of plasticity gives additional emphasis to the overall planar and ornamental impression made by the composition. The loose *dhotī* deviates from the Indian treatment of garment and appears like legs of baggy trousers contrasting to renderings of the *dhotī* on Kashmir-derived artworks in early Buddhist temples of the region from the beginning of the 11th century onwards, such as in the main temple (*gtsug lag khang*) of Tabo (Fig. 12).

In addition the characteristic features displayed by the lCog ro stela contrast distinctively with stelae (some with Tibetan inscriptions) in the Kashmir style, such as those preserved at Dras (Kargil District, Jammu and Kashmir, India).[27] It concerns free-standing cult figures whose original place of erection and function can no longer be definitively clarified. Whereas the Kashmir style reflected in these figures is distinguished by the naturalistic plasticity and the interest in movement—to be seen for example in the triple curved posture of the body (*tribhaṅga*)—by means of which the figure is emancipated from its ground, the figure of the stela in lCog ro remains static and wholly subordinate to the cubic form of the block of stone. There the figure takes up most of the expanse of stone. Its stasis and strict hieratic frontality imbue the figure of the bodhisattva with monumentality, emphasising its dignity and extra-temporal presence, while the extended outsized hand symbolises the way the bodhisattva turns to the world of sentient beings to help them attain enlightenment. In contrast to the autonomous cultic image, here it is the monumental character which predominates, appearing as religious and political communication and medium conveying a self-portrayal of the elite. In Tibet, stone appears to be the medium *par excellence* for this function. The unity of image and religio-political text, both using almost the whole width of the block, further underlines the strategy to project sovereignty in a Buddhist-ordered realm. The stela combines a cult image for devotion with a Tibetan medium for a political-religious monument designed to establish a social landscape.

Stone was also an important material for cult images inside of temples at the time of the early Buddhist period in Central Tibet. Some of them reflect the influence of this medium transferred with artists from Nepal and India.[28] Examples of stone images from the 8th century can be found in Khra 'brug, which were, according to sources, manufactured by Newar artists (cf. Sørensen and Hazod 2005: figs. 43 and 44).[29]

In contrast, in early West Tibetan temples cult images made of stone are not commonly found. It can be concluded from early Buddhist temples in Himachal Pradesh predating the early West Tibetan temples that wooden statues must have been frequent as main cult statues. Some examples of such wooden images can be found at Pooh and at Charang (see Luczanits 2004: figs. 64–65).

However, from the 11th century onwards clay became the medium par excellence both in Central Tibet (Yemar [g.Ye dmar], Drathang [Gra/Grwa thang], Shalu [Zha lu]) and Western Tibet, although different techniques of manufacture and mountings on the walls were applied in each of these regions.[30]

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[27] See Luczanits (2005: 67), who points to the tendency to early dating (7th–10th century) of a group of rock reliefs in Mulbek, Dras and Changspa. He is one of the few authors to have previously concerned himself with the historical classification of early rock reliefs and stelae in West Tibet and the comparison with paintings in the region.

[28] In particular Pāla or Newar artists achieved great sophistication in the treatment of fine surfaces of stones (e.g. schist, sandstone) almost recalling metal.

[29] According to the transmission eight bodhisattva images are from Khotan (Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 17). The direction of the temple's main entrance towards Kathmandu further emphasises the orientation towards Nepal at that time. Concerning the reconstruction of the artistic context historical links with Nepal are particularly relevant. Activities of Newar artists in Tibet are frequently mentioned in sources. At Khra 'brug, Tibet's first temple, fragments of stone statues from the 8th century originally featuring a Buddha pentad with Vairocana in the centre survived which are reported to have been manufactured by Nepalese craftsmen. The stylistic characteristics of the lCog ro stela, with early Tibetan features appearing ultimately to be of Nepalese origin, perhaps also reflect the situation of the sanctity of the famous image of 'Phags pa Lokeśvara miraculously found during the time of Songtsen Gampo and installed in Tibet as a tutelary deity, as described by Alsop (1998).

[30] The tradition of clay sculptures must have been strong in India at that time—although little remained—as can be concluded from the Indianising Tibetan

13. Stela with image of a bodhisattva; Purang town, Tibet Autonomous Region, PR China (C. Jahoda, 2007).

The typology of the stone stela is in marked contrast to stone, wood and clay cult images for devotion in temples, which co-existed up to the 11th century;[31] the chosen material and the block-like shape of this form of image appear particularly associated with state, status and authority; it was connoted with political treaties and manifests from the earliest periods of the Yarlung (Yar lung) Empire. In this context the importance of stone effigies of animals guarding the entrance of Yarlung dynasty tombs in the Yarlung valley also needs to be mentioned.[32]

The statement contained in the inscription of the lCog ro stela and the visual "text" are subordinated to the block of stone, whose enduring quality and severe geometric form can also be seen as symbolising the everlasting duration of power.[33] The stela thereby forms a unique "web of meaning" of image, text and ritual praxis.

In terms of style and function, a related stela of a very vernacular type has been preserved on the eastern edge of Purang (Fig. 13). However, little can be said about its stylistic characteristics on account of its weathered state. A crown sits on the heavy, round head of the figure, the left hand is held against the breast and the right hand presumably hangs down, in a similar manner to that of the lCog ro image. Thus it might also represent a bodhisattva. The legs, like the thin arms, are depicted in a shortened and disproportionate fashion.[34]

Another example of this type of stela with a historical inscription has been preserved at Pooh in Upper Kinnaur[35] (Figs. 14–15; for

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style of the clay sculptures at Tabo *gtsug lag khang*. In later periods, such as the cave temples at Dungkar (12th century), interactions with the sophisticated tradions of clay sculptures in Buddhist centres on the northern Silk Road in eastern Central Asia may have existed. This can be assumed not only due to stylistic commonalities but also due to their specific position in the temple: at Dungkar clay images are set apart and elevated onto a higher spiritual level on account of the position in a raised niche, which recalls niches for the main cult images at the rear wall of cave temples at Dunhuang. This spatial arrangement of images cannot be found in early Buddhist temples in Western Tibet.

[31] The typology of the stone stela is different from devotional images in stone with carvings, typically featuring images of Avalokiteśvara, of different qualities and periods, often donated and positioned along pilgrimage paths to monasteries (cf. Devers, "An archaeological account of Nyarma and its surroundings, Ladakh", this volume, pp. 201–224, and Feiglstorfer, "The architecture of the Buddhist temple complex of Nyarma", this volume, pp. 225–257).

[32] The size of a famous stone lion of a Yarlung dynasty tomb (7th–8th century) is approximately 150 cm (Hazod 2015: fig. 6, p. 591).

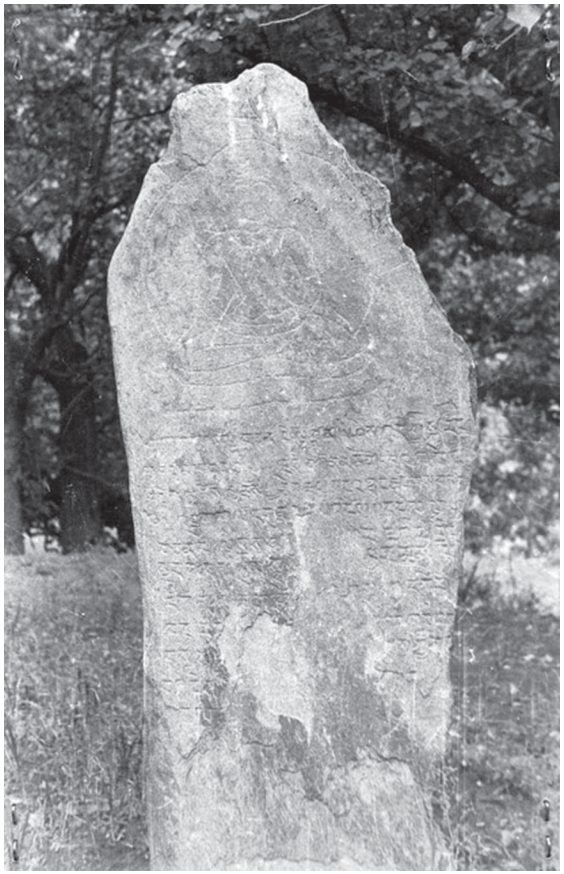
[33] In this respect there is a distant connection with the famous stone statues of Turkic dignitaries with inscriptions found in Mongolia and southern Siberia (see Öhrig 1988).

[34] It is conceivable that the working of the ca. 170-cm-high stone block started with the portrayal of the large head and upper body, filling the whole width of the stela, but the proportions of the pre-prepared image bearer did not permit a complete figure. It is also conceivable that the portrait was already damaged in its production and was never in cultic use, unlike the lCog ro stela, which is still worshipped today. It is rather unlikely that the lower part weathered and was subsequently completed.

[35] Upper Kinnaur (Khu nu) is a Tibetan-speaking area of Himachal Pradesh, India, today on the border of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR, China), which

further illustrations of the front and reverse sides see Thakur 1994: 370, 372). This stela dates from a later historical phase, and Thakur not only links it with the Royal Lama (*lha bla ma*) Ye shes 'od on account of its inscription but also dates it to the latter's lifetime (1004; *ibid*.: 375). Vitali and Petech have published different readings and interpretations of this only poorly preserved and legible inscription.[36] The stela displays simplified representations of a bodhisattva figure in shallow relief on one side and on the other a *stūpa*, the style of which contrasts with the monumentality of the cultic figure in lCog ro. Tsering Gyalpo ("Brief description of the traditions related to the 'translator's *mchod rten*' existent in Kyu wang, Western Tibet", this volume, Figs. 8–13, pp. 64–66) documented and examined an important but as yet little studied monument in stone without inscriptions at Kyuwang (Kyu wang) in the Tsamda District of Western Tibet. It features an image and a *stūpa* above on each side of the block recalling the four-faced image of Vairocana at Tabo. In stylistic terms the image appears to reflect the art of Kashmir.

A group of dynastic-period cultic images with inscriptions carved onto rocks in Eastern Tibet displays typological similarities to the Purang stelae. The defining feature here is the close relationship between image and historical statement, as documented by an example in lDan ma brag (Chab mdo Prefecture) with an image of Vairocana. According to its dedicatory inscription, the rock relief was commissioned in 816—according to another interpretation in 804—ahead of the treaty concluded between China and Tibet in 821/22 (see Heller 1997: 86, 89; Heller 2006: 82, fig. 5).[37]



14–15. Stela with bodhisattva figure in shallow relief on top of inscription on one side and on the other a *mchod rten* above a standing bodhisattva figure; Pooh, Upper Kinnaur, Himachal Pradesh, India (E. Ghersi, 1933, © Museo delle Civiltà - MAO "G. Tucci", Rome).

In stylistic terms the schematic figurative style of the lCog ro stela would seem at first glance to have a closer affinity to the medium of rock carvings rather than sculpture. There is a distant connection with the reliefs of the Five Buddhas carved on a rock face at Shey in Ladakh (Snellgrove and Skorupski 1977: fig. 5) and in Satpara (near Skardu, Baltistan; see Denwood 2007: fig. 6). In terms of their frontality and the graphic qualities displayed in the rendering of the body, these reliefs, dated by Denwood to between the 8th and 10th century (*ibid*.: 50–51), can be compared with the stela but also exhibit certain elements of the aesthetics and formal idiom of the Ladakh-Baltistan region deriving from the rich Buddhist tradition of northern Pakistan and Kashmir. These reliefs are shallower and limited to graphic outlines of the figures, however they appear to be

historically belonged to the area of power and influence of the West Tibetan kingdom. According to some Tibetan sources (e.g. *Rin chen bzang po rnam thar 'bring po*, see Snellgrove and Skorupski 1980: 95, 108), Pooh (sPu) belonged to the Rong chung area on the upper course of the Sutlej, which today is largely within the TAR.

[36] According to Vitali this stela is to be seen as a royal foundation that took place only after the lifetime of Ye shes 'od. The Dragon year (*'brug gi lo*) described in the inscription may in his judgement relate to one or other year marked by this animal sign between 1028 and 1102 (Vitali 1996: 207–208, n. 301). Petech in contrast considers Devarāja, one of the sons of Ye shes 'od, as the probable author and is of the view that the Dragon year may correspond to 1024 (Petech 1997: 235).

[37] Some authors, however, date this inscription to 804 (see Dotson 2006: 115–116). On the basis of the inscription and the local tradition, these reliefs are associated with the Tang princess Wencheng Gongzhu, one of the two wives of Srong btsan sgam po. Heller (1997: 100) showed the characteristic signs in the iconography of Vairocana in the Tibetan dynastic period. Yet another different interpretation was published recently by Yoshiro Imaeda according to whom "the year in the first sentence of the inscription does not refer to the year in which the prayers and images were made or to the year in which the inscription was written." (Imaeda 2012: 115–116). In his view, "[i]t is not impossible that the Ldan ma brag inscription (II) was erected to commemorate the nomination of Bran ka Yon tan to the High Council of Religion and State Affairs [dated by Imaeda to 804] […]. The rock images must have been carved in order to commemorate this nomination" (*ibid*.: 117–118), which as may be concluded from Imaeda's discussion should have taken place in one of the years after 804.

16. Avalokiteśvara, banner from Dunhuang, cave 17, 9th century, Tang dynasty, distemper on silk; British Museum, London (after Kossak and Singer 1998: fig. 1, p. 4).

more precisely worked in contrast to the unsmoothed surface of the lCog ro stela, and they express the language of aesthetics and form in the Ladakh-Baltistan region. Despite the planar rendering, the fluid and deeply chiselled outlines create a certain idea of plasticity and rather naturalistic vividness of the figure which is not intended at lCog ro, where the emphasis is on volume, stasis and symmetry.

*Artistic Context*

Of greatest interest for the stylistic classification of the lCog ro stela in the last-mentioned sense—taking into consideration the different genres—is a well-known group of early, narrow painted silk banners with Tibetan inscriptions, discovered in Cave 17 at Dunhuang (Gansu Province)—the prominent oasis centre and Buddhist pilgrimage place on a crossroads of two major trade routes within the Silk Road network—which have been dated to the 9th century (Whitfield and Farrer 1990: 62; cf. also Kossak and Singer 1998: 4), the period of the Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang (ca. 787–846) and the resulting cultural and political contacts.[38] The images on the cloth banners are probably modeled on Indian and Nepalese prototypes, wearing Indian *dhotī* and Indian jewellery. (Owing to their mobility, however, they may originally have come from other regions, possibly from Khotan, which the different type of binding of the silk would suggest; *ibid*.: 62.) These banners are among the earliest artworks executed in an independent, presumably Tibetan, style (Fig. 16) for which the disputed term "Himalayan style" has been coined by Nicolas-Vandier (1974: xviii).[39] This style differs in important aspects such as the rendering of the body and dress from the local Tang-inspired Chinese-Central Asian style of the famous (non-Tibetan) Dunhuang banners (see Whitfield and Farrer 1990: 60–63). This artistic pluralism is exemplary for Buddhist oasis centres along the Silk Road network, which had their own unique combination of languages and artistic influences brought from afar and developed locally. That these works do in fact represent a Tibetan idiom can be assumed with reasonable certainty by comparing them not only with sculptures in Central Tibet but also with dateable examples of paintings in Western Tibet. As will be shown, a group of early Buddhist paintings at Tabo shows important affinities, in particular images of the royal elite and lay adherents and related material culture designed to project authority and status.

Characteristic features that distinguish the Tibetan banners from the Chinese-Central Asian banners in Dunhuang are the frontality and planar quality of the figures and the light modelling along the contours, features which are reminiscent of the lCog ro stela, although the latter has a simpler overall appearance; however, this may be due to the decorative details dominating the painting. Of course, the material of stone naturally leads to a different visual appearance, which is often simpler or even archaic. Then again, depictions of baldachins or honorific covers of precious fabrics on the Tibetan banners attest to Chinese-Central-Asian notions of sacred space and are a frequent element in the throne depictions from Dunhuang.[40] A significant commonality is that both image and text on the reverse use almost the entire width of the elongated format.

The fluid transitions between the parts of the body, the large, powerful hands of the deities and specific naturalistic elements on the Tibetan banners, such as the small discs at the centre of the lotus base which represent the alveoli with seeds in the rootstock or rhizome,[41] as well as the delight in subtle details of costume and decoration, are also associated with the lCog ro stela and display certain parallels with a stylistic trend from Eastern India through the filter of Nepal (cf. Heller 1998: 95; fig. 78) and Central Tibet. Other features that can be compared with the lCog ro stela are the shovel-shaped face, the large, broad crown with foliate points and the large jewels on it.[42]

However, the characteristic voluminous *dhotī* of the lCog ro Avalokiteśvara contrasts with the short, tight-fitting Indian loincloths displaying small-scale patterns worn by the Tibetan Dunhuang bodhisattvas. It reminds one of heavy silk fabrics and might be a reminiscence of Chinese-Central-Asian costumes, which display a predilection for complex decorated luxury fabrics with heavy folds that conceal the shape of the body. The latter are also to be seen in early Central Tibetan sculptures in the temple at Ke ru (Keru, "Kwachu") (Figs. 17–19)[43] in the 'On region of central Tibet (sNe gdong District, lHo kha Prefecture), which was originally founded during the phase of the Yarlung dynasty. As suggested by Vitali, the

[38] The silk banners form a group of ten objects, of which seven are in the National Museum in New Delhi and three in the British Museum in London. The banners may have been produced by Tibetan artists or for Tibetan commissioners during this period.

[39] On this term see also Soper 1979: 328; Klimburg-Salter 1982: 116–117; Luczanits 2004: 226.

[40] An honour canopy of textiles also covers the above-mentioned Vairocana portrait in lDan ma brag from the early 9th century.

[41] Circular depressions with a hump in the middle, as can be seen in lCog ro, represent the alveoli with seeds in the rhizome. On this see also Heller 1997: 96, figs. 70 and 77.

[42] Soper (1979: 328) summarises the characteristics of the "Himalayan style" of the Dunhuang banners with the words "delicacy" and "nervous strength".

[43] According to research by Pa sangs dbang 'dus, the temple that Vitali equates with the Kwa chu mentioned in the historical sources is probably identifiable as Ke ru *lha khang* (see Vitali 1990: 1–35; Pasang Wangdu 2007).

(heavily reworked) clay bodhisattva figures in this temple, which probably date from the 9th-century phase of decoration, can also be assigned to an early Tibetan style.[44] Again, it is the planar, static figurative style with fluid transitions in the modelling, the heavy heads decorated with large, generously proportioned crowns, and the sharp, graphically emphasised facial features with the small mouth and high eyebrows forming sharp ridges that are strongly reminiscent of the lCog ro stela. I suggest denominating this artistic idiom as the "Tibetan dynastic style".

Certain elements of this early Tibetan or dynastic style can also be recognised in later phases of Central Tibetan painting, especially as regards the frontality, stiffness and the straight legs, as they appear in a thangka depicting the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, presently in the Yarlung Museum, Tsethang. The image probably also originated in Keru and has been dated to the 11th century (Lee-Kalisch 2006: ill. on p. 244). Here the Tibetan type is combined with elements of Indian art, its probable models being Pāla-era manuscripts, which were introduced into Tibet at that time and were copied there (*ibid*.: 246).[45]

In general, it can be said of the style of the stela that the Indianised Tibetan features correspond to a type in the language of style modes that are characteristic of early Central Tibetan art, which draws from

[44] See Vitali 1990: 20–21, pls. 5–10. The author came to the conclusion that this second phase of decoration in the temple was associated with 'Bro Khri gsum rje and dated to the years after 822 (*ibid*.: 19–22).

[45] Comparable with the stela are the straight legs and plump feet, while the delicate hands and the ball-shaped crown differentiate the two works. In all, the stela is closer to the Dunhuang examples.

17. Bodhisattva statues; Keru Lhakhang, inner sanctum (*dri gtsang khang*), 'On valley, ca. 9th century (C. Kalantari, 2010).

18. Bodhisattva statues; Keru Lhakhang, inner sanctum (*dri gtsang khang*), 'On valley, ca. 9th century (C. Kalantari, 2010).

19. Bodhisattva statues; Keru Lhakhang, inner sanctum (*dri gtsang khang*), 'On valley, ca. 9th century (after Vitali 1990: plate 7).

20. Donors, Tabo monastery, main temple, entry hall, ca. 1000 (C. Kalantari, 2009).

a complex layering of sources of Indianised, Newar-Tibetan and Central Asian inspiration. Many aspects of the Dunhuang banners and the Keru images are thus relevant for reconstructing the context of the stela. One important level of commonalities concerns form and function, material culture and elite self-fashioning, which will be discussed in the following.

*From Dunhuang to Tabo: Material Culture and Courtly Prestige in Early Buddhist Temples*

An important point of reference for stylistic characteristics and the embedding of the Purang stela in the history of the regional Western Tibetan stylistic developments is provided by the early paintings in the old entrance hall (*sgo khang*) of the main temple (*gtsug lag khang*) at Tabo. Among these, it is in particular the static female figures flanking the image of the tutelary deity and the assembly scenes with the depiction of the temple's founder, Ye shes 'od, in the old entrance hall (*sgo khang*) (Fig. 20) that can tentatively be assigned to this group. These early images in Tabo represent a specifically local Western Tibetan style at the end of the 10th century. It is applied to represent a non-Indian (and non-Kashmiri) Tibetan environment and is characterised by symbols of representation replete with elements of Central Tibetan and Central Asian luxury art.

Contrasting with it is religious imagery, for example, the early sculptures in the sanctum of the main temple of the same phase (see Luczanits 2004: figs. 19-28 for illustrations).[46] Characteristic are tube-shaped legs, cylindrical bodies, almost no modelling, smooth and even treatment of the body, half-closed eyes, and a marked interest in decorative elements and jewellery. Luczanits has recently convincingly defined this as the "earliest stage of Western Tibetan, Kashmir-inspired style".[47] This style was abandoned in favour of a more-sculptural figurative type during the 11th century, perhaps in direct interactions with royal workshops from Kashmir proper.[48]

As mentioned above, early Tibetan art, or the "Tibetan dynastic style", is characterised by a palimpsestic adaption. It is a result of interactions not only between Tibet and India and Nepal but also between Tibet and the many regional centres in Central Asia, such as Kashgar (Beckwith 1987: 30), Khotan, Kucha and Khocho, which Tibetan troops controlled sporadically from the 7th to the 9th centuries.[49] Each oasis had its own unique combination of religions, languages, artistic influences brought from afar and developed locally. Dunhuang in particular had a vital strategic and logistical

[46] For further illustrations see the same author's "Indian and Tibetan Art" website: http://www.univie.ac.at/itba/pages/sites.html (last accessed Dec. 24, 2008). A related sculptural style in Ropa in upper Kinnaur, to which Luczanits has already referred (see Luczanits 2004: 59, figs 53–57), should also be mentioned.

[47] Certain constructive parallels with the Central Tibetan Keru images with regard to the wooden constructions as holders of the sculptures and the conscious "involvement" of these frameworks as part of the overall furnishing of the two temples should be mentioned.

[48] In the catalogue *The Silk Road and the Diamond Path* (1982: 118) Klimburg-Salter still compares the cella figures in Tabo with the Dunhuang banners, while the historical significance and artistic context of the figures are no longer discussed by her in later work (1997: 48). There the figures receive the not further elaborated comment: "The cella sculptures are problematic." (Luczanits 1997: 200; Luczanits 2004: 36–41) deals in detail with the earlier sculptures in Tabo. In contrast to older dating proposals, owing to iconographic and stylistic criteria as well as construction-history analyses of the site where they are erected, the author places the figures in the earliest phase of the art of the kingdom of Purang Guge, at the end of the 10th century, and notes the technological complexity of the sculptures as well as the numerous Central Asian references.

[49] Tibetan domination of the Tarim states and neighboring regions had begun in the 7th century. "The Tibetans had now conquered a fairly large expanse of territory in eastern Central Asia. The region straddled the main East-West transcontinental trade routes, and was then a dynamic, integral part of the highly civilized Buddhist heartland of Eurasia" (*ibid*.: 37). In 787, Tibet captured Dunhuang (*ibid*.: 152).

Khocho fell to the Tibetans in 791, and in this period Tibetans took Khotan. "'Bro Khri gźu ram śags, having invaded the Western Regions, subjugated Khotan and levied taxes" (*ibid*.: 155). Thus began the long period of Tibetan rule over Khotan, the neighbouring regions of the southern route through eastern Central Asia.

importance for trade, on a crossroads of two major trade routes within the Silk Road network. Dunhuang was not simply a recipient of trade, however, but had a very active export market, too, and was a producer of many varieties of silk.

The Tibetan Buddhist elite in Central Tibet continued and developed these specific transregional markers of their taste for a status and court society and its treasures within a broader geographic horizon. Precious textiles such as silks play a prominent role among these markers. The value of silk gave it particular appeal as a political and religious symbol, it was widely accepted as a currency, and it served as a medium for artistic exchange.

This political aspect of material culture is in particular expressed in the images of bodhisattvas and lay adherents depicted in the sumptuous robes of Central Asian rulers and of the Tibetan elite including the turbans and diadems of the Tibetan kings, in the 11th-century Central Tibetan temples of Drathang and Yemar.[50] Most impressive are the monumental cult images which were once housed in the temple of Yemar (destroyed in the 1950s). They were attired with precious robes tailored from silk brocades, and the artists who created them were perhaps drawing on models from silk-producing centres in Central Asia (cf. Govinda 1979: 44ff. for historic photographs). Characteristic are the static, somewhat compressed bodies, large heads and loose robes decorated with roundels known from precious silk brocades. The complex fabrics of the aristocratic elite's clothing were widespread in the oasis towns along the Silk Road. A unique ensemble of valuable Central Asian silks of Tibetan provenance consisting of a jacket and trousers should be mentioned here (Watt and Wardwell 1997: 37; cat. no. 5). The set of Sogdian and Tang-period silks presumably comes from Tibet or was manufactured in Tibetan controlled areas in the 8th century and may thereby also have been the property of Tibetan kings. The extensive importation of valuable silks into Tibet is also documented in the inscription on the Zhol *rdo ring* in Lhasa (this stela is dated by Richardson [1985: 2] to the year 764 or slightly later). This mentions the annual duty or tribute payment of 50,000 bales of silk (*dpya dar yug lnga khri*) from the Chinese rulers of this period (*ibid*.: 12–13).

The cult images of Drathang and Yemar are of strong Pāla-artistic flavour, resulting perhaps from the importation of Indian artists—purposefully engaged in the 11th century, inter alia of Atiśa. In

[50] Illustrations of the paintings and sculptures have been published among others in Vitali (1990, chapter 2; Drathang: pls. 29ff., Yemar: pls. 18ff.). For a discussion of the political connotations of the famous pictures of gatherings with portrayals of the Buddha Vairocana at the centre in Gra/Grwa thang, see Heller 2002: 37–70.

21. Buddha assembly, Drathang monastery (Central Tibet), inner sanctum (*dri gtsang khang*), west wall, 11th century (C. Kalantari, 2010).

22. Buddha assembly, Drathang monastery (Central Tibet), inner sanctum (*dri gtsang khang*), west wall, 11th century (C. Kalantari, 2010).

23. Buddha assembly, Shalu monastery, Yum chen mo temple (Central Tibet), 11th century (C. Kalantari, 2010).

24. Bodhisattva, Shalu monastery, Yum chen mo temple (Central Tibet), 11th century (C. Kalantari, 2007).

contrast, details of cloths and ornament are reminiscent of images of elite culture in Central Asia, in particular Dunhuang during the Tibetan period. Of course precious textiles which were traded to Tibet are good candidates for such a transfer of codes associated with authority and courtly splendour. This conscious pluralism of style is best studied on the basis of the well-preserved Buddha gatherings in Drathang (Figs. 21–22). They consciously drew from codes of court society in Central Asia during the Tibetan period in order to project status and royalty in Central Tibet in the most effective way. One has also to mention the aspect of political theology in the sense of Tibetan kings as an emanation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. In looking at the lCog ro stela, one is reminded of the Indianising Central Tibetan mode of the bodhisattva portrayal.

Founders and their artists who created the cult images at Yemar and the Buddha gatherings at Drathang and Shalu developed a complex layering of Indianising figural types and Chinese Central Asian elite culture. The Shalu bodhisattvas (Figs. 23–24) (ca. mid-11th century) are represented in a Pāla idiom with corresponding clothing and jewellery. Comparable stylistic features can be seen in an early thangka featuring Buddha Amitāyus in the MET (New York, cf. Figs. 25–26; cf. Kossak 1998: cat. no. 1, p. 51); this is clearly created on Pāla models, as can be concluded by comparison with dated sculptures from Eastern India. This mode is different from the historic minor characters/lay adherents and donors with Tibetan clothing shown at Shalu and the upper section of the MET thangka (Fig. 26).[51] These mirror how society's elites dressed and were engaged in courtly receptions and outdoor pastimes such as hunting. The portrayals of the founders in the niches of the Shalu Gonkhang (*mgon khang*) represent one of these different types. They represent a local Tibetan mode with a concept of figures that is less abstracted and idealised, and presumably with contemporary attributes.

These examples are exemplary of the exchange and the mutual influence of Central Asian, Pāla, Newari and Tibetan art, which led to the development of wholly unique, unmistakeable art forms and to regional Western and Central Tibetan styles. In particular, depictions of valuable fabrics played an important role as identity-forming features in early Tibetan art.[52]

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[51] In gathering and Buddha-preaching portrayals in Drathang the bodhisattvas display a Pāla-style type of face combined with Tibetan forms of clothing. In addition, smaller accompanying figures are also portrayed that are reproduced in a Sinicising style with Tang-period jewellery and costumes. This reflects a cosmopolitan situation during the period of the "second dissemination of Buddhism" inherited from the imperial period. In this period diverse traditions co-existed in Central Tibet (Ü [dBus] and Tsang [gTsang]) integrating artistic trends from the Pāla dynasty of India and Nepalese art as well as models from the major Buddhist centres of Khotan and Dunhuang.

[52] Textiles in paintings are signs of status, identity and individuality, and often lend the figures portrait-like features, even if the type of figure frequently follows stereotypical models. Accordingly, the precise—and very probably naturalistic—reproduction of textiles was often given great attention. Moreover, textile motifs and throne portrayals are fascinating evidence of the passing on of the courtly Tibetan luxury culture in the "ruling sphere" of the Buddha as the sovereign of the spiritual sphere as well as of the political intentions of the founders who are associated with these temples and their furnishings.

Characteristic elements of material culture in the earliest paintings in the entrance hall (*sgo khang*) at Tabo that point to Tibetan courtly culture in Central Asia are sumptuous robes with overlong sleeves of the ruling elites decorated with patterns which allude to sumptuous luxury textiles and the throne scenes of the royal founder Ye shes 'od, surrounded by baldachins decorated with scattered flowers (Fig. 20) (see Papa-Kalantari 2007a: 201; 2007b: 162ff.).[53] These appear to be inspired by luxury textiles associated with royal workshops of oasis centres along the Silk Road in Central Asia.

Comparable sartorial conventions can be seen in assemblies or social gatherings of donors (including social interactions like drinking of wine) depicted on a ca. 11th century Pāla-style thangka in the MET (Figs. 25–26).

In particular large lotus rosettes constitute popular decorative elements in the Tang-era cave temples at Dunhuang which mimic sumptuous textiles, both on the ceiling and as painted honorific covers. They also adorn a number of baldachins on the Tibetan banners from Dunhuang mentioned above. The baldachins and costumes in the entrance hall at Tabo presumably mimic Central Asian luxury textiles, conforming to the tradition of the courtly tastes of the aristocratic elite during the time of the Tibetan Empire. Such luxury textiles created in courtly workshops in Chinese Central Asia painted in a Western Tibetan temple reflect the desire of the rulers to project authority and court society and its treasures in the most effective way.

In view of the illustration of textiles in Tabo, which exceed the throne portrayals in the frescos there and define the ruler's space, it should be mentioned that tents made of valuable material—in

25. Thangka featuring Amitāyus attended by bodhisattvas (MET, New York) (after Kossak and Singer 1998: cat. no. 1, p. 50).

26. Thangka featuring Amitāyus, detail of monks with offerings, upper left corner (after Kossak and Singer 1998: cat. no. 1, p. 50).

[53] Ye shes 'od together with his son Nāgarāja on the left-hand side are shown enthroned on a high wooden seat (in *lalitāsana*, royal ease) below a baldachin. The robe has lapels with additional epaulettes on the shoulders (comparable to the *sgo khang* at Shalu). Ye shes 'od and Nāgarāja are separated from the following figures by a closed umbrella as a sign of power (cf. Jahoda and Kalantari 2016: 94).

27. Shalu monastery, Yum chen mo temple (Central Tibet), details of ceiling ornament (11th century) (C. Kalantari, 2007).

28. Shalu monastery, Yum chen mo temple (Central Tibet), details of ceiling (11th century) (C. Kalantari, 2007).

29. Shalu monastery, Yum chen mo temple (Central Tibet), details of ceiling (11th century) (C. Kalantari, 2007).

their function as mobile residences and thus an ephemeral room of high prestige—possibly played an important role as insignia of the Tibetan kings since the earliest times, as can be presumed from the burial objects in the Yarlung graves.[54] Precious cloths representing codes of court society and Tibetan rulers were then also used to define Buddhist sacred space as can be seen in images of local protectors at Tabo as well as ceilings mimicking precious textiles. Accordingly, the tutelary deity is shown in a sacred space defined by a textile.

Similar aesthetic preferences and a refined culture of luxury cloths, as in the early paintings of Tabo, are also reflected somewhat later in the ornamental culture of the wall and ceiling paintings of the early temples of Shalu (Central Tibet, ca. 1045). The Yum Chenmo temple (Yum chen mo *lha khang*) at Shalu displays textile décor of large complex rosettes with naturalistic birds and playing children between pomegranates, which represent popular decorative elements on the silk damasks of the late Tang, the Liao and the Northern Song dynasties (10th–12th century; Figs. 24, 27–29; see also Watt and Wardwell 1997: 45, cat. no. 9, and 49, cat. no. 11). In the refined ceiling ornaments in the Yum chen mo temple affinities can be found with the depictions seen on the murals at Drathang (Figs. 21–22), which also feature single leaves in various contrasting colours and fanciful blooms combining different types of flowers and fruits.[55]

The intention behind this complex layering is not a simple question of "artistic influence", but they have political aims, namely a conscious elite self-fashioning of ruling houses who deemed themselves heirs to a past grandeur in Central Asia and sought to connect with the Tibetan Empire in Central Asia. A comparable phenomenon has been recently discussed by Flood (2017), who demonstrated that from the beginning of the 12th century Buddhist elite culture in Ladakh adopted symbols of status and power of local rulers on the borders of the Muslim world—the heirs of the sophisticated artistic traditions and innovations in Iran and beyond.

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[54] On this see Papa-Kalantari 2007a: 190; 2008: 235. Interesting in relation to this is also a monumental luxury silk fabric with large medallions and lion decoration on a red background in the Abegg Foundation, which has a Tibetan inscription and possibly is to be seen as a burial object that should be classified in the imperial context. For illustrations and a description see Otavsky 1998: figs. 5 and 6; further, see Heller 1998: 95–118 for a detailed analysis of the inscription and the art- and cultural-history context.

[55] Foliage and lotus flowers are not canonical lotus blossoms with pointed lotus petals, but they show small, round petals in fan-like arrangements like bunches of flowers.

*Dating*

The meagre number of surviving sculptures from the time of the Tibetan kings (7th–9th century) and the early phase of the "later diffusion of Buddhism" in the kingdom of Purang-Guge (10th/11th century) means that a definite temporal attribution of the lCog ro stela based exclusively on stylistic analysis remains insecure. Nonetheless, the sum of the stylistic, epigraphic and historical evidence does permit a tentative assignment of the stela to a phase of the early Tibetan style, in sculpture and in painting in Central Asia and Central Tibet in the 9th century. Within this development the stela is most closely related in style to the Central Asian examples from Dunhuang and Keru, and thus a tentative dating to the end of the 9th or beginning of the 10th century can be proposed.

Historical evidence for political and thus also artistic relations between regions of Central Asia and Western Tibet can be associated with the donor of the stela named in its inscription, a member of the prestigious 'Bro clan. This clan was present at Dunhuang, and also makes an appearance in Keru, and could thus have played a major role in the distribution of Buddhist artefacts such as votive banners or thangkas belonging to this style[56] in Upper gTsang or Western Tibet, the probable origin of the clan, according to recent research. It is certainly possible that the stela originated in Central Tibet, as claimed by local tradition. The existence of another related stela in Purang (see Fig. 13), however, may indicate that there was a local artistic tradition with strong ties to Central Tibet, thus confuting the thesis that it was imported into this region.

It can be said that, as a whole, the stelae at Purang are simpler in style and more archaic in appearance than the early Tabo images (end of 10th century), and are thus of an earlier date than Tabo.[57] However, both reflect a local variant in a common, independent tradition of the early Indianising Tibetan style in Central Tibet, drawing on sources of Tibetan art which flourished in Central Asia. Although created in different regions, in previous research it was subsumed under the general term "Himalayan Style". The stela can rather be defined as a local current of a strong Central Tibetan, Pāla-inspired style which I denominate "Tibetan dynastic style" due its complex layering and elements of luxury art designed to project power and prestige within a greater geographic horizon. Certain elements of this stylistic trend flourished in different regions and with local characteristics but they developed relatively independently.

*Conclusion*

A discussion of the early Tibetan style that goes beyond mere enumeration of influences from neighbouring cultures such as India, China or Nepal is still in its infancy. There are individual studies of a number of early temples and monasteries in the Western Himalayas, but the reconstruction of the historical development of a characteristic Tibetan art and research into the mutual stylistic relations of these artefacts in the Western Himalayas prior to the 13th century have not advanced very far as yet.[58]

The results of the present study allow us to establish a bridge between the stylistic development of early Buddhist art during the time of the Yarlung dynasty in Central Tibet and the oldest Buddhist foundations in Western Tibet, such as Tabo in the 10th century. The lCog ro stela represents an important missing link in this reconstruction. A constant feature is the desire to project court societies as wealthy and pious Buddhist donors. The models of these strategies in early Tibetan art were court societies in Central Asia and their treasures. Tibetan artists drawing on this language of elite culture effectively developed codes of their taste and grandeur within a broader geographic horizon. Not only luxury art and prestigious textiles and robes play an important role but so do the representations of social interactions, such as assemblies of monks depicted in elaborate settings and holding offerings, as depicted in an early Central Tibet thangka (Fig. 26). The latter are also central features to project authority in Islamicate- inspired donor assemblies at Alchi representing members of the 'Bro clan (Kalantari, forthcoming).

The present analysis aims to embed the stela in terms of its art and history in a distinctive early Tibetan style in the Western Himalayas, but it also offers the opportunity to pay due tribute to the originality of this type. For it is the unique characteristics engendered in this dialogue between various cultures that endows the objects belonging to this style of early Tibetan art with their originality. In this style, it is evident that Indian and Central Asian models were consciously adapted and transformed to form a new and quite distinctive tradition.

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[56] Owing to the existence of a stylistically unique portrayal of a Vaiśravaṇa in Nako in the western Himalayas, representing a "foreign" type in the region, which might have been spread through banners from Dunhuang, the author suggests a transfer of styles over long distances along the pilgrim and trade routes (Papa-Kalantari 2010: 102).

[57] As there are no other known examples of this type from this period of sculptural form, the stela gives a certain idea of what the clay sculptures of Tabo and Ropa may have looked like in their original condition.

[58] The definition of styles from the perspective of Tibetan literature and the comparison of preserved works with descriptions in these historical treatises remains in its early stages however.

This research reveals that the characteristics of early Tibetan art are not the product of an immature or even primitive style but the result of deliberate stylistic choice and are thus the defining features of an art form of extraordinary longevity and diffusion in Tibet. The task of future research will be to elucidate the development of regional variants and their relationship to one another.

The early phase of this type occurs at Dunhuang, Khotan, Central Tibet and in Western Tibet as early as the 9th century at the time of the Tibetan Empire, and continued to exist, with various different regional characteristics, until at least the end of the 10th/ beginning of the 11th century. Whereas North-West Indian and Kashmiri stylistic elements became dominant in the royal Buddhist centres of Western Tibet at the end of the 10th century, in Central Tibet in contrast, with the active engagement of Indian artists, a unique amalgam of Tibetan and Pāla-style models emerged during the 11th century.

In the Western Himalayas, this early Tibetan style was superseded in the 11th century by a courtly artistic idiom—created in direct interactions with royal workshops in Kashmir—that suited new religious requirements and the need for an outward display by the religious and political elite and found expression in the more sumptuous decoration of the temple and monastery complexes endowed by this elite, for which huge resources, probably from gold deposits must have been made available.[59] Luxury art as a marker of the elite's taste and status was then also inspired by the court culture of Kashmir[60] and—from the 12th century—by small Iranianising kingdoms on the border of the Islamic realm.

[59] The presumably most important sources for the furnishing of the religious buildings seem to have been the rich gold deposits. Further it is known that under Ye shes 'od the socio-economic organisation in the whole domain was subject to a thoroughgoing transformation and a permanent system of the funding of the monasteries was established (see Jahoda 2015: 53–54, 148–151).

[60] Precious silks with large rosettes and other Iranicate motifs, in particular with pearl borders (transmitted by the Sogdians), were introduced to many oasis states, among them Khotan, which also found their way into the Buddhist art of Khotan (Watt and Wardwell 1997: 24), and also inspired textile representations on Kashmir bronzes.

**Text Edition of the Inscription**

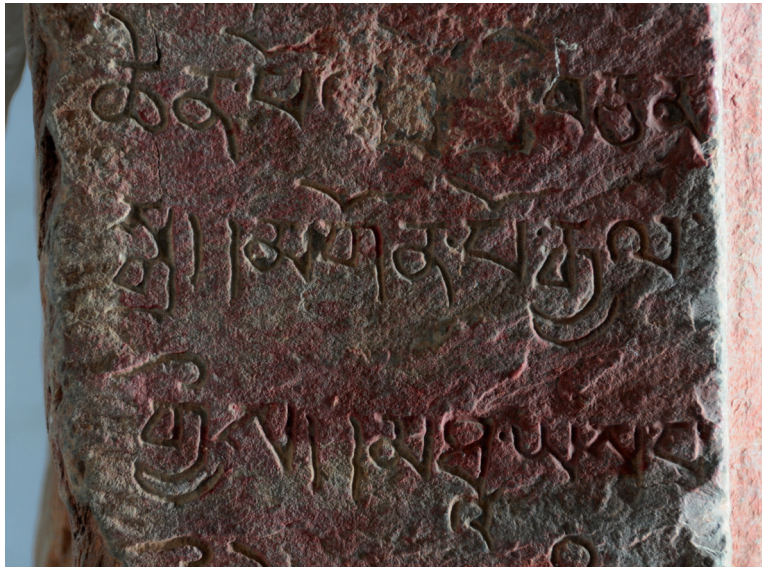
*Editorial Marks*[61]

@ *yig mgo*
-i *gi gu log*
M *rjes su nga ro*
O combination of subscripted *'a chung* and superscripted *na ro*
_ uncertain reading
= illegible letter or illegible ligature at the start of a letter
[=] damaged area where there was possibly a letter or ligature
. *tsheg*[62]
[.] damaged area where there was possibly a *tsheg*
/ *shad*
: *nyis tsheg*
$xx_x$ subscripted letter presumably to save space[63]

[61] The transliteration of the inscription is based on the Extended Wylie Transliteration Scheme (EWTS) of the Tibetan and Himalayan Digital Library (THDL) and of the *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* (*JIATS*), which represents a further development of the system developed by Turrell Wylie (1959).

[62] A *tsheg* is transliterated with a dot. Thus, implicitly the absence of a *tsheg* in a number of instances at the end of a line following the transliteration of a syllable is indicated by the absence of a dot. The "editorial policy" is thus different from that applied, for example, by Iwao et al. (2009: xix), who transliterate a *tsheg* with a space. The problem is clearly that consequently on the basis of their edition of this inscription (*ibid*.: 48–49) one has to assume the existence of a *tsheg* everywhere where one expects according to a predefined rule a space to stand for a *tsheg* (which is, however, not the case).

[63] This phenomenon of the last letter of a syllable being written below the preceding letter (or ligature) for "economy of space" was also stated by Iwao et al. (2009: xvii) who mention *nga* in *dang* and *'a* in *bka'* as examples. Why, however, "in such cases, *dang* and *bka'* are restituted without mention of this peculiar paleographical feature," (*ibid*.) is problematic as space and its use (economic or otherwise) should certainly be seen as an important feature of inscriptions. In addition, in their edition this rule seems to come into conflict with another one——"When the letter ར་ is written beneath a consonant, it is considered as *gtags-yig*, not as a long vowel sign" (*ibid*.: xviii). For example, in the case of *mtha'* (line 6, south side, and line 18, north side; see Fig. 32 and Fig. 44), this is not restituted in this way as one would expect but transliterated as *mth'a*.



30. Detail of inscription, south face of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela, lines 1–3 (P. Sutherland, 2010).

31. Detail of inscription, south face of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela, lines 4–6 (P. Sutherland, 2010).

32. Inscription, south face of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela, overview upper part, lines 1–13 (P. Sutherland, 2010).

*South Side*[64] (see Figs. 30–38)[65]

1 @/ : / rta . 'i . lo . 'i //

2 ston . zla . ra . ba . 'i . ngo

3 la // seng . ge . zhang .

4 chen . po [.][66] 'bro . khri[67] . brtsan

5 sgra // mgon . po . rgyal .

6 gy-is // mtha,[68] . yas . pa

7 '-i . sems . can . thaMs .

8 chad . dang // thun . mong

9 du . bsngos . te / /

10 'phags . pa // spyan

11 ras . gz-igs / /

12 dbang . phyug . gi / sku

13 gzugs / / rdo .

14 'bur . du . bgyis

15 nas / / bzhengs

[64] Iwao et al. (2009: 48) and Pa tshab Pa sangs dbang 'dus (2011: 210) locate the inscriptions on the west and east face of the stela. As has been verified by Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po as well as the authors on the spot, also based on information provided by local villagers, the stela used to be set up in the past (as now) with the image of Avalokiteśvara facing east while the inscriptions were on the south and north sides.

[65] See also the website https://www.univie.ac.at/Tibetan-inscriptions/ for excellent digital close-ups of the inscription (stills based on a video recording) taken by Kurt Tropper in 2010.

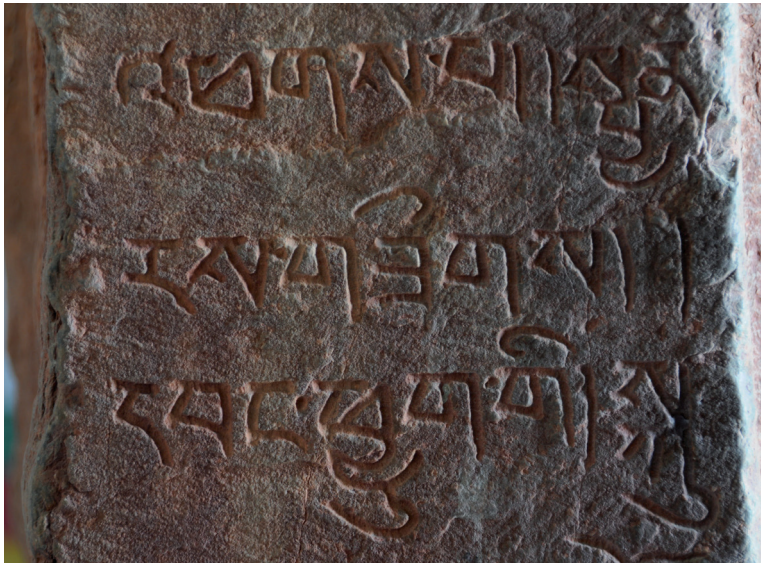
[66] Iwao et al. (2009: 49) read a double *shad* after *chen po* for which there is no evidence (and no space).

[67] Here, as on the other side of the stela, are exactly the same two syllables, i.e. in each case the root letter (*ming gzhi*) is poorly legible, or it seems that the inscription has been damaged just at this point. Iwao et al. (2009: 49) read [---], that is, unknown number of illegible letters. In my view, based on inspection in situ and photographic documentation (under differing light conditions) *ra tags* and *na ro* in the case of *'bro* and *ra tags* and *gi gu* in the case of *khri* are clearly readable. My 2007 photograph of these lines (inv. No. CJ2007_03860031) also allows a considerably good reading of the root letter *ba* in *'bro*.

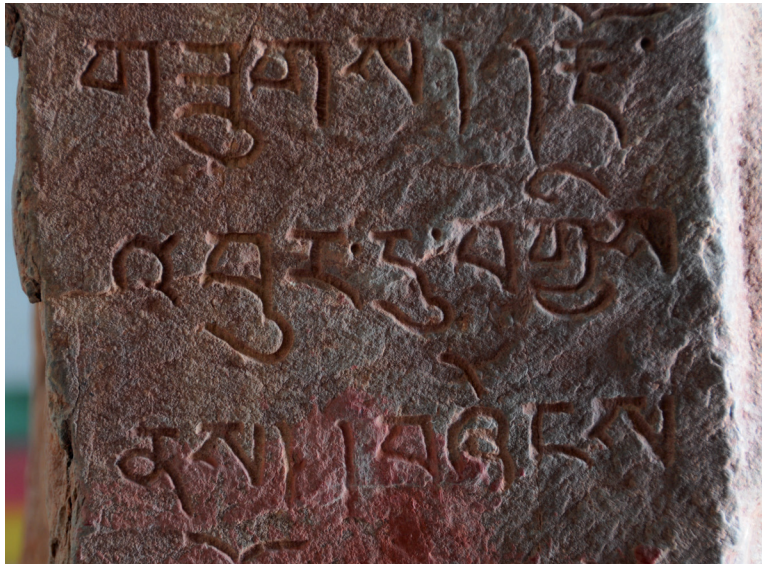
[68] Iwao et al. (2009: 49) read a double *shad* after *chen po* for which there is no The text of the inscription rendered in Pa tshab Pa sangs dbang 'dus (2011: 211), which simply seems to reproduce the version published by Tshe ring chos rgyal and Zla ba tshe ring (1994: 4–6), has *mtha* (without *'a chung*).

33. Inscription, south face of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela, overview lower part, lines 9–19 (P. Sutherland, 2010).

34. Detail of inscription, south face of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela, lines 7–9 (P. Sutherland, 2010).



35. Detail of inscription, south face of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela, lines 10–12 (P. Sutherland, 2010).



36. Detail of inscription, south face of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela, lines 13–15 (P. Sutherland, 2010).

37. Detail of inscription, south face of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela, lines 16–18 (P. Sutherland, 2010).

16 gsol . pa[69] / /

17 @/ / dge,[70] . ba'-i . rtsa . ba . 'di

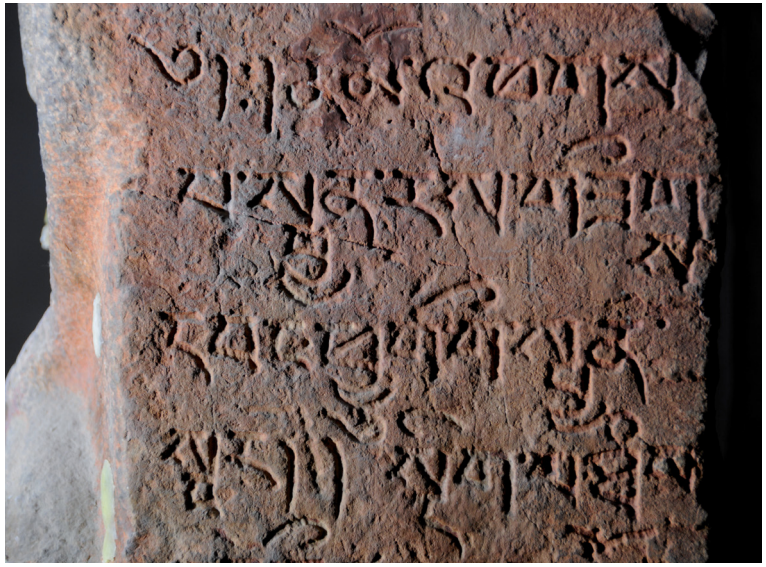
18 skye . 'gro . ma . lus . pa

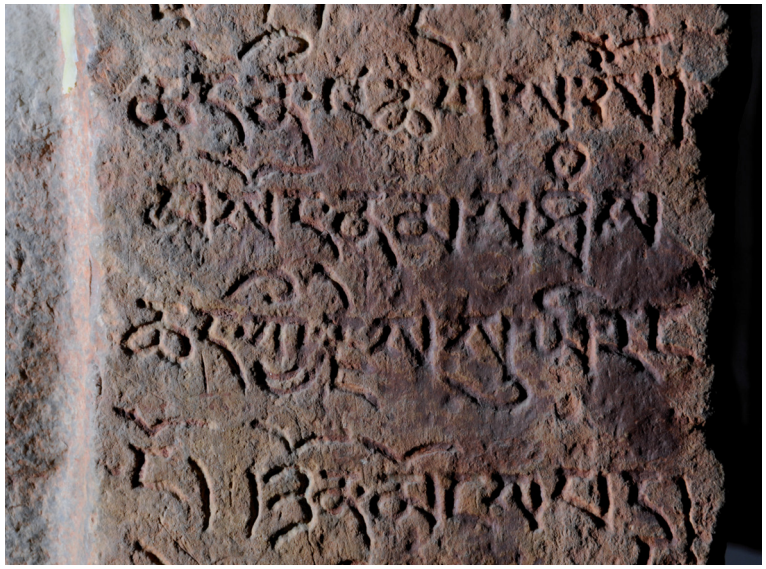
19 kun ky-i . don . du . bsngO /[71]

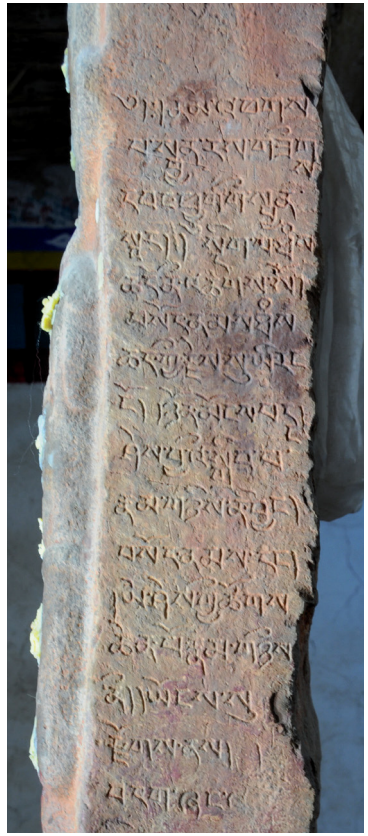
[69] Iwao et al. (2009: 49) read *pha* for which there is no evidence.

[70] Iwao et al. (2009: 49) read *dga'* although the superscripted vowel sign is clearly visible.

[71] Iwao et al. (2009: 49) transliterate this as *bsng'o* (which is problematic for the reasons given above) while I think that *bsngO* should be read here, which should be interpreted as an abbreviated form of *bsng*[*o* .] *'o*.







38. Detail of inscription, south face of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela, line 19 (P. Sutherland, 2010).

39. Inscription, north face of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela, lines 1–4 (P. Sutherland, 2010).

40. Inscription, north face of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela, overview upper part: lines 1–16 (P. Sutherland, 2010).

41. Inscription, north face of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela, lines 5–8 (P. Sutherland, 2010).

*North Side* (see Figs. 39–46)

1 @/ : / na . mo . 'phags

2 pa . spyan . ras. gz-ig$_s$

3 dbang . phyug . g-i . spyan .

4 sngar // sdig . pa . thaMs .

5 chad . n-i . 'chags[72] . so /[73]

6 bsod[74] . nams ̣ thaMs

7 chad . ky-i . rjes . su . yi. rang

8 ngo / / nyon . mongs pa da$_{ng}$ /[75]

9 shes . bya . '-i. sgrib . pa .

10 rnam . gnyis . ni . byang . /[76]

11 bsod . nams . dang /

[72] Iwao et al. (2009: 48) read *'tshags*, which cannot be totally excluded as a possible reading.

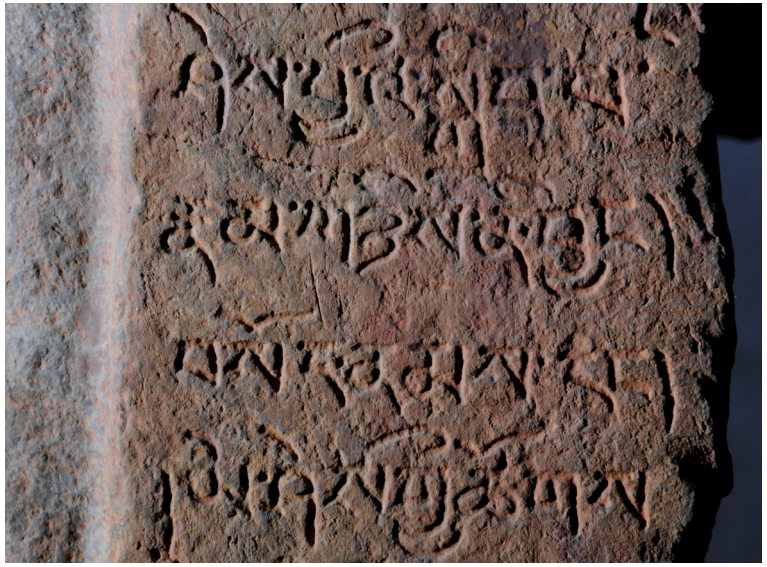
[73] Iwao et al. (2009: 48) have a double *shad*, for which there is no evidence based on our documentation.

[74] Based on the 2007 in situ inspection and photography by both authors, *msod* (as read by Iwao et al. 2009: 48) can be excluded (the prefix is clearly *ba* and not *ma*).

[75] In this line, economic use of space must certainly have been the reason why after *mongs* and *pa* there is no *tsheg* and why *nga* was subscripted to *da* at the end of the line.

[76] Iwao et al. (2009: 48) have a double *shad*, for which there is no evidence based on our documentation.

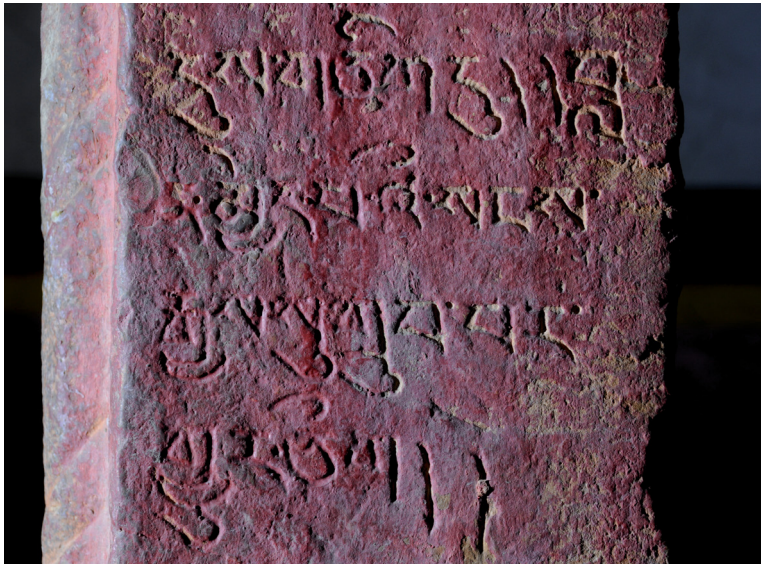
42. Inscription, north face of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela, overview lower part: lines 10–24 (P. Sutherland, 2010).



43. Inscription, north face of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela, lines 9–12 (P. Sutherland, 2010).

44. Inscription, north face of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela, lines 13–16 (P. Sutherland, 2010).

45. Inscription, north face of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela, lines 17–20 (P. Sutherland, 2010).



46. Inscription, north face of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) stela, lines 21–24 (P. Sutherland, 2010).

12 / ye . shes gy-i . tshogs

13 chen . po . rnam . gny-is

14 n-i // yongs . su

15 rdzogs . nas / /

16 bdag . zhang . ’=[=]

17 =i . brtsan . sgra . mgon .

18 po . rgyal . dang / / mtha,

19 yas . pa . ’-i . sems

20 can . thams . chad //

21 dus . gcig ̣ du // bla ̣

22 na . myed . pa . '-i. sangs .

23 rgyas . su . grub . par[77] .

24 gyur . c-ig / /[78]

*Translation*

In the first half of the first autumn month in the Year of the Horse, 'Bro Khri brtsan sgra mGon po rgyal, *seng ge* (lion)[79] and great *zhang*,[80] dedicating equally among all the numberless sentient beings [the merit therefrom accruing], requested that a relief made of stone with an image of Ārya-Avalokiteśvara ('Phags pa sPyan ras gzigs dbang phyug) be set up.[81] This root of virtuousness shall be dedicated to the benefit of all sentient beings without exception!

Namo! In the presence of Ārya-Avalokiteśvara ('Phags pa sPyan ras gzigs dbang phyug) I confess to all [my] misdeeds. There is a joy over and above all merit. As far as the obstacle of the afflictions [*nyon mongs pa'i sgrib pa*, Skt. *kleśāvaraṇa*] and the obstacle of the knowable [*shes bya'i sgrib pa*, Skt. *jñeyāvaraṇa*], these two things, are concerned, they will be removed. As far as the great accumulation of merit and wisdom, these two things, is concerned, it will be brought to perfect completion, and then I, *zhang* 'Bro Khri brtsan sgra mGon po rgyal, and all the numberless sentient beings shall one day attain unsurpassable Buddhahood![82]

## Historical Classification

The question of how this stela should be classified historically cannot be easily answered on the available evidence and can turn out differently depending on different disciplinary and methodological perspectives, which results in differing implications for more far-reaching questions. As mentioned above, from an art-historical perspective through various references to the art of Central Asia (in particular of Dunhuang) and Central Tibet, this stela can on the one hand be placed in a broader, supraregional comparative context. On the other hand, it can be located in a regional stylistic development history and chronology of early West Tibetan art. One of the main questions of historical classification naturally concerns the dating of the stela, which from an art-historical perspective should be dated to the 9th century or beginning of the 10th century.

A dating of the stela using scientific methods, for example by an analysis of the pigment on the surface, is preconditional on further researches (and permission). Provisionally, therefore, in addition to the art-historical findings there remains the palaeographic and content evidence provided by the inscriptions.

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[77] Also the reading *bar* seems possible.

[78] In the version of the inscription published in Tibetan *dbu can* script by Tshe ring chos rgyal and Zla ba tshe ring (1994: 4–6; reproduced in this way by Pa tshab Pa sangs dbang 'dus 2011: 211–213), apart from some insignificant differences in the case of individual *tsheg*, which are perhaps based on an earlier better legibility, there are some mistakes, which presumably are due to a lack of care on the part of the editing of the publisher and which have here been corrected. Thus for example on the south side in line six the clearly visible subscripted *'a chung* at *mtha'* is missing, or a particularly noticeable subscripted *'a chung* at the end of line 19. Likewise on the north side of the stela a clearly legible *shad* at the end of line eight and at the start of line 12 as well as a double *shad* at the end of line 15 are missing. Neither does the poor and actually uncertain legibility of 'Bro Khri both on the south and the north sides show in their reproduction. The fact that the existing poor legibility in 2007 existed previously is testified to by the illustration in Zheng (2000: 172), which took place relatively near to the time of the documentation by Tshe ring chos rgyal and Zla ba tshe ring in September 1993 (Tshe ring chos rgyal and Zla ba tshe ring 1994: 4). In some cases, Tshe ring chos rgyal and Zla ba tshe ring were conversely able to read some "simple" *tsheg* and a double *tsheg* (between the double *shad* which separates the syllables *sngar* and *sdig* in line four of the inscription on the north side), which in 2007 were neither recognisable on site nor from the photos. In other cases, *tsheg* are visible at least from photos, even if uncertainly.

The text of the inscription was reproduced by Roberto Vitali (1996: 168) in a simplified, transliterated form, i.e. without consideration of its ancient palaeographic features. His basis for this seems exclusively to have been the text published in Tibetan script by Tshe ring chos rgyal and Zla ba tshe ring. (In the photos of the two inscriptions accompanying their article the Tibetan text is illegible.)

[79] According to Tshe ring chos rgyal and Zla ba tshe ring (1994: 17) the term *seng ge* (lion) is a great honorary title. This title should presumably even be regarded as being specifically related to the 'Bro clan (see below).

[80] Describing someone as *zhang chen po* means that this is a great or significant person among the *zhang po* (literally the maternal uncle or the [classificatory] mother's brother, actually related to the ruler on the mother's side or from the clan of the [classificatory] mother's brother, who in the time of the monarchy exercised functions as a minister or another high-ranking official). In the imperial period there were four such clans ('Bro, mChims, Tshes pong, sNa nam), from which queens and the mothers of the *btsan po* came and which to this extent appeared as "bride-givers" to the *btsan po* line and were thus among the most powerful and politically influential (see for example Dotson 2004; Hazod 2006).

[81] The expression *gsol pa* in line 16 also seems to permit an interpretation in the sense of *gsol mchod*, so that the request by 'Bro Khri brtsan sgra mGon po rgyal for the erection of the stela can also be seen as being connected with a sacrificial ritual in which the divinity (*yul lha*, *gzhi bdag*) who lives in and rules the area is asked for permission or the blessing for the erection.

[82] For a somewhat differing English translation see Vitali 1996: 168.

**Palaeographic Evidence**

The detailed comparative investigations of the script and textual features of the inscription carried out by Tshe ring chos rgyal and Zla ba tshe ring (1994), where they differentiate in their analysis into the field of calligraphy (*yig gzugs*), the mastery of writing (*'bri rtsal*) and the style of the content (*brjod bya*), led them to the conclusion that it was created during the time of the imperial kings (*btsan po*). The comparative basis of their investigation were the historically most important written records from the time of the monarchy, as they are to be found above all on the *rdo ring*, on bells and in the texts found in Dunhuang. The two authors devoted great attention above all to the palaeographic features and, on the basis of eight palaeographic or orthographic features that were characteristic of these written records,[83] arrived at the conclusion that clear parallels with the inscription on the Avalokiteśvara stela in lCog ro can be noted. They further state that in view of the calligraphy the inscription on the stone stela from Western Tibet corresponds with that of the stone stelae from the royal period, in contrast to which the corresponding features during the "later dissemination of Buddhism (in Tibet)" (*bstan pa phyi dar*), i.e. from ca. the fourth quarter of the 10th century,[84] differ greatly.

A comparison of the Avalokiteśvara stela inscription with the calligraphic features of the inscriptions on old stelae of the royal period and on rocks shows the greatest similarities with the bSam yas and in particular with the mTshur phu stone stelae (*ibid*.: 16).[85] In a further parallel they see between the lCog ro and mTshur phu stelae—the fact that each were commissioned by an individual minister for personal ends—they consider it conceivable that both were erected at about the same time. According to this, it would have been at the end of the 8th century or beginning of the 9th century, most possibly during the time of *btsan po* Ral pa can/Khri gTsug lde btsan (*ibid*.: 16) (815–841, data according to Dotson 2006: 416). Based on different indices, namely of the content—title and clan of the person who commissioned it named in the inscription (see below)—however, they also consider that they could have been created during or after the time of *btsan po* Khri Srong lde btsan, and also during the time of Khri lde Srong btsan (Tshe ring chos rgyal and Zla ba tshe ring 1994: 17–18).

**Text-Content Evidence**

Regardless of the assessment based on art-historical or palaeographic comparisons, the best way of establishing a time window for the creation of the stela would be through the identification of the person who commissioned it and in connection with the Horse year (*rta'i lo*) mentioned at the beginning of the inscription on the south side of the stela. However, the identity of the commissioner is not known from any of the currently available historical sources.[86] Because of this fact, the particular Horse year unfortunately cannot be ascribed to a particular historical period. What is important, however, is that the name of the commissioner, it appears, is given in full in the inscription and includes all usual parts of the name. This fact can be utilised to draw further conclusions.

During the period of the Tibetan Empire (7th–9th century), references to people, above all those of a high social rank, were composed of the following elements, which were combined and also abbreviated: *rus* (clan),[87] *mying/ming* (person name or individual

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[83] This includes among other things the way in which the *yig mgo* is written, the use of *nyis tsheg*, the use of *gi gu log*, the use of *ya btags* with *mi*, *mig*, *ming*, *me*, *med*, etc., the use of *da drag* after *na*, *ra* and *la* and the use of *'a chung* in the genitive, which is separated from the previous syllable by a special *tsheg* (*sbrang bsad*) (Tshe ring chos rgyal and Zla ba tshe ring 1994: 7–9).

[84] Differing dates are to be found in the contemporary Tibetan sources for the start of the *bstan pa phyi dar*. For Western Tibet (sTod mNga' ris) based on the data in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* Vitali assumes it started in 986 (Vitali 1996: 186).

[85] See also the meticulous paleographic study of Tibetan inscriptions and texts dating from 7th–9th centuries by Dieter Schuh (2013), which is based on a wide range of samples (including the lCog ro inscription).

[86] In search of the (*seng ge*) *zhang* (*chen po*) 'Bro Khri brtsan sgra mGon po rgyal mentioned twice in the inscription, various online text editions (e.g. Old Tibetan Documents Online) were searched, and numerous reference works and the corresponding indexes were checked, including works by Palmyr Cordier (1909, 1915), Marcelle Lalou (1933, 1939), Giuseppe Tucci (1950), Paul Demiéville (1952), Hugh E. Richardson (1967, 1985), David Snellgrove and Tadeusz Skorupski (1977, 1980), Roberto Vitali (1996) and Brandon Dotson (2004), all without significant result. Only in the case of *mdo blon ched po* 'Bro *zhang* b[rts]an sgra ya sto, who appears in a Tibetan document found in Dunhuang (IOL Tib J 1368: line 32; see Old Tibetan Documents Online for a transliteration of the text and a photo of the document), is there a partial correspondence. Apart from this, the events described in this document are to be dated at the earliest to the early 8th century (see, e.g. Uray, 1978: 541), so that it can be assumed without doubt that it concerns two different people.

The identification of the commissioner of the stela, 'Bro Khri brtsan sgra mGon po rgyal (named as *seng ge* and *zhang chen po*), with 'Bro Seng dkar, who according to *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs* (see Jahoda, "Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's chapter on the history of mNga' ris in *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs:* Notes on the author and the content", this volume, p. 79, and Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, "Relating the History of mNga' ris as set down in writing in Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes*: The Tibetan text", this volume, p. 102) offered the Nyi gzungs palace in Purang to sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon in 911, is tempting but difficult to argue. His designation as zhang chen po (south face, ll. 3–4) and zhang (north face, l. 16) in the inscription——expressing his status as "bride-giver" to the royal line (as stated in *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs*)——may be taken as supporting this hypothesis.

[87] Membership of a particular clan or family, as *rus* is usually translated, which

name), *thabs*, also *gral thabs* (title, rank), and *mkhan* (a kind of nickname). In addition, the membership of an ethnic group or of an administrative unit (such as *stong sde*) might also appear (see Richardson 1967; Uray 1978; Uray and Uebach 1994). With regard to the person who commissioned the stela, this means that his clan can be identified as the 'Bro and he is to be seen as a member of this famous family in Tibetan history, despite the uncertain though also probable reading of the root letter in both places. His individual name can be considered to be mGon po rgyal,[88] his nickname or the name by which he was known (see Richardson 1967: 11–12) seems to have been Khri brtsan sgra. Neither are in Richardson's published (although also incomplete) name list of functionaries during the period of the Tibetan Empire. In the case of the title, there is a noticeable difference between the inscriptions on the southern and northern sides: on the north side it is shortened to *zhang*, probably because of the I-form of the statement wishing to avoid self-importance, while on the south side marking the beginning of the text, in which the commissioner is as-it-were officially introduced, he appears preceded by the honorary title *seng ge* and the addition of *zhang* of *chen po* in double extended form.[89]

Vitali takes the honorary title *seng ge* as the basis for a discussion of the relationship between this part of the name and the 'Bro clan, and determines it as a specifically inherited rank or mark of prestige of particular members or sub-units of this clan, which was also used by the 'Bro clan members in sTod, i.e. in Western Tibet. As examples he gives Seng dkar ma, the wife of Srong nge (the later Royal Lama [*lha bla ma*] Ye shes 'od), the translator 'Bro Seng dkar Śākya 'od and a 'Bro Seng dkar sTod pa bla ma Ye shes who was active in Central Tibet (dBus) in the 11th century (Vitali 1996: 169).[90] The suggestion, as in Vitali's account, that there is a quasi internal connection (based on direct clan relationship) between the honorary title *seng ge* in the case of the inscription on the Avalokiteśvara stela, between an honorary title *seng ge dkar mo'i gong slag* (or perhaps a mark of rank called *seng ge dkar mo gong glag*, see Dotson 2006: 118) linked to an 8th-century 'Bro functionary, and a 'Bro Seng dkar clan name first provable only in the 11th century and for this only through two examples,[91] seems not entirely certain in view of these isolated indicators and needs to be supported by further evidence. In addition, the concept of sub-clans or sub-groups of clans seems to be contradictory, if one assumes an obvious territorially widely dispersed unit in the case of the Seng dkar "group" while comparably in the case of the Zangs kha sub-clan of the lCog ro clan the former

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can be described as exogamous but not as local units, is here exclusively passed on through the father and indeed both to sons as well as to daughters.

[88] In this form the name is first documented for later periods and thus seems unusual in this historical context. The name part mGon po is a form that as far as is known first spread in the 11th century and precisely in connection with the Avalokiteśvara cult (Guntram Hazod, personal communication, August 2008). Nevertheless, it is perhaps worth noting that in the early 10th century *mgon* (*po*) first occurs as a defining component in the name of the founder of the West Tibetan kingdom, sKyi lde Nyi ma mgon, and his three sons, dPal gyi mgon, bKra shis mgon and lDe gtsug mgon, together also described as sTod kyi mgon gsum.

[89] According to Tshe ring chos rgyal and Zla ba tshe ring (1994: 17) the expression *zhang chen po*, *zhang blon che ba* or *zhang blon chen po* only emerged in the period of Khri Srong lde btsan. To this extent, in their opinion the person named in the inscription on the Avalokiteśvara stela could perhaps have been a great minister active during or after the ruling period of Khri srong lde btsan. In the inscription of lDan ma brag (804/816) a "blon chen zhang 'bro phri [khri] gzu' dam (ram) shags" is mentioned (see Heller 2003: 396). The information rendered by Pa tshab Pa sangs dbang 'dus (2011: 213) follows their view and adds on the presence of the 'Bro clan in Upper mNga' ris that one great 'Bro lineage (*rus rgyud*) appears to have settled there after a military campaign waged by the Great Minister (*blon che*) 'Bro chung bzang 'or mang against Khotan (Li yul) via the Khri sde administrative district in Upper Zhang zhung during the reign of Khri lde gTsug btsan/Mes 'ag tshoms (704–755). He speculates that eventually famous ministers appeared from this 'Bro lineage (*ibid.*).

Above and beyond this, looking through the above-mentioned reference works and text editions available online produced the result that *zhang chen po* occurs a total of four times in a two-part document (Pelliot tibétain 16, IOL Tib J 751) and indeed each time in the same way: *blon chen po zhang khri* (*khr-i*) *sum rje dang/ zhang chen po lha bzang* (28b4, 37a4–37b1, 41b1, 41b3; see Old Tibetan Documents Online). This document contains a collection of prayers that relate to the erection of a temple called *gtsigs kyi gtsug lag khang* in De ga g.yu ts(h)al (following the treaty agreed between China and Tibet in 821/22). Recently this temple was identified by Kapstein as cave 25 of the Yulin grottoes in Anxi (these grottoes are ca. 120 km east of Dunhuang) (Kapstein 2004). According to Uebach, the *zhang chen po* lHa bzang mentioned, also given as *chen po zhang* lHa bzang (26b2, 27a1), is identical with the lHa bzang klu dpal known from other sources (Uebach 1991: 501), who is mentioned by Vitali as the brother of 'Bro Khri sum rje (see Vitali 1996: 203–204, 207). In each case, the activities of the *blon chen po zhang khri* (*khr-i*) *sum rje* and *zhang chen po* lHa bzang recorded in the document (27a1), who are also named in it as the great founders (*yon bdag chen po*) who had this temple erected (probably in 823), are to be dated to the period of the rule of *btsan po* Khri gTsug lde brtsan, better known as Khri Ral pa can, specifically in the 820s (Kapstein 2004: 100–101).

[90] "Seng.dkar.ma is not a proper name but a title deriving from a symbol of rank particular to the 'Bro-s (the *seng.ge dkar.mo'i gong.slag*, i.e. "the white lioness fur collar"), which some members of the clan wore as a sign of their greatness. The title was also used by the 'Bro-s of sTod. The clan affiliation of Ye.shes.'od's wife is doubly significant because, on the one hand, it confirms the close associations of the 'Bro-s with the mNga'.ris skor.gsum royal family in no lesser way than that of the great Ye.shes.'od, and, on the other, it is the earliest instance around *bstan.pa phyi.dar* documenting the presence of the Seng.dkar group among the 'Bro-s of sTod." (Vitali 1996: 178).

[91] Even if the name Seng dkar ma might actually be based on a clan name Seng dkar, this should not automatically be read as equivalent to a clan 'Bro Seng dkar.

is regarded as a close territorial unit.[92] Apart from this, the question arises of how such sub-clans were described in Tibetan. The fact that there was a historical process of differentiation of clans during the period of the great Tibetan kingdom and also in later periods of West Tibetan history is indisputable. Thus for example for Spiti, according to a written source, of the more than 36 named clans (*rus*) there are five—Khyung mgo pa, Khyung rus pa, Khyung dkar pa, Khyung dar nag pa, Khyung jo rus pa (quoted after Yo seb dge rgan 1976: 325.12–13)—that in Vitali's view can be regarded as sub-clans or sub-divisions of a higher Khyung clan, but which actually formed five independent clans and were counted as such.[93] The term (*b*)*rgyud pa* on the other hand is to be seen as a subcategory of *rus* or *rigs rus*, which describes the patrilinear *local* lineages or members of them deriving from a common ancestor (a *rus*/*rigs rus*/*pha rus*).[94]

The origin and spread of the 'Bro clan has been repeatedly discussed in numerous older and more recent works. Usually this has happened as part of the analysis of particular political, military or religious activities and functions of members of this clan in the period of the greater Tibetan Empire in areas of Central Tibet and Central Asia (e.g. in the region around Dunhuang) (see i.a. Tucci 1950; Demiéville 1952; Vitali 1990, 1996). There is later evidence of the religious activities of members of this clan in Ladakh too (e.g. the foundation of the monastery of Alchi in the 12th century). An inscription in Alchi records members of the 'Bro clan, starting with a 'Bro sTag bzang, who came from Guge Purang (see Denwood 1980: 148; Vitali 1996: 201–202, n. 290). However, according to Vitali there were no indications of a continuous connection between the Buddhist activities of the 'Bro clan in sTod (Purang) and that in Ladakh.[95]

According to recent research, the regional origin of the 'Bro clan should be seen as being in sTod or sTod khul, i.e. in an area in WesternTibet. This was also the area where they achieved their status (*go gnas*) (Tshe ring chos rgyal and Zla ba tshe ring 1994: 17).[96] Dotson comes to a similar conclusion on the basis of a re-analysis of the details in the post-dynastic historical textual sources (such as *rGya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa* of mKhas pa lde'u). Thus, according to these, in his view the origin of the 'Bro clan is to be seen as linked to Upper gTsang (gTsang stod) or Gug cog, one of the core regions of Western Tibet, where the presence of members of the 'Bro clan is verifiable. They also maintained this geographical link after the collapse of the kingdom (Dotson 2012: 180f.).

Vitali sees the erection of the Avalokiteśvara stela in lCog ro in connection with or as a consequence of a conquest of Purang by 'Bro soldiers, which took place under Ral pa can (Vitali 1996: 198–199, n. 298) or under a Buddhist conversion carried out there under *zhang* sKyid sum rje—who according to Vitali was probably one of the 'Bro clan ministers (*ibid*.: 167, n. 229)—and which was instigated by *bande* Chos kyi blo gros not later than 836. In addition, in the time of Ral pa can—whose mother ('Bro bza') Khri mo legs was a member of the 'Bro clan, which is why she not only nominally but in the actual sense had a *zhang* connection with the ruler—the 'Bro were the only clan in sTod who could boast this title (*ibid*.: 166–167, 169).

During the time of Ral pa can the 'Bro clan provided high-ranking functionaries at the rank of minister (*zhang blon*). The 'Bro also exercised this function as ministers under 'Od srung and under his son dPal 'khor btsan. A minister by the name of 'Bro gTsug sgra lHa sdong is mentioned under the latter. To this extent, the connection between the Central Tibetan royal line and the 'Bro clan, as it existed in the time of Ral pa can, appears to have continued into the time of 'Od srung and beyond. Thus the grandson (*tsha bo*) of 'Od srung, sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon, the founder of the West Tibetan kingdom according to the *La dwags rgyal rabs* and other chronicles, was married to a woman from the 'Bro clan ('Bro bza' 'Khor skyong).[97]

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[92] "The case of rTse.lde's minister [Zang kha ba rje blon gTag zig] helps to clarify that Zangs.kha has to be read as a clan name, and its belonging to Cog.ro [lCog ro] ultimately makes Zangs.kha a subdivision of the Cog.ro clan. Finally, since Zangs.kha was a sub-clan of Cog.ro and Cog.ro is a territory found in Pu.hrang.smad, people belonging to Zangs.kha were Pu.hrang.pa-s." (Vitali 1996: 172).

[93] See Jahoda 2017 for a preliminary discussion of clans in pre-modern Spiti.

[94] Based on relevant details in historiographic texts, it is known that during the period of the Tibetan Empire, the clans distinguished themselves from one another by emblems. These emblems possibly already came from a pre-imperial period. The connection between such old, clan-specific emblems, the insignia or symbols that decorate the banner of the administrative-military units known as *ru* (whose leader or *ru dpon* was again appointed by particular clans) (see Dotson 2006: chap. 3, *passim*), and the differentiation between the clan lines (often expressed with the aid of colours) (e.g. dBra *dkar nag khra gsum*), which derive from older, middle and younger ancestor brothers, and above all the historical development of these connections and the change in significance of these emblems according to historical context (e.g. after the end of the monarchy, in the West Tibetan kingdom and its successor kingdoms Guge, Purang and Ladakh) has not yet been systematically researched. A first basic work in this respect is Guntram Hazod's compilation of the historical territorial structure in early and imperial Tibet on the basis of contemporary and post-dynastic text sources (Hazod 2009).

[95] "There is no evidence to show whether support of Buddhism in sTod by the 'Bro clan continued without interruption from *bstan.pa snga.dar*, when the 'Bro-s erected a Buddhist *rdo.rings* in Pu.hrang." (Vitali 1996: 201, n. 290).

[96] Further evidence—burial mounds in Khrom chen, lHa rtse County—indicating the original location of this clan in the lHa rtse area was found by Pasang Wangdu (see Pa tshab Pa sangs dbang 'dus 1994: 633f. and also Blo bzang nyi ma 2011: 208ff.). Pasang Wangdu confirmed his view in a personal communication, Vienna, Oct. 2011.

[97] See Tshe ring chos rgyal and Zla ba tshe ring 1994: 13, 18; see also Gu ge

As Tshe ring chos rgyal and Zla ba tshe ring also state in summary, with regard to the Avalokiteśvara stela in lCog ro this means that very little can be said with real certainty either about the time of the erection of the stone stela or about its creator, even if the paleo- and orthographic features of the inscriptions provide a certain historical attribution[98] and the art-historical findings together with the other clues mentioned all in all make it possible to assume the 9th century as the most probable dating for its creation, most likely around Fire Horse year 826 or Earth Horse year 838 (as suspected by Pa tshab Pa sangs dbang 'dus 2011: 210) or in one of the following Horse years (perhaps even as late as the early 10th century).

Whether this stela falls within the starting phase of the West Tibetan kingdom and thereby is perhaps the only remaining example of the patronage of Buddhist art in Western Tibet from the time before Ye shes 'od, or whether it represents, as it were, a bridge between the old Tibetan Empire and the Central Tibetan royal line on the one hand and the West Tibetan kingdom on the other, or belongs in the final phase of the old monarchy (and thereby is so far the only relic testifying to the presence of Buddhism in this period in Western Tibet),[99] will thus have to remain open and should not only provide a stronger impetus for further clarification of the historical significance and classification of this stela, but also for further research into similar artworks and written records, in particular also for further stelae.

### Oral Tradition

There are also some details on the question of the origin (and thereby implicitly the creation) of the Avalokiteśvara stela in the local oral tradition in Purang, which might be relevant to further research and should therefore not be ignored. Apart from this, the local population express concepts and perspectives which contribute to their understanding of the function this stela has had for them in recent times and has today. When the two Tibetan scholars Tshe ring chos rgyal and Zla ba tshe ring arrived in sPu hreng (Purang) on 10 September 1993, according to their report, in answer to the question about old remains (*gna' shul*) local administration officials mentioned a famous stela (in the area) with a so-called *self-created* sPyan ras gzigs relief, which was in the Purang District on a bend in the road between the villages (*grong tsho*) of (l)Cog ro and Zhi sde south of the rMa bya gtsang po (Tshe ring chos rgyal and Zla ba tshe ring 1994: 4).

Further information in this relation has been collected by the late Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po. According to this, there was a small administrative unit in Zhi sde called lCog ro, which was supposed to have been the residence area of a minister (*blon po*) of sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon called lCog ro Legs sgra lHa legs. After he had arrived there and had brought this area under his control, the teaching of the Buddha spread widely there. It was known that members of the old Central Tibetan royal (*btsan po*) line exercised their rule from this area from then onwards. It is said of the stela (*rdo ring*) with the 'Phags pa sPyan ras gzigs dbang phyug relief that it was brought from Central Tibet (dBus gTsang) by the lCog ro clan.[100] According to the older generation of the local population, the image of 'Phags pa sPyan ras gzigs dbang phyug was invited to dKar dung (in the upper rMa bya gtsang po valley) from dBus gTsang. It is also said that owing to a badly made oral delivery of the invitation it remained in lCog ro. It is also said that the stela forms the border between Zhi sde[101] and Khri sde (Tshe ring rgyal po 2006: 142).[102]

In the course of the documentation of the stela in 2007, there

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Tshe ring rgyal po, "Relating the History of mNga' ris as set down in writing in Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes*: The Tibetan text", this volume, pp. 102–103.

[98] See Kurt Tropper's note on the dating of the wall inscriptions in the great circumambulatory corridor (*skor lam chen mo*) of the Zha lu monastery: "at present the dating of Tibetan documents solely on the basis of their palaeography and orthography cannot be considered to be more than a rough approximation." (Tropper 2007: 942).

[99] Nevertheless, it seems to be clear that it falls within the period of the "Early Spread of the Buddhist Teaching (in Tibet)" (*bstan pa snga dar*), which according to Vitali was officially proclaimed as the state religion, among others also in Zhang zhung, with the dissemination of a copy of the edict of bSam yas by Khri Srong lde btsan (Vitali 1996: 165, n. 222). From the sources, it is difficult to judge whether and to what extent this edict was carried out in Zhang zhung, which can at least partly be identified with areas of Western Tibet, and whether the influence of the Early Spread of the Buddhist Teaching actually also reached Western Tibet. One indicator that Western Tibet in the late 8th century may have been a site of Buddhist activities and a meeting place for teaching and translating activities and an attraction point for Buddhist pilgrims are reports about the Indian monk-scholar Buddhaguhya (Sangs rgyas gsang ba in Tibetan sources), who is supposed to have stayed in the Kailas area in the second half of the 8th century (see Dargyay 2003: 366f.; Cutler 1996: 55f.). Further indications lie in the fact that bKra shis mgon, the father of Ye shes 'od, is mentioned in the *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* (Vitali 1996: 51.5–6) as the founder of a Maitreya statue and of wall paintings in the g.Yu ra/sgra temple that was supposed to have been on the bank of the rMa bya river in Purang (see *ibid*.: 164–165). Actually, someone other than bKra shis mgon could be seen as the subject of this passage, in which he is not explicitly named, e.g. sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon (Luciano Petech, personal communication, December 1996).

[100] The moving of a *rdo ring* is discussed by Hazod in the case of the famous Zhol *rdo ring* in Lhasa (Sørensen and Hazod 2007: 602f.).

[101] In the 13th century Zhi sde was a Tshal pa territory (Sørensen and Hazod 2007: 140).

[102] The function of the *rdo ring* as boundary stones (*sa brtags rdo ring*) to mark political or territorial borders is also mentioned by Bellezza (2008: 71).

47. Stelae, Log pa village, Purang District, Tibet Autonomous Region, PR China (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2010).

were discussions with individual village people in lCog ro. There are currently 43 houses or families in the village, one of them also called Cog ro (Cog ro *mi tshang*). The local territorial deity of the village (*yul lha*) (also exerting a protective function) is gNyan chen thang lha (also known as one of Tibet's oldest and most famous mountain deities).[103] According to the village people, the original place where the stela was found[104] was at this place in lCog ro. The other three stelae (*rdo ring*) (see Fig. 4) were found further to the east in the settlement. Earlier there was a simple enclosure around the *rdo ring*. In 2002 this house was built for the *rdo ring*. As today, the original orientation of the *rdo ring* (with the Avalokiteśvara relief) pointed eastwards. The name of the place where the *rdo ring* stands is "Martolo".

During the New Year festival—here called the *btsun mo'i lo gsar*, "New Year Festival of the Queen", and celebrated on the tenth and eleventh days of the eleventh month—butter is offered. During the festival, as part of which there is a ceremonial procession around the whole village, there is also a joint procession around the *rdo ring*.

**Function**

These details show that the Avalokiteśvara stela has a special significance for the population of the village and that it has a living cultic function. The erection of its own building for the stela as well as the moving of three other *rdo ring* can be regarded as a sign of official estimation of this stela as a monument of historic importance. This goes together with the fact that the stela, which has been documented on the eastern border of the town of Purang (Fig. 13) and since the Cultural Revolution was used as a bridge over a stream, with the smooth back facing upwards, has been moved and re-erected not far from its earlier location (which was below an old settlement of cave houses).

Based on the compilation of information on Tibetan *rdo ring* by Alexander Macdonald (2003), the observations in Western Tibet by Giuseppe Tucci in 1935 (i.a. in Zhi sde) (Tucci 1937) and the monumental compendium by John Bellezza (Bellezza 2008: 69–148), it can be deduced that there is a partial connection between the *rdo*

[103] In this respect it is worth noting the indication made by Hazod that in the imperial period the Cog ro clan had close territorial connections with 'Dam shod, the Central Tibetan province at the foot of gNyan chen thang lha (Hazod 2009: 200). From the 7th century the sGro (= 'Bro) clan is also recorded in neighbouring 'Phan yul (*ibid.*: 195), where gNyan chen thang lha was widely worshipped as the supreme *lha*. According to Hazod, these kinds of divinity were often taken along on migrations, divisions or refoundations. This may be seen as an indication that the area around lCog ro in Purang was an imperial or even older territory of the 'Bro clan, which at a later period was controlled by the Cog ro clan (Guntram Hazod, personal communication, August 2008). As Samten Karmay has shown, the cult of local and mountain gods has played a major role for the social structuring of local communities and clans (e.g. as ancestor mountains) in Tibet since the early 7th century, but also in the legitimation of large political confederations (also precisely in the case of gNyan chen thang lha or Thang lha ya bzhur) (Karmay 1996: 60f.).

[104] The discovery or rediscovery of this stela possibly not so long ago (although at least before September 1993)—the article by Tshe ring chos rgyal and Zla ba tshe ring (1994), which was not known at the time of the interview, does not mention such a discovery however—seems quite plausible in the light of the (re-)discovery of a further stela (see Fig. 13).

*ring* (i.a. also known as *mon rdo*)[105] from archaic or prehistoric periods and those examples from historic periods, which are not infrequently decorated with inscriptions or reliefs, at least in the recent past in the cultic behaviour of the local population. This includes offerings (such as butter) and reciting prayers (Macdonald 2003: 91–92). To him this seems to correspond to the overlayering of older concepts by a Buddhistically marked mythological perspective, as Tucci was able to record in the case of three *rdo ring* in Zhi sde.[106] In this context it is also necessary to mention the existence of three stelae (Fig. 47) near Log pa, a village ca. 5 km from lCog ro. On account of the comparability in terms of material (the stone looks quite similar to that used in lCog ro) and dimension (height and width), the lCog ro stela may be seen as representing a Buddhist adaptation of older local variants of stelae.

In the case of the Avalokiteśvara stela in lCog ro, which, as its art-historical and calligraphic features suggest, seems to be in the tradition of the *rdo ring* from the royal period in Central Tibet, the intended function consists in the public religious confession of a high-ranking person, in this case the worship of Avalokiteśvara. Alongside this personal religious motive announced by the commissioning person, other aspects and functions can also be seen. Owing to the rank of the commissioning person, it can be assumed that this stela did not just have the function of a personal manifesto but that it also had a political significance (corresponding to the rank and area of power of the person who commissioned it). Whether this was limited to its effect as an example, as is also expressed in the dedication of the service, or perhaps supported through other measures, or whether it also had the significance of a normative political edict, cannot be judged without closer knowledge of the circumstances (not least owing to the uncertainty as to whether this stela originally came from this area).

To this extent it is also not certain, although it can be assumed as probable, that, like most other comparable stelae in Central Tibet, it was in the power centre[107] of a region (at this time most probably ruled by members of the 'Bro clan).[108] The latter can also be assumed because it was erected on the orders of a noble who was allied with the ruling royal family, as the research into the title in connection with the clan membership of the commissioning person shows without doubt.

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[105] See also Aldenderfer 2003, 2007.

[106] "Attirano la mia attenzione certe pietre piantate per terra, dinanzi alle quali la gente si genuflette e mormora preghiere: sopravvivenze di culti megalitici, e sicuramente prebuddhistici che il Lamaismo ha accolto nella sua tolleranza sincretistica. Le leggenda ne ha trasformato il carattere; sono divenute tre pietre lanciate dal Kailasa per rendere omaggio a Khojarnath ['Khor chags]. Una religione sovrapposta ad un'altra." (Tucci 1937: 46). These three *rdo ring* appear to be depicted on a black-and-white photograph in the Tucci photo archive of the Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente in the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale "G. Tucci" (Neg. M.N.A.O.R. – Dep. 6082/23), which shows three standing stones of a somewhat crude construction and which according to the details in the archive was taken by Tucci's companion Eugenio Ghersi in Zhi sde mkhar.

[107] As the kings and ministers in general acted as leaders in the centre of regions, according to Tshe ring chos rgyal and Zla ba tshe ring (1994: 17) most stelae of the royal period were in the centre of these territories, which does not mean, however, that stelae etc. were not also erected in other regions and border areas (for example, such as with India). This aspect of centrality was, for example, present symbolically in multiple forms in the case of the erection of the *rdo ring* at the old royal graves in 'Phyong rgyas (i.a. as *axis mundi*, on the basis of the dedication ceremony as a magical, power-giving centre), as was analysed by Tucci (1950: 32f.). Above and beyond this, the *rdo ring* in 'Phyong rgyas also marked a territory, that of the dead, that was strictly demarcated from that of the living (Guntram Hazod, personal communication, August 2008).

[108] Not least also if it is assumed that the erection of the stela also simultaneously served as a territorial marker that defined the area around its location as land belonging to the 'Bro clan.

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Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po

# Brief Description of the Traditions Related to the "Translator's *mchod rten*" in Kyu wang, Western Tibet

## Translated and Annotated by Christian Jahoda*

The [stela with the] *mchod rten* of the Translator (*lo tsā ba*) [Rin chen bzang po, 958–1055] is located at 31° 43′ N and 78° 52′ E [at Kyu wang] (Fig. 3),[1] viz. approximately to the east of a rectangular

1. Kyu wang, Rong chung area, view towards south-east/Glang chen kha 'bab (Sutlej) river valley (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2013).

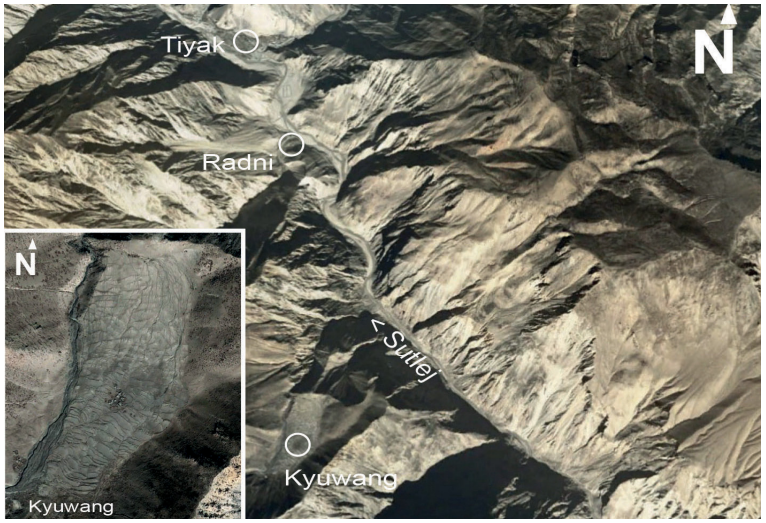
* The translation of this study is based on the unpublished article by the author entitled *Kyu wang na mchis pa'i lo tsā ba'i mchod rten dang 'brel yod srol rgyun skor la rags tsam brjod pa*. Field work in the Rong chung area of Western Tibet was carried out by the author in May-June 2013. It was financed by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) within the framework of the research project P21806-G19 "Society, Power and Religion in Pre-Modern Western Tibet: Interaction, Conflict and Integration" directed by Christian Jahoda at the Institute for Social Anthropology (ISA), Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna. [Editors' note.]

[1] Kyu wang Rad nis (located in the Rong chung area of Western Tibet) is mentioned in the middle-length biography of the Great Translator (*lo chen*) Rin chen bzang po as the place where he was born. As it was then, today Kyu wang belongs to Rad nis village (situated on the left bank of the Glang chen kha 'bab/Sutlej river). Kyu wang is located ca. 6 km to the south of Rad nis, not very far from the Indian border. In administrative terms Rad nis is part of rTsa mda' District or Circle (*rdzong*) and belongs to the municipality (*shang*) of gTi g.yag (cf. Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2006: 293 and 299, n. 1).

The worldly and supramundane circumstances of Rin chen bzang po's birth are given in some detail in various extant versions of the middle-length biography of this religious figure. Not only the day but also the exact location—an oblong field at Kyu wang (*kyu wang gi zhing nar mo zhig*)—are given there: "*de yang spyi mes g.yu sgra stong bshan* [sic!] gyis *mchod pa'i yul skyu wang rad nis zhes bya ba ru* [...] *de yang rta'i lo dbyar zla tha chung gi tshes bcu la bab pa dang/ yum skyu wang gyi zhing nar mo gcig tu yur ma mdzad cing yod pa la/ yum cung cig sku khams lhogs pa snyam pa cig byung nas/ zhing gnya' rub yon nas/ dngos su yum gsungs pa ltar/ g.yas pa la rma bya cig babs/ g.yon pa la khu dbyug cig babs/ spyi rtsug tu ne tso gcig babs so//*" (*Rin chen bzang po rnam thar* 1, f. 6a3–f. 8b3).

Compared to the text in this unpublished manuscript (which was sent to Giuseppe Tucci from Pooh in 1932) other versions show some interesting spelling variants, notably also in the case of place names: "*gsum pa 'khrung* (*gsum pa/ 'khrungs*) *yul ni/ spyi me* (*mes*) *g.yu sgra stong btsan gyi mchod pa'i yul kyu wang rad ni zhes bya ba ru* (*bar*) [...] *rta lo dbyar zla tha chung gi tshe* (*tshes*) *bcu la yum kyu wang gi zhing nar mo cig* (*zhig*) *tu yur ma mdzad cing yod pa la/ yum cung zad sku khams log nas zhing gnya' ru byon pas/ dngos su yum gyis dpung pa g.yas pa la rma bya cig* (*zhig*) *babs/ g. yon pa la khu byug cig babs/ spyi gtsug tu ne tso gcig babs so//*" (*Rin chen bzang po rnam thar* 2: 58.3–61.4; variant readings are based on the text in *Rin chen bzang po rnam*

2. Kyu wang settlement and field area, view from north-west (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2013).




3. Radni (Rad nis), Kyuwang (Kyu wang) and Tiyak (gTi g.yag), Upper Sutlej (Glang chen kha 'bab) valley/ Rong chung area, Tsamda (rTsa mda') District, Tibet Autonomous Region, China (G. Hazod, 2019).

field (Figs. 1 and 2).[2] There is about 200 metres between this [stela] (Figs. 4 and 5) and a square stone slab with the footprint of the mother of the Translator[3] (Figs. 6 and 7) in the rectangular field.[4] It [the stela] is 3,839 metres above sea level.

Two of the three stelae (*rdo ring*) there do not have any inscriptions and because one, which has engravings of a figural representation (*sku bris*) and of a *mchod rten* on each of the four sides, is a particular stela it is referred to by the villagers as the "Translator's (*lo tsā ba'i*) *mchod rten*" (Figs. 8–11). This stela with the stone carving is 0.96 metres high and 0.20 metres wide. On the south, the *mchod rten* with the figural representation is 0.80 metres high and 0.15 metres wide. On the west, the *mchod rten* with the figural representation is 0.75 metres high and 0.15 metres wide. On the north, the *mchod rten* with the figural representation is 0.80 metres high and 0.15 metres wide. On the east, the *mchod rten* with the figural representation is 0.75 metres high and 0.20 metres wide. In addition to the image with a five-partite crown (*rig lnga'i prog zhu*) (Fig. 13), there is a *mchod rten* with an umbrella consisting of thirteen rims, a vase and a lion throne (*seng khri*). On top of the vase on the eastern face, there is even a hole for a forefinger to pass through (Fig. 12).

On top of a *maṇi* wall (*man thang*) to the east of the three stelae—the stela with engraved *mchod rten* and figural representations and the two without inscriptions—there are a lot of *ma ṇe* (*maṇi*) stone engravings that have been offered. Each year around the time before sowing the field, the household (*mi tshang*) with the family name (*rus ming*)[5] sNub begins a propitiation ritual at the site of the three

*thar* 3: 135; the text contained in *Rin chen bzang po rnam thar* 4: 12–13 follows either *Rin chen bzang po rnam thar* 2 or 3). Cf. also Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2006: 294f. who draws on a middle-length version of *Rin chen bzang po rnam thar* (with further variant readings) kept in the gNas bcu temple at 'Bras spungs. [Editor's note/CJ.]

[2] This field, which is referred to as rectangular (*zhing gru bzhi nar mo*), is also known as the "long auspicious field" (*zhing bkra shis ring mo*) (personal communication Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, July 13, 2013). [Editor's note/CJ.]

[3] The mother of the Great Translator (*lo chen*) was from a big household (*mi tshang chen po*) known as the Rad ni[s] mKhar ba ["fort household of Rad nis"] as whose maidservant (*g.yog mo*) she was responsible for irrigating the field. [This information clearly represents an account from a retrospective view that is based on the current household and family. It is not clear how this statement can be brought into agreement with the information contained in the middle-length biography of Rin chen bzang po, that his mother was a woman from the (noble) Cog ro clan or family. Editor's note/CJ.]

[4] According to information based on satellite images, the distance between the two spots is perhaps around four to five hundred metres. [Editor's note/CJ.]

[5] Due to lack of information, in this case it cannot be determined whether *rus* denotes a wider social concept, such as implied by dGe rgan's description of *rigs rus*, that is, groups which trace their descent patrilineally from a common ancestor, reflecting conditions at the beginning of the 20th century (see dGe rgan 1976: 324–325). According to him, *rigs rus pa* (members of this type of kinship group) were called *pha spun* by the people in Ladakh, *rus pa* by people in Rong and sTod, and *pha spad* or *pha rus* by the population in Spiti. Cf. also Jahoda 2017. [Editor's note/CJ.]

4. Stelae, lower (northern) part of Kyu wang, view towards north-east (downhill) (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2013).

5. Stelae, lower (northern) part of Kyu wang, view towards south-west (uphill) (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2013).

This stela with carved images on four sides is conceived as an object for ritual circumambulation and stands in the tradition of *mchod rten* (*stūpa*) and sculptures oriented towards the four directions of space. The concept to create images as cosmic configurations, which frequently represent centres of mandalic sites, is a constant feature in the early Western Tibetan religious-artistic tradition. [CK].

6. Location of stones with footprint (*zhabs rjes*) of *lo chen* Rin chen bzang po's mother according to local tradition; upper (southern) part of Kyu wang, view towards south-east (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2013).

7. Stones with footprint (*zhabs rjes*) of *lo chen* Rin chen bzang po's mother according to local tradition; upper (southern) part of Kyu wang (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2013).

stelae known as the "Translator's (*lo tsā ba'i*) *mchod rten*" by offering bread and various other offerings. One day later all the fathers among the inhabitants of this village circumambulate the three stelae three times on horseback after which a circumambulation of the auspicious meditation cave of the translator at the bottom of a rocky mountain to the west is made (Fig. 14). Subsequently, after a goat kid (*ra rtsid bu*)[6] has been killed on top of a square stone slab near the three stelae its intestines and all other internal organs are burned and then, still smouldering, cast away and a red offering (*dmar mchod*)[7] is performed. Then, after the consumption of beer and singing of songs, dancing and other festive activities, the sowing of the field can start.

The rectangular field extends to the west of the three stelae or the "Translator's *mchod rten*". Slightly above this there is a pond where in summertime many swans and ruddy geese take up residence. In wintertime when the water is frozen everything turns white. Even higher up from the rectangular field there is a spring which is said

[6] When about one year old the [goat] kid (*rtsid bu*) is referred to as goat (*ra*).

[7] That is, an offering of the blood of a slaughtered animal. Offerings of this kind were also performed in former times and partially up to the present in certain villages in Upper Kinnaur and Spiti valley. In Poh, a village ca. 10 km to the west of Tabo, goats and sheep were still being killed for this purpose some decades ago. In his youth (in the late 1960s) the present *lo chen* Rin chen bzang po *sprul sku* himself saw the blood of the slaughtered animals on the *rwa co* in Kyibar and Hikim in upper Spiti valley (personal communication, New Delhi, February 27, 2000) (cf. Jahoda 2006: 35f.). [Editor's note/CJ.]

8. Stela, "Translator's (*lo tsā ba'i*) *mchod rten*", view facing east (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2013).

The figures are engraved in a graphic, planar and rather schematic manner into the block. The figural types stand in the refined and lasting tradition of early Kashmir-style sculptures of Western Tibet. The style appears to be related to early monuments of the Western Himalayan region; examples are the sculptures in the Assembly Hall (*'du khang*) of Tabo (Spiti valley), attributed to the renovation of the temple in the mid of the 11th century. The artifacts represent a stye which is strongly related to that of Kashmir, and they were most probably created together with the artists brought by the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po. Characteristics include the broad shoulders, v-shaped muscular upper body, large crown and earrings, and long curled hair. [Editor's note/CK.]

Fig. 9. Stela, "Translator's (*lo tsā ba'i*) *mchod rten*", view facing south (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2013).

Unfortunately the gestures (*mudrā*) are hardly readable but the images may represent a unified program comparable to the monumental fourfold-image of rNam par snang mdzad (Vairocana) at Tabo crowned by images of small *stūpa*s. *Stūpa*s at the top of a nimbus are often found in haloes of sculptures associated with the West Tibetan kingdom. The four images recall as well miniature *stūpa*s from Swat (8th–9th century) featuring the four Tathāgatas which face the respective directions of space (cf. Luczanits 2009: Cat. no. 291, p. 366). [Editor's note/CK.]

to be the place where the water snake[8] of the Great Translator was released (Fig. 15).

In autumn, at about the time of the harvest, thirteen horsemen from the village come to the site of the "Translator's *mchod rten*" and have to perform a red offering (*dmar mchod*) for the territorial deity (*yul lha*) I pyi [*i phyi*, *a phyi*,[9] grandmother] Chu dbang ma ("Water Governing One").[10] In the morning a ritual barley flour offering

[8] In local oral tradition it is said that the Great Translator [Rin chen bzang po] brought seven blue water snakes from India, one of which was set free at his birthplace at the rectangular field [at Kyu wang], as a result of which abundant water sprang from this place.

[9] *a phyi* is the usual spelling in dictionaries (see, for example, Goldstein 2001: 1188). The spelling *i phyi* and in particular *i phi* follows the pronunciation in Central Tibetan and Western Tibetan dialects respectively. The pronunciation in the surrounding areas is *ībī* (Tabo, Spiti: "old woman, grandmother"), *jībī* (Ru thog, sGar thog, sPu rang: "old woman (h)" (see Bielmeier et al. 2008: 963–964). [Editor's note/CJ.]

[10] As for this I phi Chu dbang ma, in fact I phyi Chu khang ma ["Water House One"]: this is a female being, a deity that is said to have been invited from

Fig. 10. Stela, "Translator's (*lo tsā ba'i*) *mchod rten*", view facing west (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2013).

Fig. 11. Stela, "Translator's (*lo tsā ba'i*) *mchod rten*", view facing north (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2013).

The oblong upright block of stone is narrower on the top and recalls the shape of other stelae in historical Western Tibet, such as the ones at lCog ro in Purang and Pooh in Upper Kinnaur. It features on each side a sitting bodhisattva and a *stūpa* above. The high *stūpa*s are of different types and topped by sun and moon. Visibility on all four sides, together with the narrowing in the uppermost part of the block—which recalls the finial of a *stūpa*—appear to indicate that the monument is rather conceived as a sculpture designed to be ritually used by circumambulation. [Editor's note/CK.]

(*'brang gyas*) is prepared and then offered. After this when the horses have been saddled and the men dressed up [the place of] I phi Chu dbang ma['s residence] is circumambulated [on horseback]. Then, along with its circumambulation, offerings are made in the rectangular field. After arriving at the east of the "Translator's *mchod rten*", they circumambulate a big juniper tree there. Then three horse races are held on the convenient surface of a plain to the west of the rectangular field. Then they return and [the place of] I phi chu dbang ma['s residence] is circumambulated again. A drummer[11] then brings a goat and performs a circumambulation of the "Translator's *mchod*

lands to the south (*mon*). [See Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2006: 298 for further information on I phi Chu dbang ma. Editor's note/CJ.]

[11] The function of drummer (*rnga brdungs mkhan*) is passed on within the drummer's family, with its residence at gTi g.yag, patrilineally from father to son (*pha tsha bu rgyud*). [Persons with this function seem to belong in Rad nis—as also, for example, in Spiti—to families where this function is hereditary. It is not clear whether at Rad nis these families constituted an endogamous community and represented a socially subordinate group as was (and to a large extent still is) the case in Spiti. Editor's note/CJ.]

12. Upper part of stela, "Translator's (*lo tsā ba'i*) *mchod rten*", view facing east, detail of *mchod rten* with an umbrella consisting of thirteen rims, a vase and a lion throne (*seng khri*) (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2013).

13. Lower part of stela, "Translator's (*lo tsā ba'i*) *mchod rten*", view facing east, detail of image with a five-partite crown (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2013).

*rten*" by leading it around clockwise (*g.yas skor*). After finishing the circumambulation, the goat is killed[12] there on top of a square bolder with a smooth surface. The goat meat is apportioned based on the *mu*[13] of the field and the internal organs are roasted underneath a square stone on a piece of uncultivated land.

Later, with the liberal consumption of beer and the performance of dances a festive celebration takes place and (people) enjoy the pleasures of life. On the next day the field is harvested [by sickle]. On the first day [of the harvest] due to the fact that the drummer harvests [with a sickle] according to his wish and desire whatever of the fields of the village occurs best (to him) and is allowed to take (this) away, there is a very large income for him.

After arrival in Rad nis[14] village (Fig. 16) seven or eight villagers in

[12] As for the procedure of killing the goat: after tying it up it is killed by suffocation.

[13] *mu* is a Chinese measure of area. The author uses the Tibetan spelling *rmu*. [Editor's note/CJ.]

[14] Rad nis seems to be the common spelling adopted in the middle-length biography of Rin chen bzang po. This spelling is also used here (despite the

turn give the drummer seventeen bunches of bundles of wheat piled up in the fields after harvest (*gro lcog*).[15] In addition around noon on the 29th day of the first month of the Tibetan calendar an extensive ritual of chanting the (*oṃ*) *ma ṇi* (*pad me hūṃ*) mantra is performed (for him).

On the auspicious 30th new-moon day of the Tibetan month (*gnam gang*), at the beginning the first sample of offering beer (*chang phud*) is offered to the monastery. At this time the women wear *be rag*[16] headdresses and brocaded clothes. The men wear *sog zhwa* ["Mongolian-type"] hats, robes of golden and white brocade and black yak-skin boots. In this way invocations and offerings to the local gods (*lha gsol*) are made in a proper way. Furthermore the men from the mKhar ba ("fort household") family of Rad nis wear brocade clothes with a particular design (*ri mo*).

At that time a majestic mountain-shaped *gtor ma*, which is also called a mountain (*ri bo*), is made and the Rad nis Pag si[17] family performs an offering rite for the territorial deity (*yul lha*) *mes* ("ancestor") rDo rje legs pa and for this there is a ceremonial arrow with different-coloured ribbons (*mtshon ched kyi mda' dar*) tied to it. At the time when *mes* rDo rje legs pa enters a trance medium the drummer is absolutely needed and after the descent of the god is finished lots of offerings of butter, tea, meat and salt must be given to the drummer.

Since the drummer is a good blacksmith (*lcags bzo*)[18] he makes things required for the peasants' field work, [such as] hoes (*stog rtse*[19]

14. Meditation cave (*sgrub phug*) of *lo chen* Rin chen bzang po at the bottom of a rocky mountain above Kyu wang (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2013).

15. Place where the great translator's snake was released (*lo tsā ba'i chu sbrul glod sa*) (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2013).

16. Rad nis village and monastery (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2013).

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author's use of Rad ni throughout the unpublished article in Tibetan). According to local tradition, the name of the village is pronounced as *ra nyi* in the local language the real meaning of which is *ra gnyis* (two goats) (cf. Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2006: 294). [Editor's note/CJ.]

[15] See also Goldstein 2001: 203. [Editor's note/CJ.]

[16] *be rag* is loosely fastened ornamental headdress which hangs from the forehead to the back of the head. It is supported by a piece of brocade which is elegantly adorned with turquoise stones.

[17] It is from this family that the trance medium (*sku khog*) of the territorial deity (*yul lha*) known as *mes* rDo rje legs pa speaks, and, as for this function, a deity enters the body of a trance medium, it is passed on patrilineally from father to son (*pha tsha bu rgyud*).

[18] Based on research in Tabo and elsewhere one can assume that the function of blacksmith and drummer were united or "reserved" for a social (marginalised) group which is usually referred to as *bzo ba* or *mgar ba* (blacksmith). Their work belonged to an inherited system of intra-village cooperation and exchange which seems to have been in force all over historical Western Tibet. One element of the obligatory labour performed by the blacksmiths was related to their function as musicians (drummers) at festivals and on festive occasions (see Jahoda 2012 and 2015: 214–215). [Editor's note/CJ.]

[19] *stog rtse* is colloquial Western Tibetan (*stod mnga' ris*) language. In fact it can be described as a two-bladed hatchet (*sta re kha gnyis ma*) or also as a hoe (*'jor*).

[*tog r/tse*]),[20] ploughshares (*thong gshol*), sickles (*zo rwa* [*zor ba*]),[21] axes (*sta gri*), hooked knives (*ku ram*),[22] ladles (*thum bu*),[23] and so on. Because the household in which the blacksmith function was passed on at Rad nis has no [other] work, it is said that there is no other way but to immediately accept any request from the peasants and it is never allowed to say there is no time etc. Even though he [the blacksmith] manufactures whatever has to be made, the peasants are as well obliged to give sumptuous parties (for him) and to host (him) so that there is absolutely no way for him to perform his work carelessly. At the time when Rad nis village "feeds" (*gso*) [that is, performs an offering ritual to] the water snake [mentioned above], or if there is a sick person in Rad nis village or whatever else happens in this way, the habitual practice was to kill a black goat and to perform a red offering (*dmar mchod*). Later, after the territorial deity (*yul lha*) was bound to the teachings of the Translator, on the 26th (*nyi shu* [*rtsa*] *drug*] [day] of each month bread known as *ru brĭ*[24] was offered [to her]. Due to the fact that this was [more] suitable [with respect to the teachings], the tradition of performing a red offering (*dmar mchod*) was terminated. Then, after performing a burnt offering (*bsur btang*), this bread is distributed to everyone and eaten. The donor (*sbying bdag*) is the Rad nis mKhar ba ("fort household") family. At this time, [they] go to the place of residence of the territorial deity (*yul lha*) rDo rje legs pa and drink beer and perform dances. After bringing the remaining beer into Rad nis monastery [they] happily celebrate. During the same time the drummer goes everywhere to the households to ask for beer and thereby receives a lot of beer, meat and so on. In the evening of this [day] all the young men and women from each household of Rad nis village sing and dance the whole night and fully enjoy life.

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[20] Based on the linguistic data compiled by Bielmeier et al. the tool referred to by this name seems to be a hoe. This agrees in particular with the use of the word in the local dialect at Tabo (Western Innovative Tibetan: pronunciation *tōktsē*; cf. Bielmeier et al. 2008: 339, where the spelling is rendered as *tog tse* or *tog rtse*). See also Jahoda 2015: fig. 36, p. 315, for an illustration of a *s/tog r/tse* from Tabo. [Editor's note/CJ.]

[21] *zor ba* seems to be the most common spelling (cf. also Bielmeier et al. 2008: 775). [Editor's note/CJ.]

[22] A *ku ram* is a hooked knife (*gri 'gugs*) especially for heavy cutting.

[23] A *thum bu* is Western Tibetan (*stod mnga' ris*) dialect (*yul skad*) meaning *skyog* [*skyogs*, ladle].

[24] There is no information as to the kind of bread this is. [Editor's note/CJ.]

*Rin chen bzang po rnam thar* 3 = Gu ge Khyi thang pa dPal ye shes. 1990. Byang chub sems dpa' lo tsā ba rin chen bzang po'i rnam thar 'bring ba dka' spyad sgron ma shel phreng lu gu rgyud. In: *Bod ljongs nang bstan*, 7/1, 134–150.

*Rin chen bzang po rnam thar* 4 = Gu ge Khyi thang pa Dznyā na shrī. 1996. *Byang chub sems dpa' lo tsā ba rin chen bzang po'i 'khrungs rabs dka' spyad sgron ma rnam thar shel phreng lu gu rgyud*. Dharamsala, India: Tho ling gtsug lag khang lo gcig stong 'khor ba'i rjes dran mdzad sgo'i go sgrig tshogs chung, 11–33.

**Appendix: Places Associated with the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po by Local Oral Tradition (Figs. 17–24)**

The following places are named as such in a final paragraph of Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po's text and in the named folders into which his photographic documentation was divided by him. [Editors' note.]

17. The place of residence of Lord (*jo bo*) rDo rje chen mo who was invited by the Translator (*lo tsā ba*) [Rin chen bzang po] is located beneath a red hill, not far from the rectangular field at Kyu wang. The place where Lord (*jo bo*) rDo rje chen mo is worshipped between Rad nis and Kyu wang on a footpath along a narrow ledge on the side of a precipice where many quartz stones are heaped up (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2013).

18. Place where the Translator's horse was tied to a juniper tree (*lo tsa ba'i rta 'dogs sa shugs pa*) (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2013).

19. The Translator's *gtor ma* plate and round *gtor ma* offering (*lo tsā ba'i gtor gzhong dang 'brang rgyas*) (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2013).

20. The Translator's solitary stone (*lo tsā ba'i chigs rdo*) (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2013).

21. Reverence to the Translator (*lo tsā ba'i dbu rjes*) (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2013).

22. The Translator's throne (*lo tsā ba'i bzhugs khri*) (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2013).

23. The Translator's cooking pot or eating bowl (*lo tsā ba'i zhal lu 'am zhal mchod*) (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2013).

24. The Translator's saddle (*lo tsā ba'i rta sga*) (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2013).

Christian Jahoda

# Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's Chapter on the History of mNga' ris in *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs*: Notes on the Author and the Content*

Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's chapter on the history of mNga' ris in his *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes* is an important source on the early history of Western Tibet that has come to light in recent years. This text was published as a facsimile edition in 2011 by dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang in volume 36 (Chi) of the series *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs* (see Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011). This manuscript was originally written in *dbu med* script and is not easily readable, which is also due to the frequent use of contracted words (*skung yig*), abbrevations (*bsdus yig*) and old (partly also "unorthodox") spellings.

The account given in the following section presents some biographical data on the author Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan and mainly gives information contained in Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po's contribution "Relating the History of mNga' ris as Written in Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes*: The Tibetan Text" (this volume, pp. 89ff.).[1]

The ensuing sections are dedicated to paraphrasing the content of the text and providing further information in footnotes in order to highlight and discuss new information on various matters that are essential for research from the perspective of a historical social anthropology of Western Tibet.

## The Author

Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po[2] was born in the Female Wood Sheep year 1415 during the seventh sixty-year cycle of the Tibetan calendar in the area of sGyu (rGyu 'gul) which belonged to the territory of the Dharma King (*chos rgyal*) of mDa' ba in Gu ge lHo stod of mNga' ris. His family line was sKyi nor, from among the five Zhang zhung *rus*[3] and [his] paternal ancestors were even venerated as being related to the Sun lineage (*nyi ma'i* [..] *gdung rgyud*). His father's name was Rig 'dzin rdo rje and his mother's was sKyid pa. Being eminently intelligent from a very young age, with the greatest diligence and without any difficulty he became engrossed in reading

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[1] For the most part, this seems to be based on Grags pa rgyal mtshan's biography *rNam thar dgos 'dod 'byung ba* by 'Jam dbyangs Nam mkha' brtan pa ('Jam dbyangs Nam mkha' brtan pa 2013; see also Heimbel 2014: 64–71).

[2] In his *lHa bla ma ye shes 'od kyi rnam thar rgyas pa* (*Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od*), the title preceding his name is *gnas lnga rig pa'i paṇḍi ta* (see Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011: 355/f. 41a; see also Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan*: The Tibetan text", this volume, p. 168), that is, a scholar with mastership in the five branches of Buddhist learning.

[3] On these Zhang zhung *rus*, see below the section *Paraphrase Section I: On Zhang zhung*. *Rus* (literally "bone") which is often translated and explained as "clan" should be understood in this context as descent group based on patrilineal descent. The name of his family lineage (*gdung*) which is given as sKyi nor, is phonetically very close to sKyin wer, one of the five Zhang zhung *rus*. Both names are very close phonetically to Kinnaur, the name of the wider area along the upper Sutlej valley.

and writing. By the time he was a little older, even though he caught a severe illness, after having received spiritual instruction from the eminent master Chos dpal 'dzin on the Lord of Life (Tshe bdag) and Hayagrīva (rTa mgrin) and having performed the respective meditation he was healed of this illness. He then received numerous religious empowerments (*dbang khrid*), oral religious teachings (*man ngag*), and reading transmissions (*lung*) of the Dwags po bKa' brgyud pa (school), and from his father concealed treasures and pronouncements (*gter bka'*) by Guru Rinpoche [Padmasambhava], and many teachings (*chos*) of his paternal ancestors.

At the age of eleven, even though it was forbidden to ask his father and mother to leave for a religious life he went to Chos rje Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan. He was ordained amid eleven monks, Drung pa Nam mkha' rtse mo and others. At that time he received many teachings (*chos*) from Drung pa Nam mkha' rtse mo and *sprul sku* Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan, [such as] on *'Dul ba 'od ldan*,[4] *mDzang blun*,[5] Klu sgrub's (Nāgārjuna's) *mDo kun las btus pa*,[6] and on the seven lineages of Guhyasamāja Akṣobhya,[7] etc. He studied and stayed as an attendant until he reached the age of twenty-one.

At the age of twenty-one, when the king of Gu ge sent Drung pa Nam mkha' rtse mo to invite Chos rje rDo rje 'chang Kun dga' bzang po (Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po) to reside in Glo bo he came along as an attendant of this master (*rje*; that is, Drung pa Nam mkha' rtse mo). In Glo bo he [Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan] met with Chos rje Kun dga' bzang po. From Ngor chen rDo rje 'chang he received instructions from a follower of the Sa skya pa school in the monastery (*gtsug lag khang*) of Brag dkar,[8] at first religious empowerment (*dbang bskur*) on dPal kye yi rdo rje (Śrī Hevajra), and acted for around seventeen years as an attendant to Ngor chen. Throughout his life he took care of countless disciples to whom he faultlessly and well explained grammar and logic, technology and the fine arts, medicine and so on, all branches of Buddhist learning, in terms of the real meaning of the words.

In the field of epistemology (*tshad ma*), he wrote on the property of the subject. He also wrote on Sanskrit and produced a written work related to the four classes of Tantra, of greatest benefit for the many series of (re-)births, and it is also said that he authored a work primarily focused on poetry.

In the Earth Horse year 1498 in the eighth sixty-year cycle in the Tibetan calendar he was absorbed into the ultimate sphere of an enlightened mind. At that time he had arrived at the age of eighty-three.[9]

### ***Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes*: Notes on the Content of the Chapter on the History of mNga' ris**

The full text of Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's work *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes* consists of 137 folios. The part dealing with the history of mNga' ris which is of concern here is contained in the final folios. These may be divided into six sections according to their content. The following overview is based on the divisions made by Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po in his edition (see Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, "Relating the history of mNga' ris as as set down in writing in Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes*: The Tibetan text", this volume, pp. 90ff.) and shows the respective headings used by him in parentheses.

*Contents*

Section I (428/f.124b6–432/f.126b6): On Zhang zhung (*Zhang zhung gi skor*)

Section II (426/f.123b6–428/124b6; 432/f.126b6–438/f.129b7): On the Rule of sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon in mNga' ris (*sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon mNga' ris rgyal po byed pa'i skor*)

Section III (440/f.130b1–444f.132b1): On the Three sTod kyi mgon (*sTod kyi mgon gsum gyi skor*)

Section IV (444/f.132b2–447/f.134a7): On the Ruler lHa lde (*mnga' bdag lHa lde'i skor*)

Section V (448/f.134b5–451/f.136a2): On the Ruler Khri bKra shis 'Od lde btsan (*mnga' bdag Khri bKra shis 'Od lde btsan gyi skor*)

Section VI (451/f.136a2–454/f.138a5): On the Ruler 'Od lde's son bTsan srong and His Lineage (*mnga' bdag 'Od lde'i sras bTsan srong dang de'i rgyud pa'i skor*)

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4 A work on the Vinaya (see also Martin 2001: 103).

5 *mDzangs blun zhes bya ba'i mdo* (Tibetan translation of **Damamūkasūtra*), *Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish*.

6 Skt. *Sūtrasamuccaya*, *Compendium of Scriptures*.

7 *gSang 'dus mi bskyod pa rgyud pa bdun*.

8 Brag dkar monastery was established by Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po either during his first sojourn in Glo bo (1427–28) or during the second one (1436–1437) (see Heimbel 2017: 284–299).

9 van der Kuijp (2013: 325) gives his dates as 1415–1486.

*Paraphrase Section I: On Zhang zhung*

At first[10] the countries of Upper and Lower Zhang zhung[11] were held by those known as "*rtse*".[12] Among these was one called sNya shur Mu pu ring nge ged, of great intelligence and bravery, who, as he became a famous person, was designated as lord by agreement of all subjects of these countries.[13] Then, after eleven generations, one known as sNya shur La khwa ged rtse appeared endowed with great strength. His daughter married the great king of the country of dBus, Srong btsan sgam po. Then, six generations later, the king of sNya shur is said to have been Li byin mu pad khya, an incarnation (*sprul sku*) of gShen rabs mi bong (*sic*!)[14] and a king who attained mastery over Bon, letters and figuring (*yig rtsis*) as well as divination (*mo*). At that time through accomplished masters adhering to Bon[15] oral and written traditions of Bon became more and more popular in Zhang zhung.

Simultaneously [with Li byin mu pad khya, the king of sNya shur, and the popularisation of Bon], descending from a lineage (*rigs*) at the time of king Ru pi ni, the "Five Zhang zhung Siblings" (Zhang zhung *mched lnga*)—that is to say, Mang wer Od tshad swa ged tshe, Mol wer, sKyin wer sDong gyed tsha, Hrugs wer sPrud gzher sto ged tsha and Rum wer Sha zher rtse—emerged in Gu ge from India.[16] As for their gods (*lha*), the most powerful ones among these 360 *gye god*[17] were: the god (*lha*) bDud rje btsan po ho of the Mang wer ba, the god (*lha*) Rol btsan stag ral gtsug—altogether eight siblings (*spun brgyad*)—of the Mol wer ba, the god (*lha*) Srid pa yongs kyi ma mo mu tsa med[18] of the sKyin wer ba, the god (*lha*) sGyugs khyung sheng rtse of the Hrugs wer ba, the god (*lha*) Srin po gnam ro po of the Rum rtse wer ba. Moreover, there were the three places (*yul*)[19] of the Mang wer ba: Phyi wang, rMe los sgyung and Sad mkhar. The sKyin wer ba held Sribs kyi lha rtse, the Hrugs wer ba mKhar bDu lang khyung rtse, and the Rum (rtse wer) ba mKhar She la khyung.[20]

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[10] Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan does not give any specific chronologic indication regarding the origin of Zhang zhung but just starts with "at the beginning" (*dang po*), that is, at an unspecified point in time. Nevertheless, he makes use of a kind of relative chronology by relating the names of kings to genealogical information and in two cases to historic personages, Srong btsan sgam po and gShen rabs mi bo.

[11] In topographic or geographic terms Zhang zhung is mentioned as consisting of an upper and lower country (*yul stod smad*). However, the whole of Zhang zhung is reported to have been ruled by one dynasty, referred to throughout the text as sNya shur (also the spellings gNya' shur and rNya shur occur). The rulers were titled "*rtse*". Their appointment and legitimation as lords (Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan uses the word *jo bo*) seems to have been based on outstanding personal qualities and achievements (great intelligence, bravery and fame) and took place by way of a general assignment that sheds some light on the political system and the prevailing notion of rulership.

[12] In Tibetan, this word means the point, top, peak, summit, etc. It is not clear if Grags pa rgyal mtshan intends to use the word with its meaning in Tibetan or renders a homophonous word belonging to a different language in a way readable and understable to Tibetans. In Dan Martin's *Zhang zhung Dictionary*, the word *rtse* is listed belonging to the Zhang zhung language, meaning powerful among other things (see Martin 2010: 183).

[13] sNya shur is mentioned also as part of the names of other Zhang zhung rulers in Dunhuang documents and in Bon po sources (see Namgyal Nyima Dagkar 2002: 429f.).

[14] The person obviously referred to is sTon pa gShen rab or gShen rab Myi bo, commonly known as the founder of the Bon religion (see Blezer 2008 and Bellezza 2010 for works on the historicity of this figure).

[15] The Bon religion or belief system is first mentioned in relation to a king who was recognised as an incarnation of gShen rabs mi bo, the semi-historic founder of the Bon religion. The popularisation of Bon religion is specifally seen as a phenomenon of this (later) period in Zhang zhung history. Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's account makes it possible to understand the sNya shur dynasty of the Zhang zhung kingdom at least at this time as a kind of sacred kingship and one that was based on concepts of the Bon religion. Some parallels with Buddhist notions of kingship are recognisable in this account.

[16] The expression *mched lnga* can mean five siblings (brothers and sisters) but also five sisters or five brothers. In my view the latter presumably applies, as in the following passages only men are mentioned as leading figures of these groups and there is no indication of any female leader. I therefore understand Mang wer, Mol wer, sKyin wer, Rum wer and Hrugs wer as designations of forefathers (perhaps mythical) from whom these groups descended or claimed descent. The designation as Zhang zhung *mched lnga* does not necessarily indicate that their origins lay in Zhang zhung but that they constituted five population groups related by descent who occupied certain places in Gu ge and played a certain role in Zhang zhung.

The meaning of the second part of these names and their classificatory value is far from clear. The repeated *ge tshe / ged tsha / gyed tsha* may be identical with *ge tsa* which is listed in Martin (2010: 60) as a Zhang zhung word (synonymous with the Tibetan *bdud btsan*) meaning "a group of gods or demons".

[17] It is clear from Grags pa rgyal mtshan's text that *gye god*, a word of seemingly non-Tibetan origin, corresponds to the Tibetan word *lha*, commonly translated as god or deity. Due to the phonetic consonance and agreement in the number of the gods, some form of historical linguistic relationship can be assumed to exist between *gye god*, most probably a word of the Zhang zhung language, and *ge khod*, perhaps a Tibetan loan word from the language of Zhang zhung. This is supported by Kvaerne (1996: 40), according to whom—based on studies by Tucci (1949 II: 724, 1970: 240) and Hoffmann (1950: 166, 269)—the "word *gekhö (ge khod)* designates a class of ancient Tibetan gods. The etymology of the word is entirely obscure, but it may be taken to be a loan from the language of Zhangzhung. The *gekhö* are said to number 360 and to reside on Mount Tise (Ti se, i.e. Mount Kailash), the sacred mountain of Zhangzhung."

[18] This seems to be a female deity and perhaps identical with Mu la tsa med, explained as a goddess of Zhang zhung (Martin 2010: 169). *Tsa med* is listed as the Zhang zhung language word for woman, which corresponds to the Tibetan *bu med* (see *ibid*.: 178; Haarh 1968: 38; Kvaerne 1996: 14; 81).

[19] One can perhaps conceive of these places (*yul*) in this context as smaller territories in the sense of residence areas.

[20] Some of the population groups who are named in this text as Mang wer ba, sKyin wer ba, Hrugs wer ba, Rum (rtse wer) ba and Mol wer ba are known from historical texts and inscriptions where these group affiliations precede their personal names.

At Tabo monastery one of the monks depicted in the *sgo khang* of the *gtsug lag khang* is identified as rHugs 'or *dge slong* dBïg gï bsod nams (*ï = gi gu log*) in the accompanying caption. In another instance also *rhugs 'er* occurs (see Luczanits 1999: 106, 107 who assumed that these designations were identical with Hrugs wer which appears in the mid-length biography of the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po). Over twenty inscriptional occurrences of Hrugs/Rugs wer and one of Mang wer were documented by Chinese archaeologists in the 1990s in a *mchod rten* from the 11th-century at Tholing (see Heller 2010).

Also one Mo lo *dge slong* Shes rab snying po is named for example in a caption at Tabo (Luczanits 1999: 107). Mol lo (obviously corresponding to Mol wer) occurs in *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs* f. 125b4 (in the form of *skung yig*) (see Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, "Relating the history of mNga' ris as as set down in writing in Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes*: The Tibetan text", this volume, p. 92). In addition, monks from the Mang wer ba are also named in captions: for example, Mang wer *dge' slong* Sod nams rïn cen and Mang 'er *dge' slong* Rïn cen brtson grus (Luczanits 1999: 108).

Also the Rum (rtse wer) ba occur: Rum *dge' slong* Drang ba shes rab. Luczanits notes on this name that "beside the surname Rum, denoting a clan or locality, in the captions in Tabo [...] there also exists a region of Rum (*rum yul*), which is located somewhere west of Tholing (cf. Petech 1997: 233, n.21 and Vitali 1996: 307). Logically Rum alone would be a place within this region, but here it might also denote the region the person stems from. Evidently the Rum people were the most prominent donor group for the renovation. According to Thomas (1951: 149-50, M.I.xxviii,002) Rum denotes a clan name." (Luczanits 1999: 108). In the case of nuns who are identified by inscriptions at Tabo, a *za* (*bza'*, woman) is added to indicate their gender: for example, Rum *za* or Rhug 'or *za* (see *ibid*.: 146).

To conclude: of the five above-mentioned population groups four occur in historical inscriptions at Tabo and Tholing. Only the sKyin wer ba do not occur. However, there are a number of additional names of groups that are mentioned in inscriptions at Tabo and also in colophons of manuscripts other than those listed as constituting the Zhang zhung *mched lnga*. For example, sNyel 'or / sNyal 'or / sNyel wer / sNyes wer who appear quite often in the early inscriptions at Tabo (and also in manuscripts) and Mag pi/pï tsa.

Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's account of the Zhang zhung *mched lnga* seems to address or reflect information about their origin and appearance in Gu ge stretching back considerably to a time before the 10th/11th century. Their names seem to be Tibetanised to some degree, in particular perhaps in the case of the sKyin wer ba (taking *skyin* as the Tibetan word for ibex).

As to the linguistic affiliation of these names the designation Zhung zhung *mched lnga* itself suggests that they may belong to the Zhang zhung language (whatever that may be). Mang wer is listed as a Zhang zhung word meaning pale, white, grey, layman or female spirit (see Martin 2010: 160). According to the same source, the syllable *wer* corresponds to the Tibetan *rgyal*, *rgyal ba*, *rgyal po*, *rgyal mo*, that is, conqueror, victor, king, queen, ruler (*ibid*.: 189).

The main gods or goddesses mentioned by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan have names that appear to have a "Zhang zhung" core (at the end) to which a Tibetan component seems to have been prefixed. For example, the god (*lha*) Srid pa yongs kyi ma mo mu tsa med of the sKyin wer ba has a Zhang zhung name (*mu tsa med*) which is preceded by a Tibetan name and classificatory designation (Srid pa yongs kyi ma mo). It is thus clear that the names of these gods were Tibetanised and integrated into a Tibetan concept of deity (*ma mo*).

The appearance of some of these gods as groups of siblings (brothers, brothers and sisters, etc.) is a wide-spread phenomenon which seems to be a particularly strong characteristic of deities in areas of Kinnaur until the present, also in the Tibetan-speaking areas of Upper Kinnaur (Khu nu).

Later the five *rus*,[21] united by friendly ties and under a unified rule, nominated in turn one, who acted as great minister and governed during four generations of gNya' shur kings. The deeds of the five acting in this way were: Mang wer Khams gsum bsher btsan 'das, who, after subduing the king of 'Gru sha Thang la nag po in an act of bravery, marked the border of Byang lam skya'o (the "White Northern Path?); through skilful military strategies Mol lo[22] Klu thon rje dpal sdang defeated gNya' khri'i mgon, the king of sPu hrangs, and held Shar Seng ge dkar mo as prisoner. After seizing Grang la ti tsa, the castle (*mkhar*) of Nyi ti, Kyin wer rDo rje zher rgyal po overthrew king So na ra dza. Drawing on skill and writings, Hrugs wer gTsug sgra gzher lha gnang

The places named as (main) residential areas of these five populations groups seem to indicate that they were located not far from the upper Sutlej valley. The places of the Mang wer ba may be identified with present-day Phyi dbang and nearby places. Sribs kyi lha rtse, the place of the sKyin wer ba, may refer to an area in the vicinity of Nako and Shalkhar in Upper Kinnaur. The Hrugs wer ba's places can be assumed to be mKhar rtse and other places in or adjacent to the mKhar rtse valley, and the Rum (rtse wer) ba's place may be identified with Rum yul and the area around sPeg mkhar. Looking at the map this defines a quite coherent territory within the larger realm of Gu ge. A characteristic element of these places seem to have been fortifications (*mkhar*).

There is no indication of anything Buddhist in the religious life of the population groups of the Mang wer ba, sKyin wer ba, Mol wer ba, Hrugs wer ba and Rum (rtse wer) ba. As stated above Bon is mentioned as having made an appearance in Zhang zhung at some point in time but it is not stated that any of the five groups adhered to this. What we can conclude, however, based on the inscriptional evidence from Tabo and Tholing is that from the late 10th century the residential areas of these groups were the places for the propagation of Buddhism by the royal lineage. The examples from Tabo and Tholing show that this happened with strong participation from the Hrugs wer ba, the Rum (rtse wer) ba, the Mol wer ba and the Mang wer ba. Taking the sNyel wer ba as another name of the sKyin wer ba or in some way related to the above-mentioned groups, a major turn in the religious affiliation of these population groups becomes manifest.

The first significant indication of a royal dynastic activity within the area of one of the Zhang zhung *mched lnga* seems to have been an assembly by members of the royal lineages which took place in 992 at sPeg mkhar, a place on the upper course of the Glang chen kha 'babs/Sutlej river. On this occasion again a great oration (*mol ba chen po*) was delivered and the hermitage of Pa sgam in the Rum region was renovated (see Petech 1997: 233). This also shows that by this time the relationship between the royal lineage and these populations groups must have been firmly established and that royal patronage of Buddhist temples in these clan territories began to play an important role.

[21] It is necessary to stress that Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's usage of *rus* must certainly have been in agreement with the contemporary (late-15th-century) concept of this word. Thus, we can assume that it relates to patrilineal descent groups, who traced their descent from a common ancestor. In addition, subsets of these groups known as *pha spun* or *pha spad* (which also include affinal relatives who give up their affiliation to their father's guardian deity but retain their father's bone) were linked by common residence, a common ancestral deity (*pha lha*) and joint cult of the dead (see dGe rgan 1976: 324–325; Jahoda 2017).

[22] In a later passage, the spelling Mo lo is used.

destroyed the Zhang zhung priest by an evil spell of the Black Cow (*ba nag po*), after which the priest paid respect to the *bla ma*, so that the tongue of the Western Red Bull (*nub glang dmar po*) was cut out.[23] When Rum wer A rgyal gsum gzher ceased trusting Glangs g.Yu rge 'bar ma, the daughter of the ancestral king of rNya shur, the established relationship with the five *rus* was lost. Then the five daughters of sTong lHu bzher were accepted in marriage by the five *rus*; they had five sons and five daughters. lHu bzher became old and after leaving his last words to the five daughters and five sons-in-law he passed away. After this, they were called the "five *rus* and the maternal uncle sTong, six altogether" (*rus lnga zhang po stong dang drug*).

At that time, the kings of sNya shur, the three brothers Li bin khya, Ngad bzangs khya and dPung dmar khya, in a deviation from reality, annually sacrificed one person of the Khyung po family. When the discussions between the ministers Gu gu Khyung, Khyung dpung ring mo, Khyung dpung Tang su ze, and dGe shin Tang mi ring mo failed, the blame was ascribed to the five Zhang zhung *rus*. As for the five nephews and brothers of the Great Superior One (*bla chen po*) sTong, they were loyal and rendered useful service to the Lord. This being the case, Mang wer Khams gsum tshan dhas captured the White Vulture (Thang dkar rgod po) of the skies in a trap; Kyin wer rDo rje sher overcame the White Lioness of the Snows (Gangs kyi seng ge dkar mo) with an iron chain; Hrugs wer gTsug bzher captured the Children of the Gods ('Dod khams kyi lha phrug); Mo lo Klu thog bzher tamed the Tiger of the Forest (*nags kyi stag*); the king of Rum, gSum bzher, put sunlight (*nyi zer*) into an amulet box (*ga'u*) with a magic lasso.[24] Due to this, his (sTong lHu bzher's) fame (*dbu rmog*, literally 'helmet') was higher than the mountains and his political authority (*chab srid*)[25] grew enormously, so that there was no other greater king than ours, with tigers as watchdogs, peacocks as poultry and a wild ass (*rkyang*) as a horse.

*Paraphrase Section II: On the Rule of sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon in mNga' ris*

sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon was born in a Pig year.[26] At (the age of) twenty-eight, in the year of the Tiger,[27] he went to mNga' ris stod. Bringing all the territories belonging to Western Tibet under his control in a Sheep year,[28] after seizing the castle of Nyi zung he ruled the kingdom. He passed away at the age of fifty-nine in a Bird year.[29] Furthermore sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon's father dPal 'khor btsan gave him the Medicine Buddha as meditative practice support (*thugs dam*)[30] and he (sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon) made offerings and prayers in this regard. Since he was very impatient to root out the revolt in Tibet[31] and as in mNga' ris the teachings of the Buddha shone like the sun, dependent on their flourishing and blessed by the Buddha and Bodhisattvas he went to sTod mNga' ris. Moreover, the Mighty Sage and his children dwelt on the Fragrant Mountain; Kinnaras and Nāga King Ma gros (commonly Ma dros) (Anavatapta) and others were satisfied, because of the dharma, flocks of eagles soared in the air and lived in the land of snows on top of Ti se, the king of the Himalayas. As has been taught in the teaching of the *Sangs rgyas bdun pa* (*sūtra*),[32] the Victorious One is here all over the land of the sTod country and the spreading of the teaching is to come about due to the blessings. Here in 'Dzam bu gling[33] there is no higher ground. To spread and make the teaching of the Buddha flourish, it is in particular the sacred place where the blessed Great Elder (*gnas brtan chen po*)[34] Yan lag 'byung[35] surrounded by his retinue of 1,500 arhats (*dgra bcom pa*) resides. Next to Ti se, the great king of the Himalayas, four great rivers gently flow in the four directions and, as for Ma pang g.yu mtsho,[36] very famous throughout India and Tibet, if one washes oneself with its water and leaves a tooth, nail, hair, etc. this purifies one's negative actions. Because of the period of spreading the teaching of the Sage of the Śākyas to the vast area of sTod mNga' ris and due to the power of general merit for all sentient beings, sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon gradually turned his horse riding upward.

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[23] The meaning of these characterisations is unclear.

[24] The meaning of these characterisations is unclear.

[25] These two, *dbu rmog* and *chab srid*, are described as being key qualities of the Tibetan emperors (*btsan po*). See Ramble 2006: 129; Dotson 2011: 85.

[26] A possible Pig year (that also fits with the chronological data of his son bKra shis mgon (born ca. early second quarter of the 10th century) and his grandson Srong nge/Yeshe Ö (947–1024 according to Vitali 2003: 55, 61; 947–1019 based on Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od* by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan: The Tibetan text", this volume, p. 149) may be 879. On this and further dates mentioned in the text, see also Jahoda, "On the foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, Ladakh", this volume, pp. 291f.

[27] The Tiger year in which he left for mNga' ris stod could have been 906, when he was twenty-eight years old.

[28] The Sheep year could have been 911.

[29] The Bird year may refer to 937.

[30] That is, *yi dam*, personal tutelary deity.

[31] Indicating perhaps why he left for mNga' ris before the revolt (*kheng log*) in Tibet had come to an end in 911(?).

[32] Sanskrit (*Ārya-*) *Saptabuddhaka*(*mahāyānasūtra*).

[33] Sanskrit Jambudvīpa, the Continent of the Rose-Apple Tree which is inhabited by human beings according to Buddhist cosmology (see Gethin 2004: 184).

[34] Sanskrit *mahāsthavira*.

[35] Sanskrit Aṅgaja, one of the Sixteen Arhats.

[36] Also: Ma pham g.yu mtsho (Lake Manasarovar).

In the middle autumn of the Tiger year the five sTong grandsons (*tsha spun*)[37] and minister Khyung sent Khyung po Khri lhen skyu se and dGe shing A ring mo to invite dPal lHa btsan po Khri bKra shis sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon, then residing at *sku mkhar* lHa rtse Brag mkhar, with a petition from Khyung spung sTang ring mo of sTod urging him to come to mNga' ris. This made a strong impression on the emperor, and after having reflected on it, he and Cang Legs skyes, the son of the Great Minister (*blon po chen po*) Cang A po, Phyag tshang ba 'Bro kham bu, gZims mal ba So pa lu and others, planned to go to sTod mNga' ris. Up there, the holy Buddhist dharma (*lha chos*) was not prospering while Bon was widespread.

For this reason, due to the possibility of malicious gods and demons and malevolent spirits of the Bon practitioners (*bon po*), two Great Monks (*ban dhe*) with excellent qualifications—the Great Monk (*ban dhe*) Dha gu na pra bha of the Cog ro 'Bring 'tshams family, in addition one with wisdom and power, being capable of binding into servitude gods and demons of the phenomenal world, the Great Monk (*ban dhe*) rGyal ba Shes rab of the 'Chims family—were given official orders to come with him. The two monks said that the order of the king was heavier than a mountain, so tears could not dislodge it. However, if tears were able to change it when the whole dominion, power, and people were established, except for his dominion, the fields, castles, fortresses, etc. which were located in between the farming and the nomadic areas, should be given back to the people.

At the age of twenty-eight, in the year of the Tiger, the Lord himself, Cang Legs skyes, the son of the Great Minister Cang A pho, Phyag tshang ba 'Bro kham bu, dGe bzher bKra shis btsan, Cog gru Lhag leb, gZims mal ba Chos kyi lha, Ma zhang ban dhe, these two Great Monks (*ban dhe*), and the Great Minister Pa tshab, the Great Minister Rin chen sTod and the Great Minister's two sons Zhang rGyal ba Yon tan and mDog g.Yung ba Zhang Me chen po, gZims mal ba So pa lu and others left the g.Yo rung (g.Yung drung) palace at lHa rtse. The lord and subjects, altogether fifty people, took the northern route (*byang lam*). Fifty-one horsemen came from Zhang zhung to welcome them. They arrived at the Srid pa Fortress of Ra la mkhar dmar in the summer of the year of the Rabbit (*yos lo*).[38] Then Khyung dpung sTong ring mo reported to the king of gNya' shur, Li byin kya: "Great king! sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon, the prince of the Sun (lineage) of dBus, is becoming an obstacle to the political authority of the Lord," and after he was requested, the king came down from the crystal throne and left the castle of Khyung lung dngul dkar for Ra la, together with soldiers from the ten-thousand district (*khri sde*) of Zhang zhung, with full accoutrements. All the soldiers from the ten-thousand district (*khri sde*) of 'Khrugs[39] revolted. The king of sNya shur having covered himself in armour (*go bgo*) arranged the cushions by rank in the shade and as he disguised himself as a single man of iron, a copper needle was poked into the top of his head, killing him. dPung Ngad mar Bya stag and La ling returned out of fear and took control of the castle of rTsa rang;[40] sDad bZang khya controlled the land of A ru;[41] Gu gu Khyung took over Wem mo, the lower part (*smad*) of Purang.

At that time, the kingdom (*rgyal srid*) was offered to sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon. The five sTong tsha brothers[42] were also asked for five different services:[43] as for the Mang wer ba, the posture will be broad and noble, like a majestic banner swinging in the wind; as for the Mo lo ba the speech will be powerful, like a rock rolling down from a steep mountain; as for the Kyin wer ba, the posture will be broad, dignified and firm, like three straps bound tightly, opened and flung to the sky (*gnam*); as for the Rum wer ba, they will be as solid as a needle sticking in a ball of yarn; as for the Hrugs wer ba, they will be as honest and innocent like a strong waterfall.

Many people came from Mar yul and other principalities, paid reverence and bowed down. After that, a great appointment was made: according to the Six Gods of the Desire Realm (*'dod khams*),[44] the eight small gods of the Intermediate Sphere (*bar snang*), and the Four Wrathful Guardians of the Gate (*sgo bsrungs kyi khro bo bzhi*), Jo sras Nyang tsa Li ba as Guardian of the East, Lhe phyug gi jo sras Cog ro mda' pa as Guardian of the South, the black Tshong sa ba la be sa as Guardian of the West, the black sTar pa as Guardian of the North. First of all, the five sTong grandsons (*tsha spun*) and the son of lHu gsum zher were appointed according to the Six Gods of the Desire Realm (*'dod khams*) and given one by one decrees with a stamp along with distinct emblems of rank. dGe shin pa of Khyung lung, Cog ro of sGe thang, Krung shin pa of Dun mkhar, Seng dkar of Bag wang, sNya shur of Thang, lHa 'brong of lHag bag, Tog sgyung of Sang nang, and Khyung po of Tang, these eight, were appointed as the Eight Gods of the Intermediate Sphere (*bar snang*). The three Families of Faith were

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[37] Based on the earlier narrative it seems to be more probable to assume that these relatives are the second generation following sTong, therefore grandsons (and not cousins).

[38] The Rabbit year may have been 907 which followed the year of the Tiger (906).

[39] Not yet identified.

[40] Perhaps identical with Tsaparang(?).

[41] Not yet identified.

[42] In terms of generation grandsons of sTong tsha.

[43] The following is rendered in poetic language.

[44] Sanskrit *kāmadhātu*.

Be gar ba, sGyung du la pa and Dang stod pa from Dun mkhar. Cang legs skyes, the master and the servants, altogether seven, none other than these were appointed to [serve at] the palace.

At that time, Dha gu na pra bha wa performed the ritual *rNam 'joms kyi 'chi blu* and a longevity empowerment ritual known as *Yang dag me gcig thod gcig*.[45] So sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon's life was prolonged by thirteen years and it was also prophesied that he would generally live to the age of fifty-nine. In the year of the Dragon, on the fifteenth day of the autumn month, after having been invited by dGe bzher bKra shis btsan to sPu hrangs, sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon went to the north of Gu ge and made a circumambulation of Kailas (Gangs Ti se) and Lake Manasarovar; going to the valley of sMan nags he went to sKyid lde gling. As from year of the Snake[46] until year of the Horse[47] it was not managed to suppress mNga' ris by way of a speech, he built two temples at sKyid lde gling and established the rituals for the Medicine Buddha. In the year of the Sheep,[48] 'Bro Seng dkar[49] offered the Nyi bzungs palace to him and he got married to his daughter, 'Bro za 'Khor skyong, upon which mNga' ris kor gsum[50] was brought under his power.

*Paraphrase Section III: On the Three sTod kyi mgon*[51]

'Bro tsha 'Khor skyong,[52] the daughter of dGe zher bKra shis btsan, was given by him to sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon[53] in marriage. They then had three sons called the Three Lords of sTod or Upper/Western Tibet (*stod kyi mgon gsum*).[54] The elder son was dPal gyi mgon, the second (middle) son was bKra shis mgon and the youngest lDe gtsug mgon. The father divided the land into three parts.[55] The elder brother dPal gyi mgon received the Mar yul[56] valley plain, with the subjects having black hats, and the territories of 'Bod log rtse up to La dags (La dwags),[57] high-lying pasture lands, the Ru shod lKags chu valley, Chud shod, a Crescent Moon Turquoise earring (*g.yul snyan g.yu zla tshes*), the White Turquoise (earring), the Red Turquoise (earring), extremely powerful[58] body armour, a helmet of radiant brilliant light (*'od dkar gsal ba*), a sharp sword,[59] a grand horse entrance and so on; countless treasures were given to him.

The youngest, lDe gtsug mgon, received the territory upto the Ke ko river, subordinates[60] upto sPen rtse gong, the agricultural areas (*yul*) of Gar zhwa,[61] Zang mkhar (Zangs dkar), all kinds of caste subjects (*'bangs dol mangs*), a *ldem thongs*[62] turquoise earring, a suit of armour

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[45] A life-saving, healing and purifying ritual related to the deity rDo rje rnam par 'joms pa (Skt. Vajravidāraṇa) and a longevity empowerment ritual One Fire and One Skull (*Yang dag me gcig thod gcig*).

[46] This Snake year may refer to 909.

[47] This Horse year may refer to 910.

[48] This Sheep year may refer to 911.

[49] This reference denotes a male member of a clan (or sub-clan according to Vitali 1996: 169) whose personal name is not given. His possible identity with the commissioner of the lCog ro stela is discussed in Jahoda and Kalantari, "Power and religion in pre-modern Western Tibet", this volume, pp. 50–51.

[50] Literally, "the three circles of the upper [western] subject territories".

[51] The rendering of the content of Section III (On the Three sTod kyi mgon), Section IV (On the Ruler lHa lde), Section V (On the Ruler Khri bKra shis 'Od lde btsan) and Section VI (On the Ruler 'Od lde's son bTsan srong and His Lineage) is based on an unpublished draft translation into English by the late Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po dating to mid-December 2014. This work (referred to as GTG 2014) is entitled "The Lineage of the Kingdom of sPu-rang" and contains many remarks on historical names (persons and places) as well as a genealogical chart (see p. 87).

[52] "Most historiographical texts do not write 'Bro tsha 'Khor skyong but 'Bro za 'Khor skyong, that is, she is a daughter of 'Bro (the 'Bro clan). The expression here means that dGe zher bKra shis btsan let her marry to sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon (not implying that she is his daughter)." (GTG 2014: n. 1).

[53] "His father is dPal 'khor btsan who is the grandson of Glang dar ma. sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon and his brother Khri bKra shis brtsegs pa dpal fled to Western Tibet and built two kingdoms. One is in the upper part of mNga' ris (accordingly called mNga' ris stod), the other one is the lower part of mNga' ris (mNga' ris smad). Since then Western Tibet has been called mNga' ris or territory in the sense that it is the last territory of the Tibetan empire which continued to exist in western Tibet while the whole territory in central Tibet was lost." (GTG 2014: n. 2).

[54] "The Three Lords of Upper mNga' ris/mNga' ris stod) is related to the three kingdoms of sTod (Upper/Western Tibet) or mNga' ris skor gsum—La dwags, sPu rang and Zangs dkar. In the history of mNga' ris, dependent on the historical period, the territory of mNga' ris skor gsum relates to different meanings. For example, in particular after the 17th century, when dGa' ldan pho brang documents mention mNga' ris skor gsum this relates to Ru thog, Gu ge and sPu rang because since these times the mNga' ris skor gsum territory is much smaller than that from the 10th to the 17th century." (GTG 2014: n. 3).

[55] "This is the starting point of the system of enfeoffment in the history of mNga' ris (which did not exist before)." (GTG 2014: n. 4). A more literal translation would be: "the father gave each one a territory (or territories) [of his own]" (CJ).

[56] "According to *'Chi med gter* [dGe rgan 1976], Mar yul being located in a lower area got the name because of the earth is red. It is also a general word for La dwags." (GTG 2014: n. 5). (On Mar yul, see also Jahoda, "On the foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*", Ladakh, this volume, p. 280.)

[57] "In the language of Western Tibet, this is pronounced La rag, never La dwags [Ladakh]." (GTG 2014: n. 6).

[58] Literally, "highly majestic or magnificent".

[59] Tentative meaning: a sword as sharp as cutting in a twinkle a leaf (*phyag spyan 'dab chod*).

[60] Or subjects (*mnga' zhabs*).

[61] "In mNga' ris, Gar zhwa used to be referred to as Gar zhwa phyug po, meaning 'rich people of Gar zhwa', because they took best quality cloth, hats and rice. Gar zhwa businessmen always used to ride on horses or mules and they dressed very well, looking much more elegant than other businessmen coming from the Indian side." (GTG 2014: n. 7).

[62] Meaning unclear.

that elucidates darkness, a glistening round helmet, a horse as fast as the radiant light of a flying bird, a knife shaped like a wild yak's horn, high-lying pasture lands, valley plains with abundant grassland and other great features, as well as plentiful military camp grounds.

Later when conflict broke out between the elder and the youngest, the middle-born son bKra shis mgon arranged an agreement, consisting of a reciprocal exchange of territories. The elder son was given Gar zhwa and Zangs skar (dkar), the youngest was given Mar yul. Later, after dPal gyi mgon had passed away the royal tomb was haunted.

The middle-born bKra shis mgon, like the middle finger of the hand, was born standing high in the centre, coiling to the right like a white conch-shell. The extent of this knowledge was ever increasing and he was already born as a great one. The wisdom of his mind was far higher than that of all the other kings and ministers, and being of manlike demeanour, straightforwardness, nobility, benevolence and magnanimity, his whole territory flourished. Being dedicated to the triple jewel (*dkon mchog* [*gsum*]) and faithful to the Buddhist teaching and in keeping with the heritage of the great ancestors, he built the temple of g.Yu sbra.[63] In the centre, an image the size of an eight-year-old Lord Maitreya (*rje btsun byam pa*) filled with medicinal herbs was made. In each of the different parts of the temple murals of many Buddha images were painted and many ritual objects were founded. As for the territories, he received in the east those up to the g.Yas ru river, in the west those up to the Ke ke river, the agricultural areas (*yul*) of Gu ge and sPu hrangs with the Nyi bzungs palace,[64] the pasture lands in the vicinity of the three lakes, Gya and Nyi ma,[65] Bar ka[66] and Bong langs, up to sBrul nag thur la rgyug pa in Rong bud, the area surrounded by slate mountains, a *chid/ching chen*[67] turquoise earring and a *chid/ching chung*[68] turquoise earring, a knife shaped like a wild yak's long horn, a suit of armour as tight and resplendent as an insect, an outstanding white helmet, a kind of swift horse,[69] and many other things, so that he acted endowed with a very powerful dominion.

The middle-born bKra shis mgon had two sons from his marriage with Queen Zangs kha ma—the elder son 'Khor re and the younger son Srong nge.[70] The elder 'Khor re ruled over Pu hrangs,[71] the younger Srong nge ruled over Gu ge. The elder, the great ruler (*mnga' bdag chen po*) Kho re ('Khor re) completed all his father's remaining construction work at the *gtsug lag khang* of g.Yu sbra and established in g.Yu sbra the great *chos 'khor*[72] of Tsha tsha sgang and the *gtsug lag khang* and *chos 'khor* of Khri lde.[73] In support

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[63] Not yet identified.

[64] "*sku mkhar* Nyi zungs is a very famous castle which was located in the present-day Rin gong municipality [Tibetan *shang*, from Chinese *xiang*), dKar dung village, on top of the Elephant Hill (*glang chen ri bo*). There used to be three lines of strong fence, the outer fence encompassing all four directions had four sturdy doors which looked very majestic. Except for the door on the east, the other three doors were always closed. Only when the king or a very important minister went out was the western door opened. In the southern part of the hill are gigantic ruins of ca. one hundred family houses and chapels." (GTG 2014: n. 8).

[65] "rGya nyi ma was a very important place during the Zhang zhung kingdom period. There used to be a gigantic castle called rGya nyi ma mkhar gog, located in the southern part of Khyung lung dngul mkhar. Ruins of the castle are still there, on the top of a hill, with a huge boundary wall, allowing to assume that it was a ruler's castle. From east to west the measurements are 370 m, from north to south 35 m. Since the end of 17th century, one of the the biggest markets in Western Tibet, rGya nyi ma tshong rwa, was held here on the flatlands on the lower western side of the castle. It was visited by some thousand businessmen from eastern and central Tibet, as well as from from India and Nepal. Surrounded by a massive swampland, in summer hundreds of cranes and yellow ducks roost here." (GTG 2014: n. 9).

[66] "Bar kha is a huge grassland located between Mount Kailas and Lake Manasarovar. The gZhung pa people live to the south of Kailas. They are indigenous nomads (*'brog pa*) and famous for their folk music and dancing which belongs to the Gro shod traditions." (GTG 2014: n. 10).

[67] Meaning unclear.

[68] Meaning unclear.

[69] *phyibs byeg to tshal rings* (exact meaning unclear).

[70] "There are many different historical records regarding the two sons of bKra shis mgon, 'Khor re and Srong nge and the question of who is the elder and who is the younger one. Some sources hold 'Khor re as the elder one, others Srong nge. In particular chronicles published after the 14th century by authors from Central Tibet, many different kinds of data were used. In contrast to this, authors and scholars who are natives of mNga' ris share the view that 'Khor re is the elder brother and Srong nge the younger. On account of the fact that they had the opportunity to use the oldest historical sources from the archives of the king's family or sources kept in Tho ling monastery such as the *Zla ba'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs*, and others for their chronicles, such as the *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*, *lHa bla ma ye shes 'od* (*kyi*) *rnam thar* (*rgyas pa*), *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs*, *Tshang dbyang yid 'phrog*, etc., in this regard the views of authors like Ngag dbang grags pa, Grags pa rgyal mtshan, dPal 'byor bzang po and so on need not be disputed any more." (GTG 2014: n. 11).

[71] "There are many different spellings of this name, for example, sPu hrang, sPu hrangs, sPu rangs, sPu rang, sPu hreng and so on. The earliest chronicle, *Zla ba'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs* and *lDe'u jo sras chos 'byung*, write sPu hrangs. From the 11th to the 17th century, the chronicles write sPu rang or sPu rangs. After the 17th century all government documents write sPu hreng. Based on the late 17th-century account by dGa' ldan tshe dbang to *sde srid* Sang rgyas rgya mtsho where he said that, the fighting in sPu rang was quite easy like using a sharp knife to cut a piece of hair, since that time all dGa' ldan pho brang documents only used to write sPu hreng." (GTG 2014: n. 12).

[72] The designation as *chos 'khor* was used for monasteries where the teachings of the Buddha were spread which included the translation of the words and related commentaries in newly erected temples which were decorated with uptodate religious cycles (*chos skor*).

[73] "Khri lde, in the present a village with two thousand inhabitants, is located to the south of the rMa bya gtsang po [Peacock River, known as Karnāli in Nepal], three km from the main city of sPu rang district, one kilometre from sTag la mkhar castle." (GTG 2014: n. 13).

of the butter lamps and offerings at all these temples and for all the livelihood of all monks, he established their funding from the taxes of agricultural households, in the form of gold, horses and other livestock in an inconceivably generous way surpassing all description. After 'Khor re had annexed areas across the borders of rTsang (gTsang) and Rong he established the market of 'Gur mo[74] in Tsang (gTsang) and proclaimed a comprehensive text of laws and in each country the outer limits and internal divisions (*khor* [*dang*] *ru chung*] were established.

The elder 'Khor re had three sons: lHa lde bKra shis btsan, Prince (*lha sras*) Dhama (Dharma) Slas, Prince (*lha sras*) U da ra' dza' (Udarāja). With the elder bKra shis btsan having a singular faith in the triple jewel (*dkon mchog* [*gsum*]) and affection for the subjects under his power, the dominion of Pu hrangs Gu ge entrusted to him by his father, outside and inside, and also the borders in the east never being withdrawn, the whole kingdom was appropriately taken care of. The middle-born Dharma lHas became a monk while still an infant. U da ra' dza' (Udarāja) passed away at the age of fourteen.

*Section IV: On the Ruler (mnga' bdag) lHa lde*

lHa lde bKra shis btsan, the one with a gloomy face never showing a smile, built a temple in Khwa char in rGya ma(r). In the course of laying the foundation (for this) at the foot of a mountain in sTod, hearing the sound of a bell (*ghaṇḍe*)[75] not far from where the Jo bo resided, he built the *gtsug lag khang* there and gave it the name Rin chen rtsegs pa dpal *gtsug lag khang*. At the centre, a throne which had been built for a silver image, fell down and split into three parts. When he saw this a smile appeared on the face of lHa lde. Thereafter on the left and right where it had split, workmanship and casting were renewed and turned out to be excellent. Since it was cast by a metalworker from Kha che (Kashmir) at Me tog zlum sdzings,[76] this is also beyond comparison in 'Dzam bu gling. The image of the central Lord Mañjuśrī (rJe btsun 'Jam dpal [dbyangs]), made by casting pure silver, with a throne with an ornate back, and to the right and left of this an image of Avalokiteśvara (sPyan ras gzigs) and of Vajrapāṇi (Phyag na rdo rje) made of brass,[77] each one equal to the measurements of his [the ruler's] body were made. No image of better quality than the principal central figure was accomplished anywhere in India, China, Mongolia, Nepal and the Snowland of Tibet and no silver image of such good material was ever seen anywhere else and it is unheard that an image with such an appearance was ever accomplished. Once the image was completed the consecration was carried out. When he saw that it had turned out excellently, he was delighted and a second smile fell on his face. The butter lamps and offerings need not be mentioned here.

Once when he arrived at Khri sde and one evening crossed the rMa bya kha 'bab (Peacock) river, just when he was about to arrive at the royal caste (*sku mkhar*), his horse was tired and sweating and he saw that the horse's hair and saddle had hollows all filled with gold powder. Thinking that the horse might have fallen into the water or met a mongoose,[78] he used it as a gift to pay for an artisan working with gold and as offerings to a *paṇḍita*. In addition, he established Khwa char and as branch monasteries of this Brang drang, etc., fourteen temples with a mandala shape (*chos skor*). At Tho gling (Tholing) he built a great *gtsug lag khang* with eighty pillars. In Mar yul he built the temple of She wer Byams pa gser thang. At the age of thirty-six, amid the great *paṇḍita* Dznya na dha ra and the Great Translator (*lo chen*) Rin chen bzang po and many other monks, he became an ordained monk and took the name Dharma pa bha, meaning Radiance of Dharma (*chos kyi 'od zer*). Furthermore, throughout the whole period learned *paṇḍita*s, such as Dznya na dha ra and others were invited. Rin chen bzang po translated the medical book *sMan dpyad yan lag brgyad* (Eight Branches of Medical Treatment, Sanskrit *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*).[79] Its commentary, the *Zla zer* written by Kha che zla [ba mngon] dga', and others were translated, the Treatise on Norms (*Lugs kyi bstan bcos*)[80] made by Khyab 'jug sbas pa (Viṣṇugupta), the

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[74] "The market place [*tshong 'dus*] of 'Gur mo is one of the most famous in Tibetan history. Starting in the 11th century, the organization and measurement system of all of markets in Tibet at the time was promulgated in this market by decree. The standard weight of gold and silver of this market was followed everywhere. Because of its great importance and also great reputation, traces of this market can still be located in the present-day sNye mo ma byang village." (GTG 2014: n. 14).

[75] Presumably for Sanskrit *ghaṇṭā*, bell.

[76] Not yet identified.

[77] "At this period the two statues to the left and right of 'Jam dpal dbyangs were made of bronze but in the 13th century, during the time of King bSod nams lde, they were changed to pure silver statues. Since then the three statues have been referred to as "three silver brother statues" (*dngul sku mched gsum*)." (GTG 2014: n. 15).

[78] Read: *ne'u* (instead of *snal*).

[79] "This work was written by the great Indian master dPa' bo [Ācārya Śūra, that is Vāgbhaṭa] and translated into Tibetan by the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po. Altogether it consists of eight parts: *sPyi'i nad kyi yan lag* (Branch for General Diseases), *Byis pa'i nad kyi yan lag* (Branch for Children's Diseases), *Mo nad kyi yan lag* (Branch for Female Diseases), *gDon yi yan lag* (Branch for Evil Disease), *mTshon gyi yan lag* (Branch for Weapon Injury), *Dug gyi yan lag* (Branch for Poisoning), *rGyas pa gso ba'i yan lag* (Branch for Keeping Fit), *Ro tsa'i nad gso bar bya ba'i yan lag* (Branch for Arteries)." (GTG 2014: n. 16).

[80] Sanskrit *Nītiśāstra*.

Five (Kinds of) Mandalas (*dKyil 'khor lnga pa*), the Great Treatise on General Horse Diagnosis made by Drang Srong Sha li ho bras and the Treatise on Medicinal Treatment of Horses composed by his son Legs stobs, the Great Horse Diagnosis composed by rGyal sras Seng ge byin, all these early translations (by the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po) were supremely accomplished and highly detailed.

The *Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra* (*mNgon par 'byung pa'i mdo*), the Noble Deeds of Kuṇāla (*Ku na la'i brtogs brjod*),[81] the Noble Deeds of Suvarṇaprabhāsa (*gSer 'od kyi rtogs brjod*), the Superior Verses in Praise [of Buddha Śākyamuni] (*Khyad par 'phags bstod*),[82] the *Varṇārhavarṇastotra* (*sNgags par 'os pa la bstod pa*), the *Buddhābhiṣeka*nāmastotra (*Sangs rgyas dbang bskur ba'i bstod pa*), the *Desanastavavrtti* (*bShags pa'i bstod 'grel*) by Sangs rgyas zhi ba, the *Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha* (*Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i don bsdus pa*) by Jo bo rje (Atiśa), the Commentary on the Navaśloka (*Tshigs sub cad pa dgu pa'i 'grel*)[83] by Kumārakāśyapa ('Od bsrungs gzhon nu), the *Yon tan bcu brjod pa'i gtam*[84] and the *Śīlaparikathā* (*Tshul khrims kyi gtam*) by Vasubandhu (dByig gnyen), the *Supathadeśanāparikathā* (*Legs* [*pa'i*] *lam bstan pa'i gtam*) by (Ārya-)Śūra (['Phags pa] dPa' bo), the fundamental conditions for the translation of these and many other teachings of the Buddha and many other treatises were granted [by lHa lde]. He also invited many Indian and Tibetan Buddhist masters (*mkhas grub*) and donated (the funding) for a big religious council in Kho char ['Khor chags][85] and received abundant respect. At this time, seeing many monks together with the manifestation of great faith and respect, he was delighted and for the third time a smile appeared (on his face). The teachings of the Buddha flourished greatly. Again as troops from sTod Hor and other border areas gathered, he went to the north as the main leader of a big army and he passed away at Lag myug tsha myug[86] in the north.

*Paraphrase Section V: On the Ruler (mnga' bdag) Khri bKra shis 'Od lde btsan*

The first-born 'Khor re had three sons: the eldest was lHa lde bKra shis btsan to whom three sons were also born; the eldest was the ruler (*mnga' bdag*) 'Od lde. He was born in a Sheep year,[87] physically strong, powerful, and brave. From a young age he was very proud and delighted to do battle and fight. At the age of fifteen, in a Bird year, he waged war on Hu pu.[88] Again, when he was twenty-six, in a Bird year, he waged war on 'U then[89] and brought it under his control. In the same year, the Gar log[90] and many other invading armies came. After skilfully defeating a multitude of enemies and expelling them, he obtained realisation of dGra lha.[91] Again he went to 'U then and initiated a great meeting among the lay communities. That same year, he laid out the foundation of a *gtsug lag khang* at Nyar ma, from the second year, he was able "to sit on it", so he established a community of monks (*dge 'dun gyi sde*, Sankrit *saṅgha*) and a school for religious instruction (*chos grwa*). In the third year, in a Mouse year, he went to Mar yul and built the temple of dPe dug (dPe thub),[92] founded a monastic community. He provided a great number of holy objects (*lha rten*) and offering items (*mchod rkyen*) and many agricultural estates, fields, households and so on for the livelihood of monks. Paṇḍita Puṇyaśrī was invited and *sūtra*s, the Buddha's words and their commentaries, were translated. He himself received the teachings of the Vajrayāna (*sngags kyi chos*), did some spiritual practice and made material offerings. In particular, his practice was directed towards the Medicine Buddha (Sangs rgyas sman bla) and he prayed to him. Finally, he made war in the country of the Gar log for a second time and he was taken prisoner there.

The younger brothers Byang chub 'od and Zhi ba 'od, trying to pay ransom—it was said with gold equal to the weight of his body—resided there until the gold was gathered. At that time as their mother made offerings and prayers to the Medicine Buddha, in the son's dream eight monks appeared in the east, released his iron chains and departed. After freeing himself from the iron chain

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81 Sanskrit **Kuṇālāvadāna*.

82 Sanskrit *Viśeṣtava*.

83 Nine Stanzas on *Prajñāpāramitā*.

84 A text with this title does not seem to be contained in relevant catalogues (see, for example, Ui 1934). Or should we read *Yon tan bdun yongs su brjod pa'i gtam* (Skt. *Saptaguṇaparivarṇanākathā*) or *Yon tan bdun bstan pa'i gtam* (*Saptaguṇavivaraṇakathā*)? These texts are only known in Tibetan translations (personal communication by Horst Lasic, January 2020).

85 "This place name is written with different spellings, such as Kha char, Khwa char, Kho char and 'Khor 'chags. The earliest one is found in *lDe'u Jo sras chos 'byung*. After the 16th century the works by the Sa skya masters use the spelling 'Khor chags." (GTG 2014: n. 17).

86 As yet unidentified place.

87 On this and further dates of his activities see Jahoda, "On the foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, Ladakh", this volume, pp. 293–296.

88 Region along the Sutlej valley in present-day Kinnaur.

89 Khotan.

90 "Gar log is the name of a kingdom in the far west of mNga' ris during the 10th century. In Chinese it is called Ga luo lu. It had a strong military, was often involved in warfare and invaded neighbouring countries." (GTG 2014: n. 18). For further references, see also Jahoda, "On the foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, Ladakh", this volume, pp. 295–296.

91 Deity of war, one of the five kings (*sku'i rgyal po*).

92 Present-day Spituk monastery in Ladakh.

he escaped with two subordinates. Owing to former karma he was poisoned by iron and passed away just before arriving in Gu ge. At that time, the younger brother Byang chub 'od looked for gold in order to ransom his elder brother and went to Na kra gser kha in Central Tibet (dBus) and to lJangs yan[93] and brought back a great deal of gold. As he was making a circuit back up, going to Gung thang[94] and to see the Jo bo[95] in sKyid grong of Mang yul, he heard there that his elder brother 'Od lde had passed away. After bestowing the gold on Nag tsho lo tsā ba[96] and rGya brTson seng,[97] they were sent with this to invite Jo bo rje.

The ruler (*mnga' bdag*) Khri bKra shis 'Od lde btsan had three sons:[98] So lon tsha bTsan srong, Cho chen tsha rTse lde, lDong rtsa khri srong, also known by the name Grags mtshan lde.

*Paraphrase Section VI: On the Ruler (mnga' bdag) 'Od lde's Son bTsan srong and His Lineage*

The eldest (son) bTsan srong ruled over Pu hrangs; the Great Superior One (*bla chen po*) rTse lde[99] ruled over Gu ge. The son of bTsan srong was Khri btsan; his son was dBang phyug;[100] his son was (*dwe sras*?) Grags btsan lde; his son was Khri bKra shis bTsan stobs lde; his son was sTag tsha Khri 'bar btsan; his son was the ruler (*mnga' bdag*) Khri btsan dPal lde; he built a temple in Ya rtse and founded four monastic communities (*dbu sde*). His son bTsan phyug lde built the temple of Shang za. He made many offerings to Zher chos 'byung and renovated another temple. His son was bTsan grags lde. He built the Rin chen brtsegs pa dpal temple with three wooden stories at Khwa char ('Khor chags) and established eight monks (*mchod gnas*). His son was bTsan stobs lde. His son was Khri 'bar btsan. He built the Kun spyod chen mo [temple?] at Kha char ('Khor chags) and wrote miscellaneous *sūtras* in pure gold. This one, when Chos rje 'Bri khung 'Jig rten mgon po [1143–1217] had appeared in the world of humans, met Chos rje Rin chen dpal[101] after his arrival at Nam mkhar and as he held faith so strong he was sure he (Chos rje 'Bri khung 'Jig rten mgon po) was indeed a Buddha. When his son Khri bKra shis dNgos grub mgon was appointed to [the throne of] mNga' ris, his father Khri 'bar btsan acted as "Great Superior One" (*bla chen po*). When sTag tsha was in this function he was called "Great Superior One" (*bla chen po*) sTag tsha. He was reputed to be an incarnation of Byang chub sems dpa' Zla ba rgyal mtshan.[102] Many powerful realized yogis and masters, most of the time five-hundred, at other times fewer, around three-hundred, stayed at Kailas and the holy lakes, altogether three. The supplies for their livelihood were ceaselessly donated.

Those of the followers of the Secret Mantra (gSang sngags), expert in all the old and new schools of the Secret Mantra, in particular those being very severe and effective, bound into service gods and spirits, performed the highest practices at Ti se and rGod lung, etc. At 'Bri khung thel (thil) monastery donations in great extent were perfectly established. His son gNam mgon lde, like his father of great conduct and wisdom, while residing in mKhar gong, engaged in spiritual practice, was graced with a vision of Dzam bha la upon which at one

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93 Not yet identified.

94 "Right now Gung thang belongs to the sKyid grong District (*rdzong*) in the western part of gZhis ka rtse. In the 10th century the brother of sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon, Khri bKra shis brtsegs pa dpal, established the famous Gung thang kingdom. Its capital was located in rDzong kha." (GTG 2014: n. 20).

95 "Here Jo bo refers to the sKyid grong Jo bo which is called 'Phags pa wa ti bzang po, one of the four 'Phags pa images in Tibet. During the 7th century these were made from one block of sandalwood (a highly treasured wood from southern Nepal), cutting it into four pieces and making four 'Phags pa images of the merciful Buddha. One is referred to as *wa ti* [Wati], the other three are [known as] dBu khang [Bhukhaṃ], 'Ja' ma li [Jamali], and Lo ke shar [Lokeśvara]." (GTG 2014: n. 19). See also Ehrhard 2004 and Decleer 2006.

96 "Nag tsho lo tsā ba (1011–1064) was born in Mang yul. In 1037 he was sent by Byang chub 'od to invite Atiśa to Guge. In 1042 he came along with Atiśa to Mang nang. At the age of fifty-four he passed away in mNga' ris." (GTG 2014: n. 21). (The sources for these dates are not given. See Vetturini 2007: 84–85 for a brief account on Nag tsho and rGya *lo tsā ba* brTson 'grus seng ge. [Editor's note/CJ.])

97 "rGya brTson 'grus seng ge (d. 1040) was born in sPu rang. In 1031, he went to India to invite Atiśa to mNga' ris." (GTG 2014: n. 22). (No sources for this date are given. In particular also the source relating to the year 1031 when he is said to have gone to India to invite Atiśa to come to mNga' ris is missing. [Editor's note/CJ].)

98 "These three brothers represent a turning point in the history of mNga' ris. From this time on the sPu rang kingdom was divided into three kingdoms. The one called Gu ge was held by rTse lde, sPu rang was inherited by bTsan srong, the third one, Ya rtse, was conquered by Grags btsan." (GTG 2014: n. 23).

99 "rTtse lde was the greatest king in the history of Gu ge. When he came to Gu ge he stayed in the royal castle (Jo bdag po'i mkhar gog) and acted like the king. During his rule the whole Gu ge territory was united. The influence of his power extended to the kingdom of Gung thang and even to central Tibet. Many Tibetan chronicals therefore call him the king of Tibet (*bod gyi rgyal po*). For example the *lHo rong chos 'byung* said: 'If you want to find the greatest king in Tibet you should go to king rTse lde; if you want to render homage to a great master then you should go to Mi la ras pa. The king was like the sun and the master like the moon (*nyi zla 'dra ba*). This means they were the most important people all over Tibet and that king rTse lde was an extraordinary Tibetan king." (GTG 2014: n. 24). See Jahoda, "On the foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, Ladakh" (this volume) for a discussion of the title "Great Superior One".

100 bTsan phyug.

101 Another name of 'Bri khung 'Jig rten mgon po, the founder of the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud pa school.

102 Also known as Byang sems Zla ba rgyal mtshan (active in the first half of the 12th century), Sanskrit Candradhvaja.

time many Mongolian traders appeared. They entrusted him with a great amount of non-marketable riches, and stated "if we do not return after three years you are allowed to take (all of this) away" and went back (to their country). As they did not arrive after three years, the loads from Kashmir were inspected, upon which incalculable material things of greatest wealth emerged, in particular silver coins (*tang ka*) on all of which was inscribed *dzam dzam*. Owing to this he thought that they had been given the magical power by Dzam bha la. In order to take full advantage of this wealth, to the right and left of the silver image erected by the ancestor lHa [lde], he built massive[103] cast silver (images) of Avalokiteśvara (sPyan ras gzigs) and Vajrapāṇi (Phyag na rdo rje) equal to the one in the middle. He produced miscellaneous *sūtras* written in gold and also extended, mid-length and abbreviated *Prajñāpāramitāsūtras*. The entire bKa' 'gyur was written in pure silver. One hundred Buddhist scriptures written in gold and silver, one hundred plates, scoops, etc. of silver, one hundred pearls and one hundred rosaries were offered. With the expenditure of twenty-four *srang* he established the *chos 'khor* of rGod khung.[104] He instituted permanent religious memorial services for his father.

The elder brother dNgos grub mgon had the son sTobs rgyal lde. This one brought areas in the east under his control as far as Gye god kha la bya ba and in the west as far as gSer 'dud shing. He also established the supplies for the livelihood of many great masters of meditation at Ti se. His son was Khri bKra shis rGyal ba lde, his son was Khri bKra shis rTogs lde btsan. This one brought Byang la phub[105] under his power. He built the bKra shis rtsegs pa temple at Khwa char ('Khor chags). His son was lHa btsun rDo rje seng ge. His son was Khri bKra shis bSod nams lde. This son ruled over the whole kingdom of Pu hrangs and conquered Mon ko phral drug (the six divisions of the Mon ko country?). He renovated many temples at Khwa char[106] and so on. At the age of thirteen he assumed the power of the king of Ya rtse. In Central Tibet (dBus) he put the golden roof on the lHa rje rin po che temple, he also instituted golden offering bowls. At Sa skya he offered a golden roof for the lHa khang chen mo and much gold for large copper water containers. For the big assembly hall he established a golden roof with golden ornaments. For the lHag chen (temple?) at 'Bri khung thel he donated a golden roof. He also put a golden roof on the Tshal Gung thang temple. To all these monasteries he made offerings and a huge amount of donations. In the later part of his life he made extensive offerings of gold, silver, pearls, corals and so on to many *dge bshes* of dBus and gTsang, such as Bu (ston Rin chen grub), Dol (po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan) and Sher (?)[107] and others and because of the great merit resulting from this he made a bKa' 'gyur and treatises (*bstan bcos*)[108] written in pure gold. A whole grove […] is of great service for the Buddhist teachings. His sons dPal mgon lde and Kirti mal; the latter's son was Manydzu shri (Mañjuśrī)[109] Kirti, made Mal ya tse […]. This son offered a holy thang ka to Bodhgayā (rDo rje gdan) and repaired it. Many *paṇḍita*s were invited, many Buddhist teachings were made and services accomplished. All this is (related) to the lineage of Pu hrangs.

Proofread once. […] this [copy/work?] was written by the chief disciple of rJe btsun rDo rje 'chang,[110] the great *paṇḍita* Grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po.[111] Some intermediate lines were completed by myself;[112] may any errors be forgiven! Manga lam.

## Closing Words

In his chapter on the history of mNga' ris in *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes*, Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal

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[103] Read *gar* (*po*/*mo*) instead of *ga ra*.

[104] "rGod khung is more commonly known as dGung 'phur. rGgod khung means "eagle's nest". It was so named because in earlier times many eagles lived in this cave. The other name, dGung 'phur, means "fly to the sky". A legend says that it was from this cave that the queen of King Nor bzang flew to heaven. rGod khung/dGung 'phur is located in the west of sPu rang County and near the southern bank of the Peacock River." (GTG 2014: n. 27).

[105] "Byang la phub is located in southern sPu rang. At that time it belonged to the territory of sPu rang, but a part of this area belongs to Nepal. Byang la is a very important pass (*la*) leading to Nepal and India. In winter time it is usually blocked by snow." (GTG 2014: n. 25).

[106] "In 'Khor chags or Kha char the two most important Buddhist monuments are the *gtsug lag khang* and the Jo khang. During the time of king 'Khor re the *gtsug lag khang* was built. His son lHa lde built the Jo khang where the three silver statues are housed." (GTG 2014: n. 26).

[107] According to van der Kuijp (2013: 330) perhaps another Shes rab rygal mtshan active in Tshal Gung thang at this time.

[108] Sanskrit *śāstra*, that is, works contained in the canon attributed to various Indian masters.

[109] As for Manydzu shri (Mañjuśrī), his name also appears in an inscription in the assembly hall of the lHa khang chen mo (Great Temple) at 'Khor chags; see Tropper 2012: 67 (GTG 2014: n. 28). [See also Tropper 2019 for an edition of this inscription.]

[110] "rJe btsun rDo rje 'chang refers to the most important teacher of Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan, Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po (1382–1456), the founder of the Ngor school tradition, one of the three main schools of the Sa skya pa order. In 1429 he built Ngor chos sde [Ngor E waṃ chos ldan] monastery." (GTG 2014: n. 29).

[111] "Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1415–1498) was born in rGyu 'gyul (N30.09, E80.03, altitude above sea-level: 4,135 m) which is located in mDa' ba County. One can still find ruins of magnificent castles, *stūpa*s, temples, *maṇi* walls, etc. there. It is 70 km from there to mTho ling, to Mang nang it is 40 km." (GTG 2014: n. 30).

[112] Obviously, this note refers to the minor additions in small script which appear on a number of folios. Whether this note was written by an (unnamed) scribe or the author himself is unclear.

mtshan sketches in some detail the history of Zhang zhung prior to the arrival of the dynasty of the emperors (*btsan po*) of Tibet in the upper western side of Tibet and in a meticulous way the order how sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon came to Western Tibet (sTod) and became established as king (*rgyal po*) of mNga' ris (literally, "the subject territories"). Clear accounts are given about the "Three Protectors of Upper/Western Tibet" (*stod kyi mgon gsum*), how their respective subject territories came into being and were then ruled by them; how division of the precious property of the paternal ancestors between each of them happened; likewise of the ruler 'Khor re and his son the ruler lHa lde btsan, and his son, the ruler 'Od lde btsan, and the royal lineage of Pu rangs until the 15th century.

Now I conclude that, exactly in this way, as everything written in various chronicles on the early history of mNga' ris is very scarce, what is written in this book is of great value for research on the history of mNga' ris. Therefore, in the future this book will make it possible to make additions to many lacunae in the vague history of sTod mNga' ris. At the same time it is an indispensable key that opens a large door of the storeroom of the history of mNga' ris.

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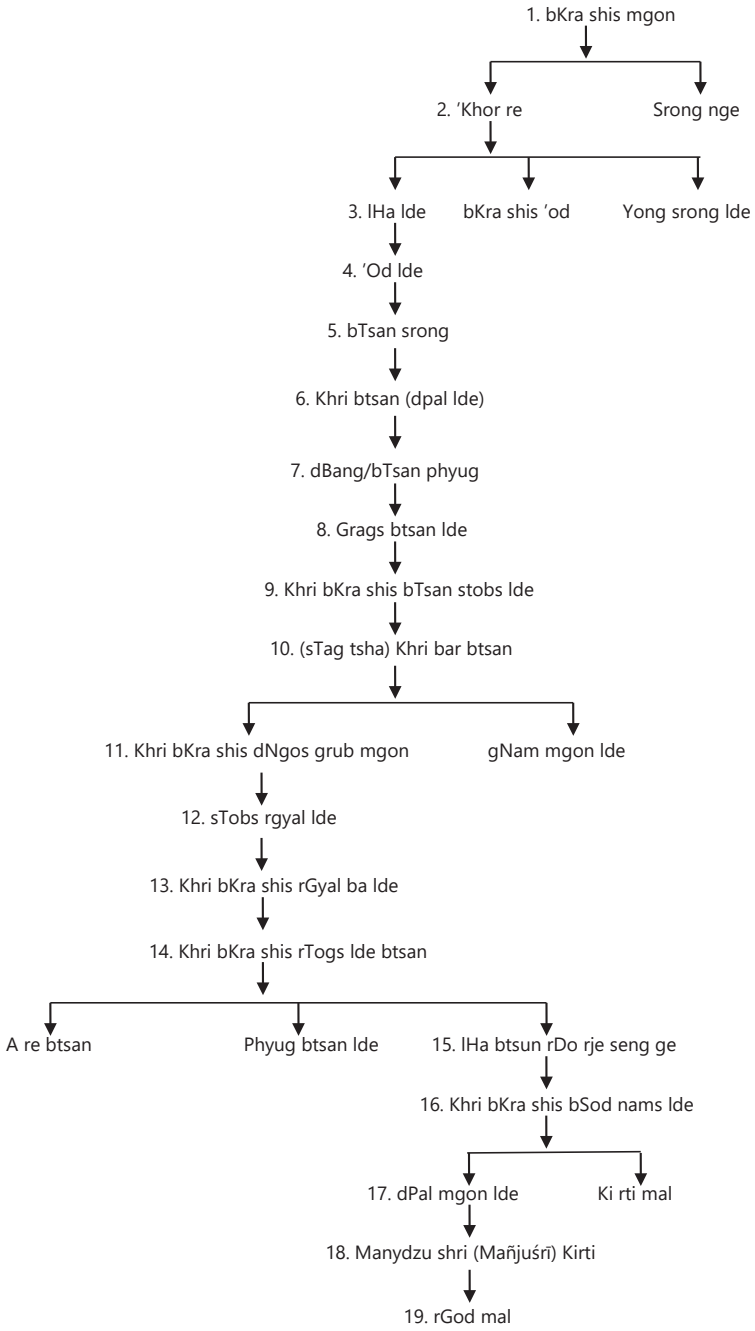



1. Genealogy of the kings of Purang (based upon a sketch by Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2014: 15–16; for an earlier version see also Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005a: 70).

Genealogy according to the inscription in the entrance area of the lHa khang chen mo at 'Khor chags (Kurt Tropper 2019: 87–91):

4. 'Od lde

5. bTsan srong

6. Khri [Song (lde) grags] btsan lde; *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*: Khri bTsan lde (Vitali 1996: 68, 121)

7. bTsan phyug lde

8. Grags btsan lde (uncertain reading); *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*: Grags btsan lde (Vitali 1996: 69, 121)

9. inscription damaged; *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*: Khri bKra shis bTsan stobs lde (Vitali 1996: 69, 121)

10. Khri 'bar btsan

11. dNgos grub mgon

12. rGyal stobs lde

13. rGyal ba lde; *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*: Khri bKra shis rgyal lde (Vitali 1996: 70, 122)

14. Khri bKra shis sTobs btsan lde; *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*: Khri bKra shis sTobs lding btsan (Vitali 1996: 70, 122)

15. lHa btsun rDo rje seng ge (elder brothers Ar lde and Chos [btsan] lde)

16. Khri bKra shis bSod nams lde

17. dPal mgon lde (younger brother Ki rti mal)

18. Manydzu shrï

19. rGod mal (died in his youth)

Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po

# Relating the History of mNga' ris as Set Down in Writing in Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes*: The Tibetan Text

## With Variant and Corrected Readings by Tsering Drongshar and Christian Jahoda

**Editors' Note**

The joint work on this text, which was first published as a black and white facsimile in 2011 by dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang in *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*, vol. Chi (36), Zi ling: mTsho ngon mi ri rigs dpe skrun khang, pp. 181–454 (see Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011 and van der Kuijp 2013), proceeded in several stages. In early January 2012, the late Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po sent his typed *dbu can* version of the published chapter relating to mNga' ris to Christian Jahoda. It was then carefully checked and revised on the basis of the facsimile publication by Tsering Drongshar. This work was concluded in October 2014 together with Christian Jahoda and was approved by Tshe ring rgyal po during his stay at the *Wissenschaftskolleg* (WIKO) in Berlin and at meetings in Vienna (April 2015), Munich (May 2015) and Berlin (June 2015).

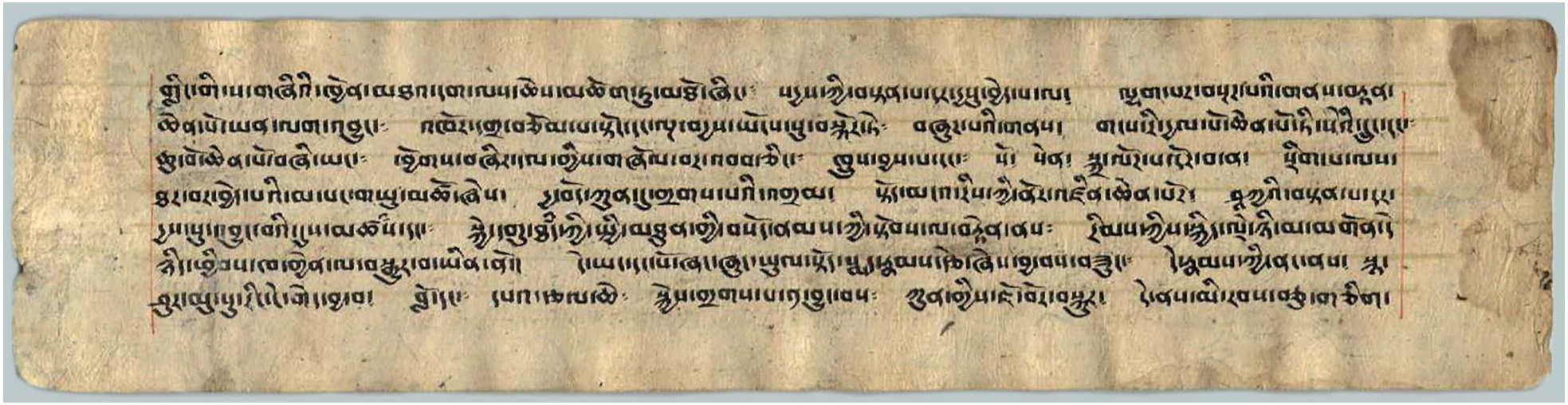
The envisaged publication plan of this work and the whole volume was brought to a halt by his untimely passing away on June 27, 2015. It was only in April 2017, when the work on the whole volume was taken up again, that Christian Jahoda became aware of an *dbu can* publication of *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skyed dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes* in lHa sa which had already appeared in July 2014. A comparison between the edition prepared by then and the text published in lHa sa convinced the editors that it would be beneficial to keep to the publication plan, now by including additional references to the lHa sa version (henceforth referred as *Nyima B* 2014).

Finally, after a complete photographic documentation of the whole text had emerged among the corpus of files related to the late Tshe ring rgyal po's work within the research project directed by Christian Jahoda it was decided to add the photographs as colour illustrations to the edition for the benefit of the readers. Due to the higher resolution, the general readability of the printed colour photographs is much better than the earlier black and white facsimile. Also the information provided by the use of red colour for the names of rulers is a feature which is not visible in the 2011 facsimile edition.

Furthermore, as the work on the edition based on the 2011 dPal brtsegs edition had shown that the order of the pages near the end of the text did not make sense, the photographs made it possible to restore the correct sequence. In addition, it turned out that a full page was entirely missing in the dPal brtsegs 2011 facsimile edition and also in *Nyima B* 2014.

The present Tibetan text edition is thus based on the black and white facsimile of the original manuscript published by dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang in 2011 as well as on the photographs of the original folios. Accordingly, reference is made to the page numbers of the dPal brtsegs publication and to the folio numbers of the original manuscript as evident on the photographs.

The sections published here in *dbu can* script are contained in the final part of Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's work (with the Tibetan title *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod pan* [sic!] *nyi zla'i 'phreng* [*mdzes*], the Sanskrit title rendered in Tibetan as *Surya*



1. Folio 124b.

*bem sa'i ra' ja' ka ma' la ... ... ..... ... ... ... ... ... ... .. .. ... ....*). The titles and collocation of the sections were chosen by the late Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po.

Section I (*Zhang zhung gi skor*): p. 428/f. 124b6–p. 432/f. 126b6.

Section II (*sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon mNga' ris rgyal po byed pa'i skor*): p. 426/f. 123b6–428/f. 124b6; p. 432/f. 126b6–p. 438/f. 129b7.

Section III (*sTod kyi mgon gsum gyi skor*): p. 440/f. 130b1–p. 444/f. 132b1.

Section IV (*mnga' bdag lHa lde'i skor*): p. 444/f. 132b2–p. 447/f. 134a7.

Section V (*mnga' bdag Khri bKra shis 'od lde btsan gyi skor*): p. 448/f. 134b5–p. 451/f. 136a2.

Section VI (*mnga' bdag 'Od lde'i sras bTsang srong dang de'i rgyud pa'i skor)*: p. 451/f. 136a2–p. 451/f. 136a7; p. 453/f. 137a1–f. 137a7; 452/f. 136b1–f. 136b7; p. 454/f. 137b1–f. 137b5.

Section VII (on Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan) and Conclusion are additions by Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po.

**Editorial Note**

Variant readings are given in brackets immediately after the respective word(s). Round brackets also serve to indicate the suggested correct spelling or grammatical form. The full (usual) spelling of contracted ligatures and of otherwise shortened forms (including numbers) is given between brackets ⌈ ⌉. Editorial information, such as references to page/folio numbers of the facsimile publication as well as corrected typing errors appear in square brackets.

གཅིག ཞང་ཞུང་གི་སྐོར།

[428/f. 124b, ll.6–7:]

དེ་ཡང་དང་པོ་ཞང་ཞུང་ཡུལ་སྟོད་སྨད་རྣམས་རྩེ་ཞེས་བྱ་བས་བཟུང་། དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ནང་ནས། སྟ་ཤུར་རྒྱ་པུ་[1]རིང་དེ་གེད་བྱ་བ། ཟླ་དང་།[2] དཔའ་(དང་དཔའ་)རྩལ་ཆེ། རྒྱས་གཏས་པ་⌈གཅིག⌋ བྱུང་བས། ཀུན་གྱིས་རྗོ་བོར་བསྐུར(བཀུར)། དེ་ནས་མི་རབས་བཅུ་གཅིག

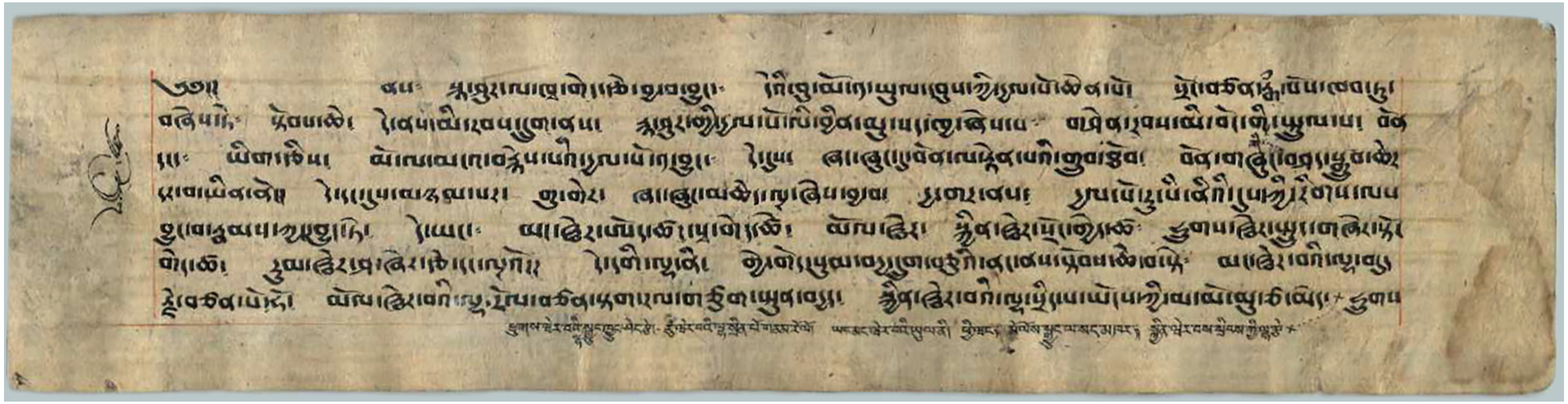
[429/f. 125a, ll. 1–7:] བརྒྱ་ཉེར་ལྔ

ཞེས། ནས། སྟ་ཤུར་ལ་ཁྱེགེད་[3]རྩེ་བྱ་བ་བྱུང་། དེའི་བུ་མོ་⌈གཅིག⌋ ཡུལ་དབུས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ། སྲོང་བཙན་⌈སྒམ⌋ པོས་ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས་ཏེ། སྟོབས་

[1] *Nyima B* 2014: 141 has *mu su*. Nota bene: In *Nyima B* 2014 only a relatively small number of different readings are indicated as such. In addition, the readings of the original text have in many instances been corrected without indication! It is therefore often unclear whether a different reading of the original text is suggested or whether this has been tacitly corrected.

[2] Read *blo dang dpa' rtsal che / /* (without *shad* and a space after *dang*).

[3] Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po (*dbu can* version of *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs* dated 2014; henceforth referred to as Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po) and *Nyima B* 2014: 141 read *khwa geng*.



2. Folio 125a.

ཆེ། དེ་ནས་མི་རབས་དྲུག་ནས། རྟ་(སྟ་)ཤུར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལི་བྱིན་སྲུ་བད་ཁྲུ་(ཁང་རྒྱ་)[4]ཞེས་པ། གཤེན་རབས་མི་བོང་གི་སྨྱལ་པ། བོན(་)[5]དང་། ཡིག་རྩིས། མོ་ལ་མངའ་བརྟེས་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་[གཅིག་]བྱུང་། དེ་དུས། ཞང་ཞུང་དུ་བོན་ལ་རྟེན་པའི་(བརྟེན་པའི་)གྲུབ་ཐོབ། བོན་གཞུང་གི་[6]བཤད་སྒྲུབ་ཆེར་དར་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། །

དེ་དང་དུས་མཉམ་པར་[7] གུ་གེར། ཞང་ཞུང་མཆེད་ལྷ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། རྒྱ་གར་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་རྩ་པི་ནི་དེ་དུས་ཀྱི་རིགས་ལས(་)བྱུང་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་བྱུང་ཏེ[8](སྟེ)། དེ་ཡང་། མང་ཁེར་ཙོང་ཚང་སྤ་གེད་ཆེ། མོལ་ཁེར། རྒྱིན་ཁེར་སྟོང་ཁྱུང་ཚ། ཏུགས་ཁེར་སྒྲུབ་[9]གཞེར་སྟོང(་)གེད་ཚ། དུམ་ཁེར་ཤ་ཞེར་རྩེ་དང་ལྡའོ། །དེ་[དག་གི་]ལྟ་ནི། གེ་གོད་[10]སུམ་བརྒྱ་དྲུག་བཅུའི་[11](རྒྱའི་)ནང་ནས་སྟོགས་ཆེ་བ་སྟེ། མང་ཁེར་བའི་ལྟ་བདུད(་)རྩེ་བཙན་པོ་ཏོ། མོལ་ཁེར་བའི་ལྟ་རོལ་བཙན་སྤྱག་རལ་གཏུག་སྒྲུན་བརྒྱ། རྒྱིན་ཁེར་བའི་ལྟ་སྲིད་པ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་མ་མོ་སྐུ་ཙ་མེད། ×[12] ཕུགས་[13](ཏུགས་)ཁེར་བའི་ལྟ་སྒྲུང་ཁྲུང་ཤེང་རྩེ[14]། [རྩམ་]རྩེ་ཁེར་བའི་[15]ལྟ་སྲིན་པོ་གནམ་རོ་པོ[16]། ཁང་མང་ཁེར་བའི་ཡུལ་ནི། ཕྱི་ཁང་[17] རྩེ་[18]ལོས་སྒྲུང་ལ་སད་མཁར་[19][གསུམ་][20](།) རྒྱིན་ཁེར་བས་སྲིབས་ཀྱི་ལྟ་རྩེ། × ཏུགས(་)

4 The reading *sad* is equally possible as *pa* and *sa* show hardly any difference. We are following Dan Martin's suggestion (personal communication, Feb. 2020) to read *sad*, this being Zhang zhung (ZZ) language for Tibetan *lha* (god). Similarly, *khya* represents ZZ *rkya*, meaning king.

5 End of line 2: *bon* is written without *tsheg* (perhaps in order to achieve a flush-looking margin). From here only those instances with a missing *tsheg* are mentioned in a footnote when this is not at the end of a line.

6 In the manuscript *gi* is inserted in a slightly smaller size above *gzhung*. Its place between *gzhung* and *bshad* is also indicated by three dots.

7 In the manuscript *mnyam par* is followed by space as usual after *shad*.

8 *Nyima B* 2014: has (only) *ste*.

9 *Nyima B* 2014: 141 has *sprung*.

10 Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po: *gye ged*.

11 *Nyima B* 2014: 141 has (only) *cu'i*.

12 The following passage is added in small *dbu can* script on the same page below line 7. Its place between *med* and *hrugs* is also indicated by five dots. (*Nyima B* 2014 does not indicate that this passage is a footnote and that it is written in *dbu can* script.)

13 Due to the small size of the script also the reading *hrugs wer* seems possible.

14 *Nyima B* 2014: 141 has *sgrung byung med ste* (?!).

15 Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po: *rtse wer ba'i*; *Nyima B* 2014: 141 has *tshu wer ba'i*.

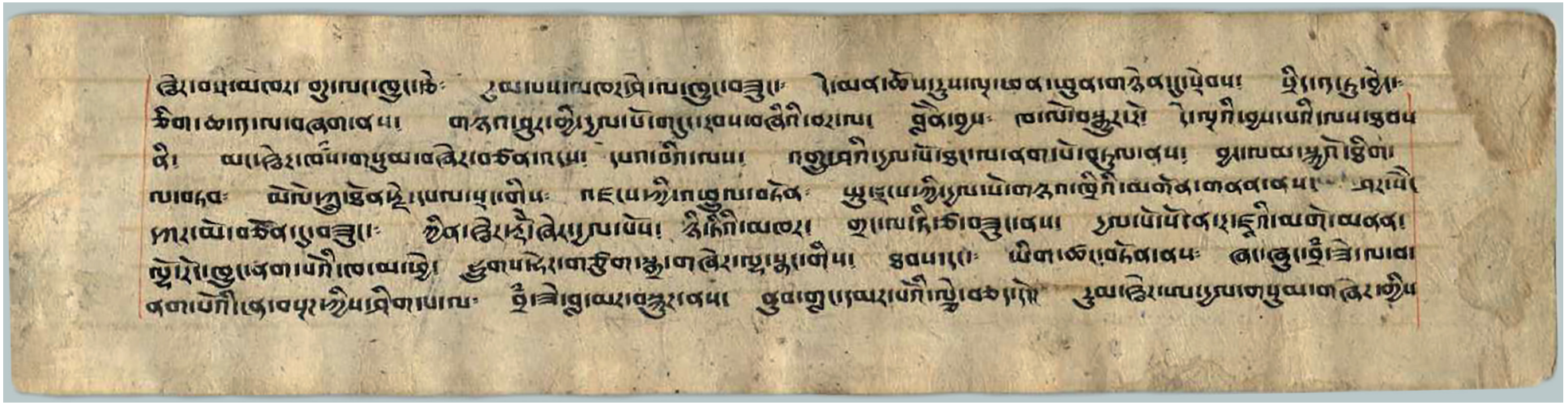
16 Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po and *Nyima B* 2014: 141: *ro go*. Also the reading *ro lo* (*rol lo*) as suggested by Dan Martin (personal comm., Feb. 2020) seems possible.

17 Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po: *phyi bang*.

18 Also the reading by Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po and *Nyima B* 2014: 141: *gle* is possible.

19 Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po: *sang mkhar*.

20 *Nyima B* 2014: 141 has only *sad mkhar* (without *gsum*).



3. Folio 125b.

[430/f. 125b, ll. 1–7:]

ཞེར་བས་མཁར། གུ་ལང་ལྷུང་ཚེ། རུམ་པས་མཁར་ཤེ་ལ་ལྷུང་བཟུང་། དེ་མན་ཚོས་(མན་ཚད་)[21]རུས་ལྟ་ཐན་ཐུན་གཉེན་དུ་སྟེབས(བསྟེབས)། སྲིད་[གཅིག་]ཏུ་བྱེད། ཅིག་ཚ་[གཅིག་]ལ་བཞག་ནས། གཉའ་ཤུར་(སྙ་ཤུར)[22]གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་གྲུང་རབས་བཞིའི་བར་ལ་[23] [བློན་ཆེན་]བྱས། ཁ་ལོ་བསྐྱར་རོ། ། 

དེ་ལྟའི་(དེ་ལྟས་)བྱས་པའི་ལས་ཐབས(་)ནི། མང་ཞེར་[ཁམས་]གསུམ་བཞེར་བཙན་འདས། དཔའ་བའི་ལས། འགྲུ་ཤའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཐང་[24]ལ་ནག་པོ་བཏུལ་ནས། བྱང་ལམ་སྐྱབ་པོའི་ལ་བཏབ། [མོལ་ལོ་][25]ཀླུ་ཐོན་རྩེ་དབལ་སྟང་གིས། འཛངས་ཀྱི་འཕྲུལ་བཏོན། སྤུ་རྟངས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཤའ་ཁྲིའི་[26]མགོན་གནས་(མགོ་མནན་)ནས། ཤར་[སེང་གེ(་)]དཀར་མོ་བཙོན་དུ་བཟུང་། ཀྱིན་ཞེར་[རྩོ་རྩེ་]ཞེར་རྒྱལ་པོས། ཤེ་ཏྲིའི་མཁར། གང་ལ་ཏེ་ཙ་བཟུང་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་སོ་ན་ང་ཇའི་(ནུ་ངའི)མགོ་མནན། ལྷོ་རོང་ལྷུང་ནག་པོའི་ཁ་མ་ཕྱེ། རྟགས་ཅེར་(ཞེར་)[27]གཐུག་སྤུ་གཞེར་ལྟ་སྟང་གིས། ཐབས་དང་། ཡིག་ཚང་བཏོན་ནས། ཞང་ཞུང་[བྱམ་]ཟེ་ལ་བ་ནག་པོའི་ངན་[བསྟགས་][28](སྟགས་)ཀྱིས་ཤེག་པ་(བཤེག་པ་)ལ། [བྱམ་]ཟེ་སྤྲ་མར་བསྐྱར་(བཀྱར་)[29]ནས། ནུབ་སྤང་དམར་པོའི་ཆུ་བཅད་དོ། །རུམ་ཞེར་ཨ་རྒྱལ་གསུམ་གཞེར་ཀྱིས(་)

[21] *Nyima B* 2014: 141 has (only) *de man chos*.

[22] The spelling sNya shur appears in the Old Tibetan Annals. See Dotson 2009: 89, n. 156 who remarks "As the epithet, and perhaps clan name of the royal lineage, it appears that Snya-shur is to Zhang-zhung as Spu-rgyal is to Tibet. It is found in such royal names and titles as Lig Snya-shur and Snya-shur Lag-myig."

[23] In the manuscript *bar la* is followed by space as usual after *shad*.

[24] *Nyima B* 2014: 141 has *thag*.

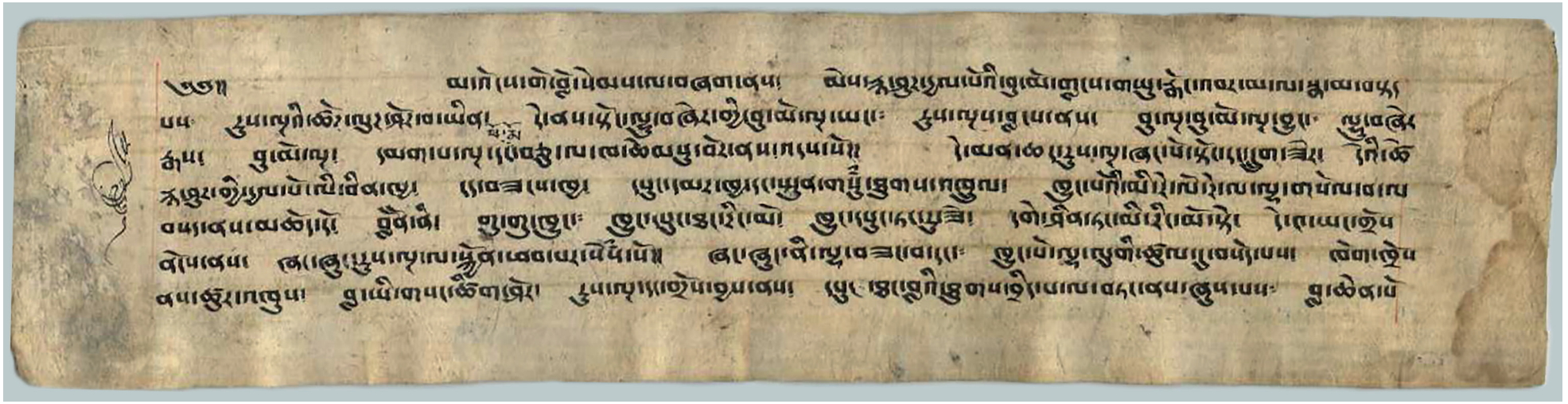
[25] *Nyima B* 2014: 142 has *mo po* (?!).

[26] *Nyima B* 2014: 142 has *gnya' khi'i*.

[27] *Nyima B* 2014: 142 has *hor*.

[28] *Nyima B* 2014: 142 has (only) *sngags*.

[29] *Nyima B* 2014: 142 has (only) *bskur*.



4. Folio 126a.

[431/f. 126a, ll. 1–7:] བརྒྱ་ཉེར་དྲུག

ཞེས། །མ་འོངས་གོ་བློ་[30]སེམས་ལ་བཞག་ནས། མེས་རྟ་(སྟ་)ཤུར་[31]རྒྱལ་པོའི་བུ་མོ་གླང་སངས་གཡུ་རྩོང་འབར་མ་ལ་སྟ་མ་བསྟད(་)པས། དུས་ལྟའི་[32]ཁྱགས་ཤོར་བ་ཡིན། དེ་ནས་སྟོང་ལྷུ་བཞེར་ཀྱི་ནུ་མོ་[33]ལྟ་ཡང་། དུས་ལྟས་བྱངས་ནས། བུ་ལྟ་བུ་མོ་ལྟ་བྱུང་། ལྷུ་བཞེར(་)རྐས། བུ་མོ་ལྟ། དམག་པ་(མག་པ་)ལྟ་དང་[34]ཕོ་མོ(་)བཅུ་ལ་ཁ་ཁྱེམས་སུ་ཐོར་ནས་འདས་སོ། །དེ་མན་ཆད་དུས་ལྟ་ཞང་ཕོ་སྟོང་དང་བྲག་ཟེར། དེའི་ཚེ(་)རྟ་(སྟ་)ཤུར་[35]ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལི་བིན་ཁི་བྱིན་ཀྱ། དང་བཟངས་ཀྱ། དཔུང་དམར་ཀྱ་དང་སྤུན་ཁགས་ཀ། ཐུགས་འཕྲལ། ཁྱོང་པོའི་མི་ཤེ་ལོ་ཤེ་ལ་ལྟ་གསོལ་བ་ལ(་)བསད་ནས་མཚོད་དོ། །བྱོན་པོ་ནི། གུ་གུ་ལྷུང་། ལྷུང་དཔུང་ཐང་[36]རིང་མོ། ལྷུང་དཔུང་ཏང་རུ་ཟེ། དགེ་ཤེན་ཏང་མི་རིང་མོ་སྟེ། དེ་ཁཞེ་ཡང་གྲོས(་)ཆོངས་ནས། ཞང་ཞུང་རུས་ལྟ་ལ་སྐྱོན་ཐབ་པར་ཁེམས་སོ། །ཞང་ཞུང་ནི་ལྟ་བཟང་བ་དང་། ལྷུང་པོ་ལྟ་ཁུག་གི་ཆུལ་དུ་བསོད་པས། ཁོག་ཁྲོས(་)ནས་ཆུར་འཁྱུས། བྲ་ཡི་གསང་ཚིག་ཤོར། རུས་ལྟ་དང་གྲོས་བྱས་ནས། དཔུང་ཐང་བྲའི་ཐུགས་བྱིད་པ་ལ་བཏང་ནས་ཞུས་པས། བྲ་ཆེན་པོ(་)

30 = *shes rab bam blo gros*.

31 *Nyima B* 2014: 142 has *rka shugs* (?!).

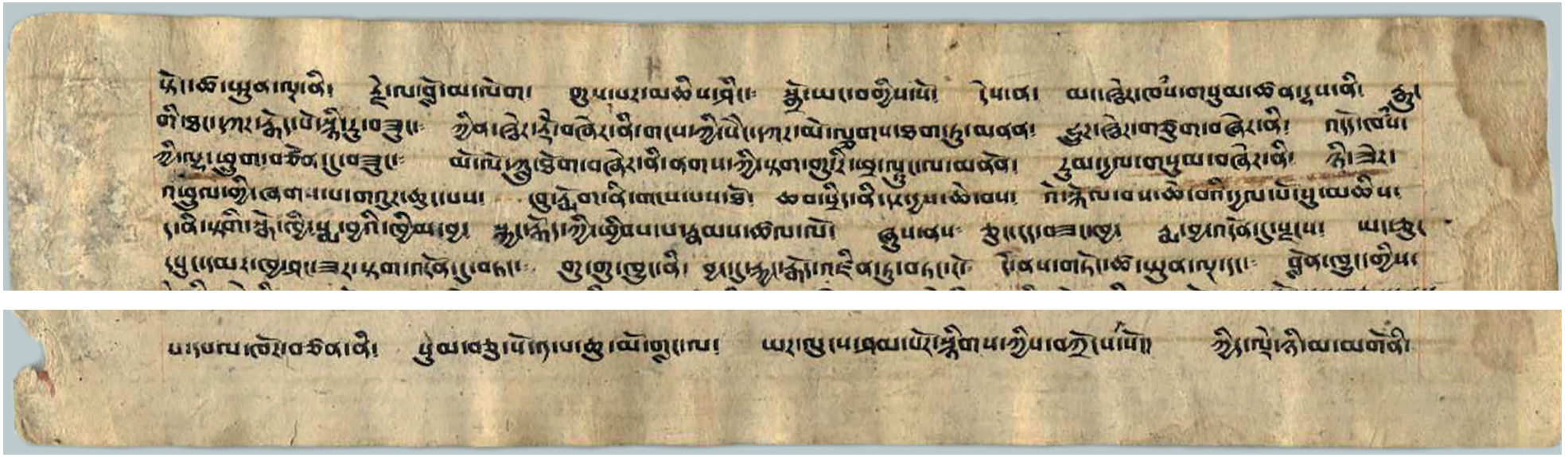
32 Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po: *tshegs*.

33 *Nyima B* 2014: 142 has *bu mo* (which is at least equally possible and has the same meaning).

34 In the manuscript *pho mo* is inserted in a slightly smaller size above the line. Its place between *dang* and *bcu* is also indicated by three dots.

35 *Nyima B* 2014: 142 has *rka shur* (?!).

36 *Nyima B* 2014: 142 has *khyung lung thang*.



5. Folio 126b.

6. Folio 123b, l. 6.

[432/f. 126b, ll. 1–6:]

སྟོང་[37]ཚ་སྦུན་ལྟ་ནི། རྗེ་ལ་བློ་མ་ལོག །ཁུས་པར་མཆིས་ཤིང་། སྨྲོ་ཡང་བཀྱེས་སོ། ()དེས་ན་ མང་ཤེར་[ལམས་]གསུམ་ཚན་རྣམས་ནི། རྒྱང()[38](དགྱང་)གི་ཐང་དཀར་ཆོད་པོ་[39]སྟེ་(ཆྱེ་)[40]ར་བཟུང་། ཀྱིན་ཤེར་[རོ་རྗེ་]བཞེར་ནི་གང་སྐྱི་[ཞིང་གེ་]དཀར་མོ་ལྷགས་ཐག་ཏུ་མནན། [རྒྱགས་]ཤེར་གསྒྲག་བཞེར་ནི། འདོད་[ལམས་]ཀྱི་ལྷ་ཐུག་བཅོན་དུ་བཟུང་། མོ་ལོ་བྱ་ཐོག་བཞེར་ནི་ནགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་གུ་རི་ཐ་ལྟང་ལ་མནོན། ངུམ་རྒྱལ་གསུམ་བཞེར་ནི། ཉེ་ཟེར་འཕྱལ་ཀྱི་ཞགས་པ་[གཉའ་འུར་]ཆུད་པས། དབུ་རྩོག་ནི་གང་པས་ཐོ(མཐོ)། ཚབ་སྲིད་ནི་དར་རྒྱས་ཆེ་བས། འོ་སྐོལ་བས་ཆེ་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སུ་མཆིས། དེ་ནི་[སྐྱག་གི་]སྟོ་ཁྱི་སྡུ་[41](རྩ་)བྱའི་ཁྱིམ་བྱ། སྐུང་(ཤུང་)ཆོད་ཀྱི་ཕྱིས་(ཆིས་)ས་རྣམས་ཚལ་(འཚལ་)ལོ། །ཁྲོས་ནས་ ཅུང་དད་བཟང་ཁྱ[42] རྩ་བྱ་འདོན་དུ་སྟངས(ཇངས)[43]། ཡང་ཅུང()དཔུང་དམར་ཁྱུ་ཤད་ཟར་སྐག་འདོན་དུ་བཏང་། གུ་གུ་ཁྱུང་ནི། བྱང་དུ་ཤུང་ཆོད་འཛིན་ཏུ་(དུ་)བཏང་ངོ་།།

[426/f. 123b, l. 6:][44]

གཉིས། སྐྱིད་ལྡེ་ཉི་མ་མགོན་མངའ་རིས་རྒྱལ་པོ་བྱེད་པའི་སྐོར།

ཀྱིད་[45](སྐྱིད་)ལྡེ་ཉི་མ་[མགོན་]ནི་

[37] *Nyima B* 2014: 142 has *stod*.

[38] As often in this text at the end of the line no *tshegs* seems to have been written. Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po: *rgu* (with *tshegs*).

[39] *Nyima B* 2014: 143 reads *rgod pa* and corrects this to *rgod po* (which is written without any doubt in the original manuscript).

[40] *Nyima B* 2014: 143 has *snyi*.

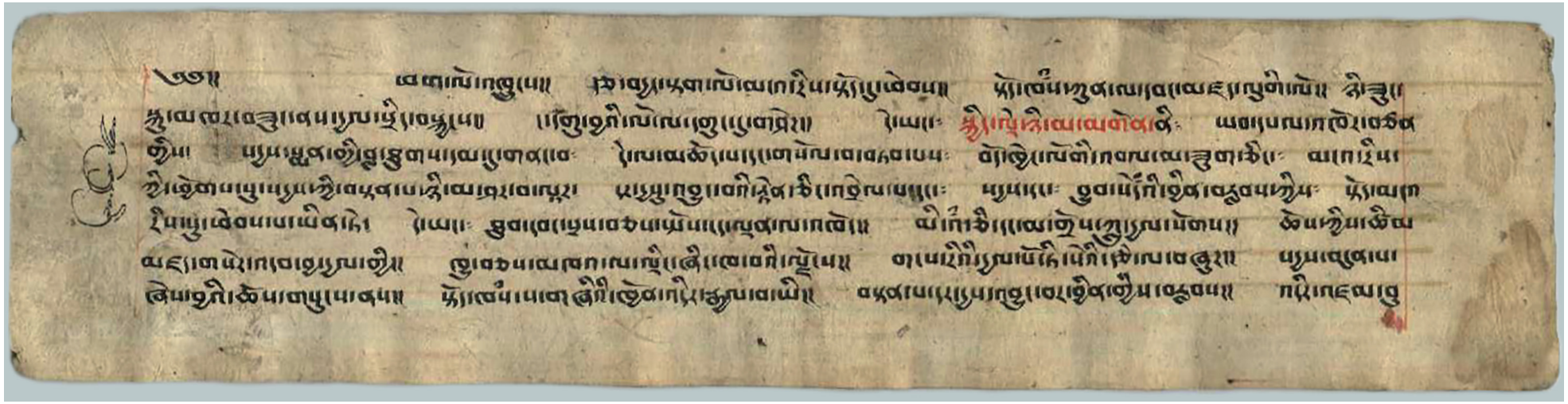
[41] *Nyima B* 2014: 143 has *rma*.

[42] *Nyima B* 2014: 143 has *bya*.

[43] *Nyima B* 2014: 143 has (only) *rdzangs*.

[44] This page has only six lines. Before line 6 a space corresponding approximately to the height of one line is blank, obviously intentionally in order to indicate a break in the historical narrative marked by the breakdown of (imperial) Tibet on the one hand and on the other the continuation of the royal line by sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon in Western Tibet.

[45] *Nyima B* 2014: 140 reads *kyi* and corrects this to *skyid* (which is written without any doubt in the original manuscript).



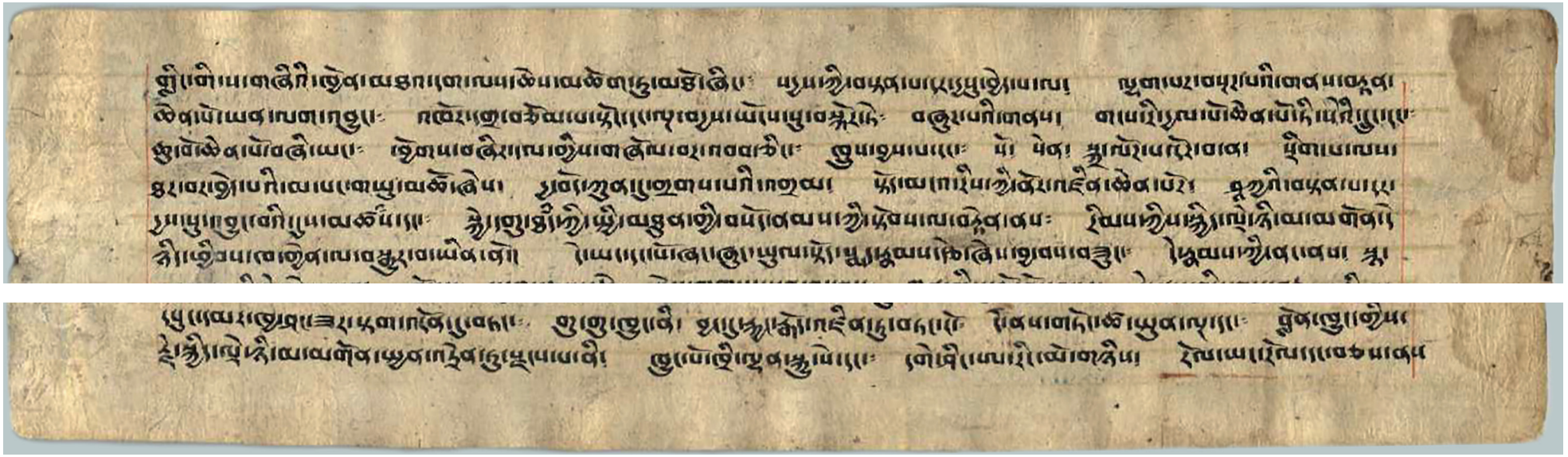
7. Folio 124a.

[427/f. 124a, ll. 1–7:] བརྒྱ་ཉེར་བཞི།

ཐག་ལོ་(ལོངས་)འཚྱངས། རྒ་བརྒྱད་སྐྱ་ལོ་མངའ་རིས་སྐོད་དུ་ཕེབས། སྐོད་ལམས་ཀུན་ལ་དབང་མཛད་[ལྷག་གི་]ལོ། །ཉི་ཟླང་སྐུ་མལ་བཟླང་ནས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བསྒྱངས། ང་དགུ་བྱའི་[46]ལོ་ལ་དགུང་དུ་གཤེགས། དེ་ཡང་སྐྱིད་ཉེ་ཉི་མ་མཚོན་ནི། ཡབ་དཔལ་འཁོར་བཙན་ཀྱིས། སངས་རྒྱས་སྨན་ཀྱི་བླ་ཐུགས་དམ་དུ་གནང་བ། དེ་ལ་མཆོད་པ་དང་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་པས། བོད་ཁྲིང་(ཁེང་)[ལོག་གི་]འབལ་མ་ཟུག་ཅིང་། མངའ་རིས་ཀྱི་སྐོགས་སུ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་ཉི་མ་ཤར་བ་ལྟར། དང་[རྒྱས་སུ་]འབྱུང་བའི་རྟེན་ཅིང་འབྲེལ་བ་དང་། སངས་རྒྱས་དང་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་བྱིན་བརླབས་(རླབས་)ཀྱིས། སྐོད་མངའ་རིས་སུ་ཕེབས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། དེ་ཡང་། ཐུབ་དབང་སྐས་བཅས་སྤོས་ངད་ལྟན་ལ་འཁོད། [མི་འམ་[47]ཅི་དང་མ་ཐོས་ཀླུ་རྒྱལ་སོགས། [ཆོས་ཀྱིས་ཆོམ་མཛད་གསེར་འདབ་བྱ་རྒྱལ་གྱི། [ཞྭ་བཅས་མཁའ་ལ་ལྷིང་ཞིང་ཁ་བའི་ལྕོངས། [གངས་རིའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ཉེས་ཟེའུ་ཐེག་བཞུགས། [སངས་རྒྱས་བདུན་པ་ཞེས་བྱའི་ཆོས་གསུངས་ནས། [སྐོད་ལམས་ས་གཞིའི་ཁྱོན་འདིར་རྒྱལ་བ་ཡི། [བསྟན་པ་དང་རྒྱས་འབྱུང་བར་ བྱིན་གྱིས་བརླབས། [འདིར་འཛོམ་བུ་

[46] *Nyima B* 2014: 140 has *bya yi*.

[47] *Nyima B* 2014: 140 has *mi'am*.



8. Folio 124b, ll. 1–6.

9. Folio 126b, ll. 6–7.

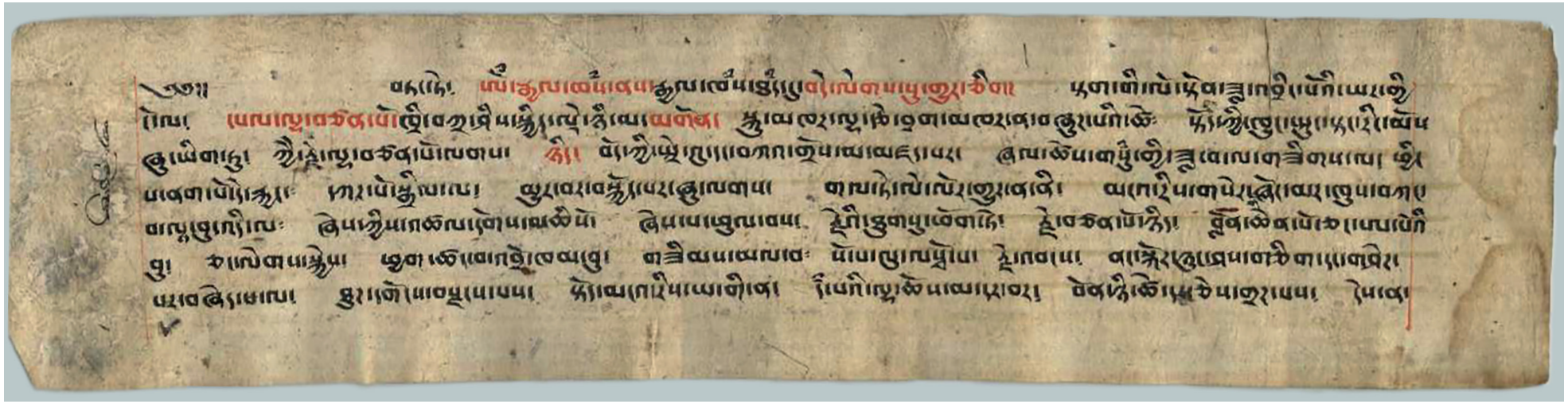
[428/f. 124b, ll. 1–6:]

བྱིང་གི་ས་གཞིའི་ཁྱོན་མཐའ་དག་ལས་ཆེས་མཆོག་ཏུ་མཐོ་ཞིང་། ཁངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་དང་ཁྲུས་སུ་ཉེད་པ་ལ། ལྷག་པར་བསྟགས་པའི་གནས་བརྟན་ཆེན་པོ་ཡན་ལག་འབྱུང་། འཕོད་དགུ་བཅོམ་པ་སྟོང་དང་ལྡ་བརྒྱས་ཡོངས་སུ་བསྐོར་ཏེ་བཞུགས་པའི་གནས། གངས་རི་(གངས་རིའི་)རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཏེ་ཞེའི་རྡུང་དང་ཚུ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་བཞི་ཡང་། ཐོག་བཞིན་དལ་ཀྱིས་གཞོལ་བར་འབབ་ཅིང་། ཁྱེས་བྱས་པ་དང་། སོ། ཞེན། སྐྱ་ཁ་སོགས་།པ་དོར་བ་ན། སྔོག་པ་ལས་ཐར་བར་བྱེད་པའི་མ་པང་གཡུ་མཆོ་ཞེས། རྒྱ་པོད་ཀུན་དུ་གཏོགས་པའི་འགྲམ། སྟོང་མངའ་རིས་ཀྱི་ནོར་འཛིན་ཆེན་པོར། ཤ་ཀྱའི་བསྟན་པ་དང་ཁྲུས་གུ་འབྱུང་བའི་དུས་མཚམས་དང་། སྐུ་དཀུ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་མཐུན་ཀྱི་བསོད་ནམས་ཀྱི་སྟོབས་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས། རིམས་ཀྱིས་(རིམ་ཀྱིས་)སྐྱིད་ལྡེ་ཉེ་མ་མཚོན་དེ་ཉིད་ཕྱིབས་(ཆིབས་)ཙ་ཀྱེན་ལ་བསྐྱུར་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། །

[432/f. 126b, l. 6–7:]

དེ་ནས་གཏོང་(སྟོང་)ཚ་སྐྱན་ལྡ་དང་། ཟོན་ཁྱུང་ཀྱིས་རྟེ་སྐྱིད་ལྡེ་ཉེ་མ་མཚོན་སྐྱན་འདེན་ཏུ་(དུ་)སྐྱངས་[48](ཁྱངས་)པ་ནི། ཁྱུང་པོ་ཁྲི་ལྷན་སྐྱ་སེ་དང་། དགེ་ཤིང་ཤ་རིང་མོ་གཉིས། རོལ་ཡང་རོལ་དང་བཅས་ནས།

[48] *Nyima B* 2014: 143 has (only) *du rdzangs*.



10. Folio 127a.

[433/f. 127a, ll. 1–7:] བརྒྱ་ཉེར་བདུན།

།༦།། །།བཏང་ཉེ[49](སྟེ)། ཨོཾ་[50]རྒྱལ་[ལམས་51] ནས་རྒྱལ་[ལམས་] [ཐམས་ཅད་] དུ་བདེ་ལེགས་སུ་གྱུར་ཅིག །སྐྱག་གི་ལོ་སྟོན་བླ་འབྲིང་པོའི་ཡར་གྱི(་)ངོ་ལ། དཔལ་ལྡན་བཙན་པོ་ཁྲི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྐྱིད་ཉེ་ཉི་མ་མགོན། རྒྱ་མཚར་ལྡན་ཚེ་བཞག་མཚར་ན་[བཞུགས་] བའི་ཚེ། སྟོང་ཀྱི་ཁྱོང་སྤུང་སྐང་རིང་མོས(་)ཞུ་ཡིག་ཀུ། ཀྱི་རྗེ་ལྡན་བཙན་པོ་ལགས། ཉིད་[52] བོད་ཀྱི་སྤེ་ཁུ་[53]དང་བཀའ་གློས་མ་མངོད་པར། ཞལ་ཆེས་[གསུམ་] ཀྱི་བླ་བ་ལ་གཟིགས་ལ། ཕྱི་(ཆིབས་)[54]པ་ནག་པོ་དེ་རྒྱང་། དཀར་པོ་སྤྲིལ་ལ(དྲེལ་ལ)།[55] སྐུར་བར་བསྐྱོད་པར་ཞུ་ལགས། གལ་ཏེ་ལེ་ལོར་གྱུར་ན་ནི། མངའ་རིས་གསེར་ཞོང་མར་ཁུས་བཀང་བ་ལྟ་བུ་འདི་ལ། ཞེས་ཀྱིས་འཚལ་དགོས་[མཆིས་སོ།] །ཞེས་པ་ཐུལ་བས། རྗེའི་[ཐུགས་སུ་] མོག་ཀེ(སྟེ)། རྗེ་བཙན་པོ་ཉིད། [བློན་པོ་] ཆེན་པོ་ཅང་ཙ་པོའི(་)བུ། ཅང་ལེགས་སྐྱེས། ཕྱག་ཚང་བ་འབྲོ་ལམ་བུ། གཟིམས་མལ་བ། སོ་པ་ལྷ་[ལས་སོགས་(ལ་སོགས་)]པ། རྗེ་འབངས། ནང་སྐོར་ཁྱང་ཤས་གཅིག་དང་[གཞེགས་]པར་བཞེད་པ་ལ། [ཐུགས་]དགོངས་བསྟངས[56]པས། སྟོང་མངའ་རིས་ཡ་གི་ན། [དམ་]པའི་ལྷ་ཚོས་མ་དར་བར། བོན་ཉེ་ཚེ་དང་(དར་)[57]ཅེས་(ཞེས་)[གྱགས་]པས། དེས་ན་

[49] *Nyima B* 2014: 143 has (only) *ste*.

[50] *Nyima B* 2014: 143 has *om* [regular letter *ma*].

[51] *Nyima B* 2014: 143 has *rgyal kha sam*.

[52] In the manuscript *nyid* is followed by space as usual after *shad*.

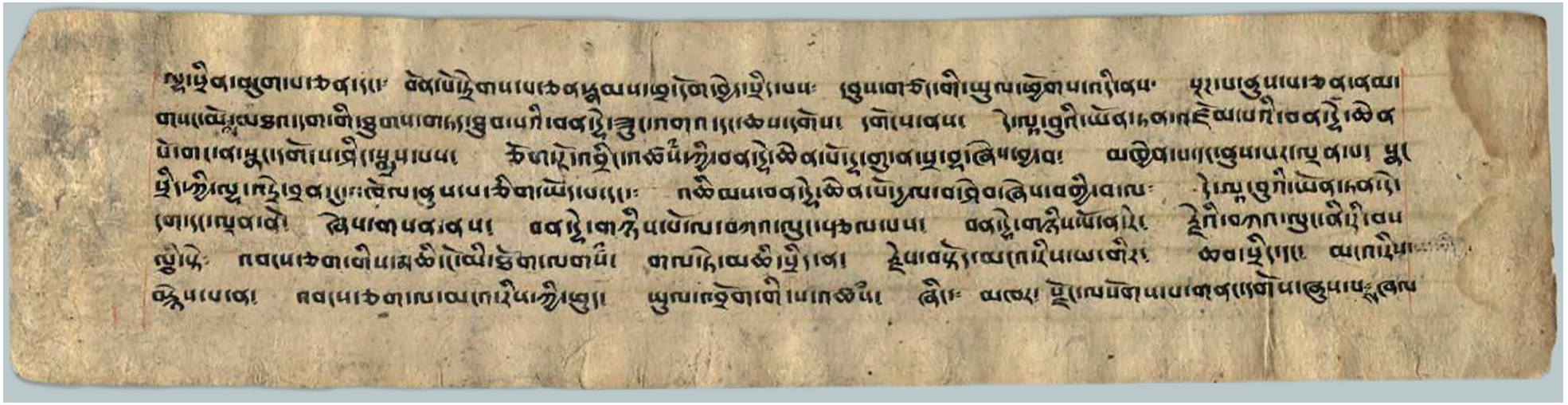
[53] *Nyima B* 2014: 143 has *spre'u*.

[54] *Nyima B* 2014: 143 has *sgril ma*.

[55] *Nyima B* 2014: 143 has *phyir*.

[56] Also the reading *bsdzangs* seems possible. *Nyima B* 2014: 144 has *brdzangs*.

[57] The spelling *dang* (which is unmistably clear) instead of *dar* is presumably a scribal error. *Nyima B* 2014: 144 has *dar*.



11. Folio 127b.

[434/f. 127b, ll. 1–7:]

ལྷ་སྲིན་བདུག[58]པ་ཅན་དང་ གོན་པོ་རྡེགས་པ་ཅན་རྣམས་ཐུབ་དོག་ཤྲྀག་ཅིང་ སྲིད་པས། དབུས་གཙང་གི་ཡུལ་སྐོགས་འདི་ནས། ཁ་གས་པ་ནུས་པ་ཅན་ནམ་གསང་མོ་ལ(ʼ)[59]མཐའ་དག་གི་ཐུགས་གཏད་ཐུབ་པའི་བན་ཏེ་ཟུང་འགའ་དང་ཚས་དགོས། དགོངས་ནས། དེ་ལྷ་བུའི་ཡོན་ཏན་འཛོམ་(འཛོམས་)པའི་བན་ཏེ[60]ཆེན(ʼ)པོ་གང་ན་སྣང་དགོངས་ཤིང་སྣས་པས། ཅོག་རོ་འབྲིང་ཁཚམས་ཀྱི་བན་ཏེ་ཆེན(ʼ)པོ་ཏ་ག་ན་ཐ་ཏེ་ཁེས་བྱ་བ། མཉེན་པ་དང་ནུས་པར་ལྡན་པ། སྣང(ʼ)སྲིད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་འདེ་བན་དུ་འཚལ་ནུས་པ་ཅིག་(ཞིག་)ཡོད་པ་དང་། འཆིམས་བན་ཏེ་ཆེན་པོ་རྒྱལ་བ་ཁེས་རབ་ཁེས་(ཅེས་)བཀྱི་བ་ལ། དེ་ལྷ་བུའི་ཡོན་ཏན་དེ་དག་དང་ལྡན་ནོ། །ཞེས་གསན་ནས། བན་ཏེ་གཉིས་པོ་ལ་བཀའ་ལུང་སྩལ་པས། བན་ཏེ[61]གཉིས་པོ་ན་རེ། རྗེའི་བཀའ་ལུང་ནི་རེ་བས(ʼ)ཤ་སྟེ། འབངས་ཅག་གིས་མཆི་ངོ་མི་ཐོག་ཁ་ལག་སམ། གལ་ཏེ་མཆི་སྲིད་ན། རྗེས་བསྟོད་(སྟོད་)མངའ་རིས་ཡ་གི་ར། ཚབ་སྲིད་དང་། མངའ་རིས་བཀྲེས་པ་ན། འབངས་ཅག་ལ་མངའ་རིས་ཀྱི་ཐུབ། ཡུལ་འབྲོག་གི་ས་ཁ་ཚམས(མཚམས)[62]། ཞིང་། མལ། སྟོང[63](རྫོང་)ལ་སོགས་པ་གནང་དགོས་ཞུས་པ་ཨ[64]ཞལ(ʼ)

[58] *Nyima B* 2014: 144 has *mug pa*.

[59] In the manuscript *la* is inserted in a slightly smaller size below the line. Its place between *mo* and the *tsheg* is also indicated by one or two dots. *Nyima B* 2014: 144 has *gsang mo lam mtha'*.

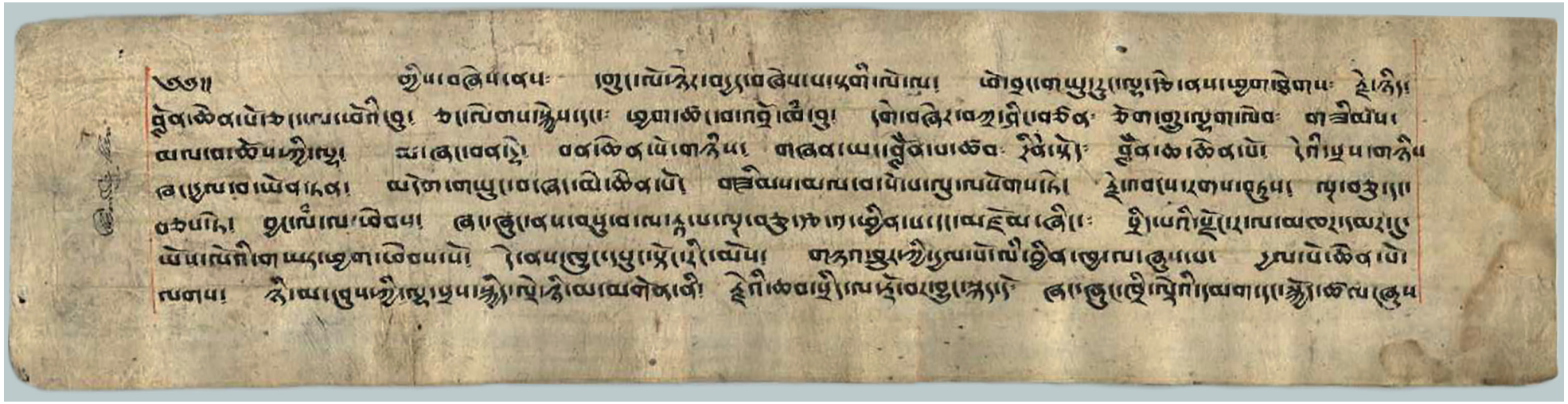
[60] *Nyima B* 2014: 144 reads *ban dha* and corrects this to *ban dhe* (which is written without any doubt in the original manuscript).

[61] *Nyima B* 2014: 144 reads *ban dha* and corrects this to *ban dhe* (which is written without any doubt in the original manuscript).

[62] *Nyima B* 2014: 144 has (only) *mtshams*.

[63] *Nyima B* 2014: 144 has (only) *rdzong*.

[64] In the manuscript *sa* is inserted between *pa* and *zhal* in a slightly smaller size below the line. *Nyima B* 2014: 144 has shad after *zhus pas*.



12. Folio 128a.

[435/f. 128a, ll. 1–7:] བརྒྱ་ཉེར་བརྒྱད།

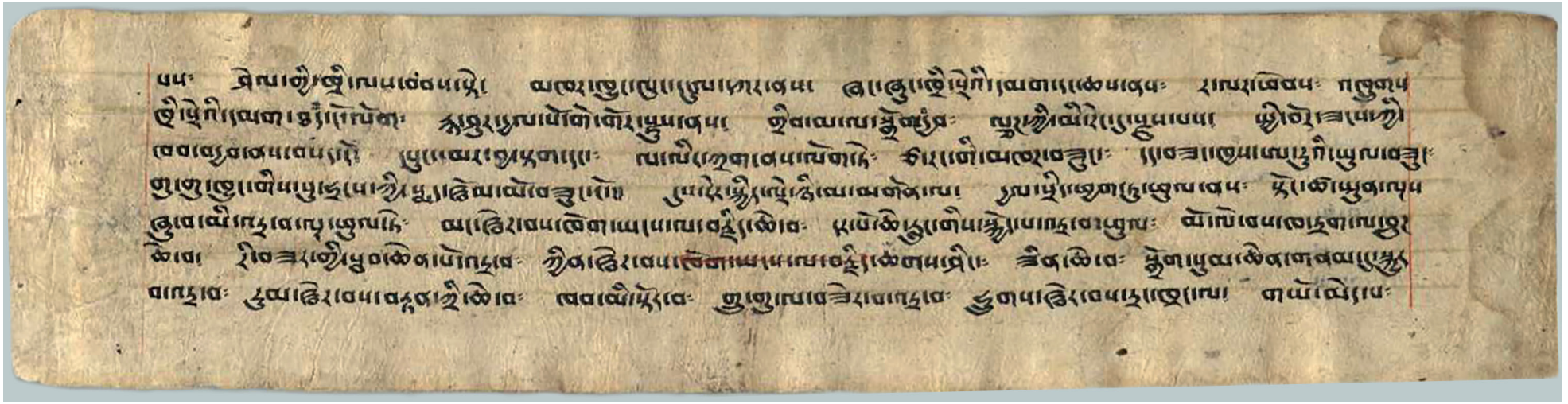
ཞེས། །ཐིས་བཞེས་ནས། དགུང་ལོ་ཉེར་བརྒྱད་བཞེས་པ་ཁ་སྐ་གཡི་ལོ་ལ། ཕོ་བྲང་གཡུ་རྩང་ལྟ་རྩེ་ནས་མྱག་ཐེགས། རྗེ་ཉིད་བློན་ཆེན་ཡོ་ཅང་ཞ་ཕོའི་བྱ། ཅང་ལེགས་སྐྱེས་དང་། ཕྱག་ཚང་བ་འབྲོ་ཁམ་བྱ། དགེ་བཞེར་བཀའ་ཤིང་(བཀའ་ཤིས་)བཙན། ཆོག་གྱུ་ལྟག་ལེབ། གཟིམས་མལ་བ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་ལྟ། མ་ཞང་བན་རྐེ། བན་ཆེན་ཡོ་གཉིས། གཞན་ཡང་ཁྲོན་ཆེན་[65]པ་ཚབ། ཁེན་ཆེན་ཁ་སྟོད། ཁྲོན་ཡོ་[66]ཚ་ཆེན་ཡོ། དེའི་སྒས་གཉིས(་)ཞང་རྒྱལ་བ་ཡོན་ཏན། མདོག་གཡུང་བ་ཞང་མེ་ཆེན་ཡོ། གཟིམས་མལ་བ་སོ་པ་ལྟ་ཁ་ལས་སོགས་(ལ་སོགས་)ཏེ། རྣ་འབངས་རགས་བཏུས། ལྟ་བཅུ་དང་བཅས་ཏེ། བྱང་ཁམ་ལ་མེས། ཞང་ཞུང་ནས་བསུ་བ་ལ་རྟ་པ་ལྟ་བཅུ་རྩ་ཁ་གཅིག་ཕྱིན་པ་དང་འཛོམ་ཞིང་(འཛོམས་ཤིང་)། སྲིད་པའི་སྟོང་[67](རྫོང་)ར་ལ་མཁར་དམར་དུ་ཡོས་ལོའི་གཡར་ཕྱག་མེས་སོ། །དེ་ནས་ཁྱུང་དཔུང་སྟོང་[68]རིང་མོས། གཉའ་ཤྲུ་ཤོ་ཅུང་ཟེ་རྒྱལ་ཡོ་ལི་བྱིན་ཁྱ་ལ་ཞུས་པ། རྒྱལ་ཡོ་ཆེན་ཡོ་ལགས། ཉེ་མ་དབུས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་སྒས་སྐྱིད་ལྷེ་ཉེ་མ་མགོན་ནི། རྗེའི་ཆབ་སྲིད་ལ་རོ་བར་བྱང་སྐད་དོ། །ཞང་ཞུང་ཁྲི་ལྷའི་དམག་དང་སྐྱོད་ཚལ་ཞུས(་)

[65] *Nyima B* 2014: 144 has *blon po*.

[66] *Nyima B* 2014: 144 has *blon po*.

[67] *Nyima B* 2014: 145 has (only) *rdzong*.

[68] *Nyima B* 2014: 145 has *stod*.



13. Folio 128b.

[436/f. 128b, ll. 1–7:]

པས། ཤེལ་གྱི་ཁྲི་ལས་བབས་སྟེ[69]ཉེ།། མཁར་ལྷུང་ལུང་དཏུལ་དཀར་ནས། ཞོད་ཞུང་ཁྲི་སྟེའི་དམག་དང་ཚས་ནས། ར་ལར་ཕེབས། འཛྲགས(')ཁྲི་སྟེའི་དམག་[ཐམས་ཅད་]ངོ་ལོག །རྟ་(སྟ་)ཤུར་རྒྱལ་པོ་གེ་གོར་[70]སྒྲས་[71](ཇྲས་)ནས། ཀྱིད་མ་ལ་སྒྲོན་[ba]རྒྱབ[72]། [ལྷགས་]ཀྱི་མི་རེང་དུ་སྒྲས་[73](ཇྲས་)པས། སྒྲི་བོར་ཟངས་ཀྱི་ཁལ་བརྒྱབ་ནས་བསད་དོ། །[དཔུང་དད་]མར་[74]བྱ་སྐྱག་དང་། ལ་ལིང་ཀྱག(སྐྱག)་ནས་ལོག་ཉེ[75](སྟེ)། ཙ་རང་གི་མཁར་བཟུང་། དད་བཟང་ཁྲས་ཞ་རྩའི་ཡུལ་བཟུང་། ཀུ་ཀུ་ཁྲུང་གིས་པུ་རྟངས་ཀྱི་སྐད་སྟེམ་མོ་བཟུང་ངོ་། །

དུས་དེར་སྐྱིད་ལྡེ་ཉི་མ་མགོན་ལ། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཕྱག་ཏུ་ཕུལ་ནས། སྟོང་ཚ་སྐུན་ལྟས(')ཞུ་མི་འབྲ་ཕུ་ལྟུལ་ཉེ། མང་ཟེར་བས་ལོག་ཡངས་ལ་བརྩིད་ཆེ་བ། དར་ཡོ་ཆེ་རྩྭང་གིས་སྐྱོད་པ་འབྲ་བ་ཕུལ། མོ་ལོ་བས་ཁ་དྲག་ལ་[ཕྲག་]ཆེ་བ། རི་བཟར(ཁ་བཟར་)གྱི་སྐབ(ཁྲབ་)ཆེན་ཡོ་འབྲ་བ། ཀྱིན་ཟེར་བས་ལོག་ཡངས་ལ་བརྩིད་ཆགས་ཤིང་། ཟེན་ཆེ་བ། སྐྱོག་སུམ་ཆེན་གནམ་དུ་སྐྱར(')བ་འབྲ་བ། རྩམ་ཟེར་བས་བརྐན་ཀྱི་ཆེ་བ། ཁབ་མི་སྟོར་བ། གྱུ་གུ་ལ་བཟེར(ཁ་བཟེར་)བ་འབྲ་བ། ཏུགས་ཟེར་བས་དང་ཁྲང་ལ། གཡོ་མེད་པ།

[69] *Nyima B* 2014: 145 has (only) *ste*.

[70] Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po and *Nyima B* 2014: 145 read *go gor*.

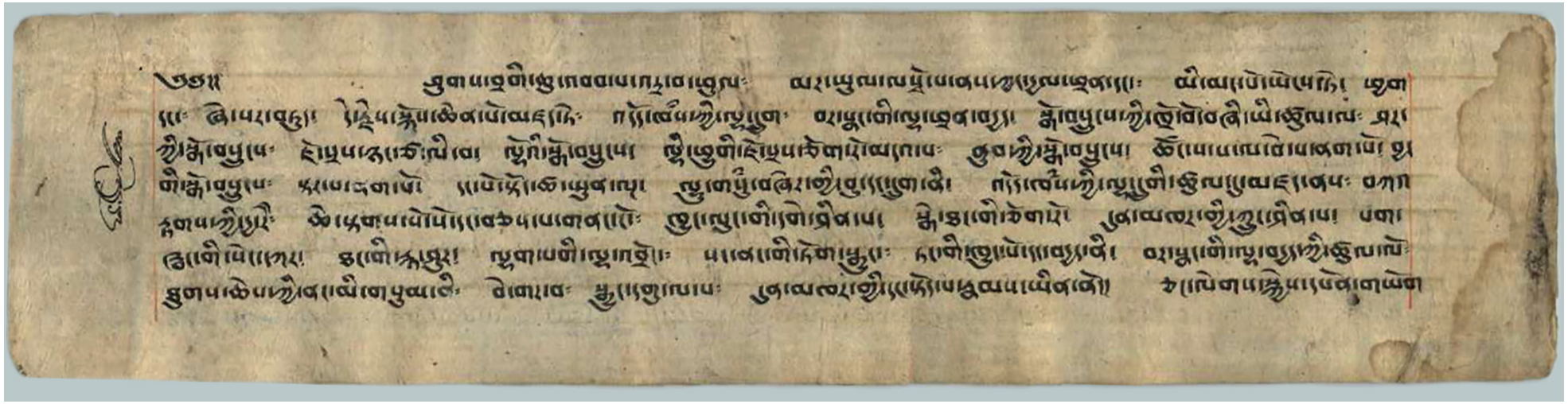
[71] *Nyima B* 2014: 145 has (only) *rdzus*.

[72] In the manuscript the prefix *ba* is written in a slightly smaller size above the ligature *rgya*.

[73] *Nyima B* 2014: 145 has (only) *rdzus*.

[74] *Nyima B* 2014: 145 has *dpung mar*.

[75] *Nyima B* 2014: 145 has (only) *ste*.



14. Folio 129a.

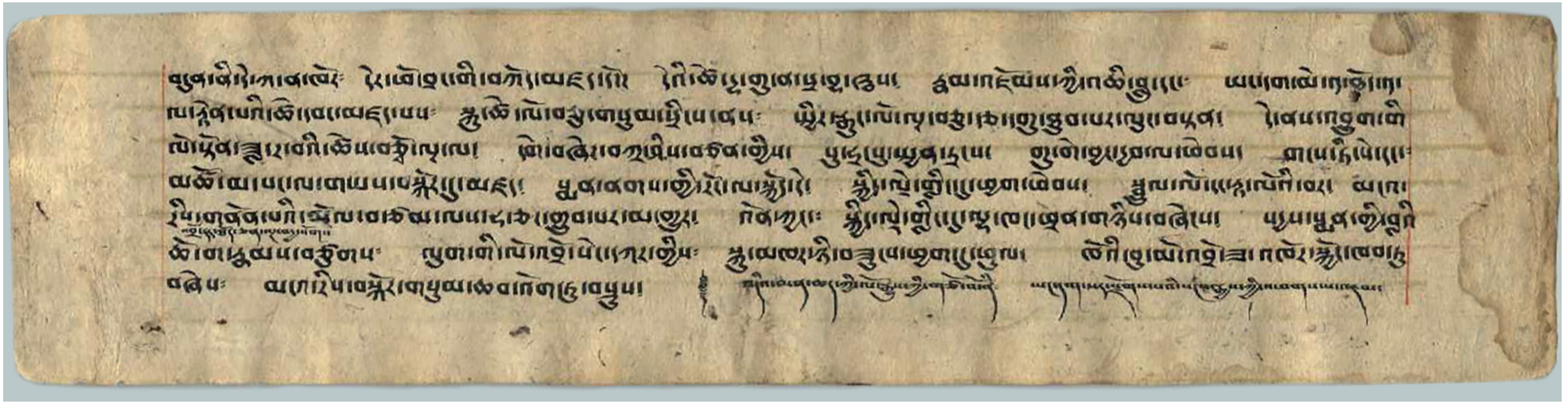
[437/f. 129a, ll. 1–7:] བརྒྱ་ཉེར་དགུ།

།།ཤུགས་ཁྲག་གི་(ཟུག་གིས་)། ཆུ་འབབ་པ་འདྲ་བ་ཐུལ། མར་ཡུལ་ཁ་ལོས་གས་། པ་ནས་ཀྱང་རྒྱལ་ཐབ་དང་། མི་མང་པོ་ཡོངས་ཏེ། ཕྱག་དང་། ཞེ་སར་བཏུབ། དེ་རྗེས་སྐོས་ཆེན་པོ་མཛད་དེ་[76](དེ)། འདོད་ཁམས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་དྲུག །བར་སྣང་གི་ལྷ་ཐབ་བརྒྱ། སྐོ་བསྡུངས་ཀྱི་ཁྲོ་བོ་བཞི་ཡི་ཚུལ་ལ། ཤར་ཀྱི་སྐོ་བསྡུངས། ངོ་སྤས་ཤང་ཙ་ལི་བ། ལྷོའི་སྐོ་བསྡུངས། ཤེ་ཁྱག་གི་། ངོ་སྤས་ཅོག་ར་མདའ་པ། ནུབ་ཀྱི་སྐོ་བསྡུངས། ཚོང་ས་ལ་བེ་ས་ནག་པོ། བྱང་གི་སྐོ་བསྡུངས། སྐར་པ་ནག་[77]པོ། དང་པོ་སྐོང་ཚ་[78]སྤུན་ལྟ། ལྷུ་གསུམ་བཞེར་ཀྱི་བུ་དང་བྲག་ནི། འདོད་ཁམས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་བྲག་གི་ཚུལ་དུ་མངོད་ནས། བཀའ་(་)རྟགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ཁ་རེ་ཅེ། ཆེ་སྐྱགས་(རྟགས་)སོ་སོ་དང་བཅས་པ་གནང་ངོ་། །ཁྲོང་ལུང་གི་དགེ་ཤེན་པ། སྐེ་ཐང་གི་ཚོག་རོ། དུན་མཁར་ཀྱི་ཀུང་ཤེན་པ། བཀའ་ཤང་གི་སེང་དཀར། ཐང་གི་རྩ་(སྟ་)ཤུར། ལྷག་ཁག་གི་། ལྷ་འབྲོང་། སང་ནང་གི་ཏོག་སྐྱང་། ཇང་གི་ཁྲུང་པོ་དང་བརྒྱད་ནི། བར་སྣང་གི་ལྷ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་ཚུལ་ལོ་ལྟ་ཁྱགས་ཆེས་ཀྱི་ནང་མི་གསུམ་ནི། ཅེ་གར་བ། སྐྱང་དཀྱུ་ལ་པ། དུན་མཁར་ཀྱི་དང་སྐོད་པ་རྣམས་ཡིན་ནོ། །ཅང་ལེགས་སྐྱེས་དཔོན་གཡོག(་)

[76] *Nyima B* 2014: 145 has *ste*.

[77] The reading of *nag* is not entirely certain.

[78] Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po and *Nyima B* 2014: 145 read *stod tsha*. *Nyima B* corrects this to *stong tsha*.



15. Folio 129b.

[438/f. 129b, ll. 1–7:]

བདུན་ནི་དེ་ཀ་ན་ལོར། དེར་ཕོ་བྲང་གི་བགོད་མངོད་དོ། ཀེའི་ཚེ་རྟ་ཀུ་ན་ཐ[79] བྲ་ཤས། རྣམ་འཛོམས་ཀྱི་འཆི་བླུ་དང་། ཡང་དག་མེ་[གཅིག་]ཐོད་[གཅིག་]ལ་རྟེན་པའི་ཚེ་དབང་མངོད་པས། སྐུ་ཚེ་ལོ་བཅུ་གསུམ་སྲིངས་(བསྲིངས་)ནས། སྐྱིར་རྒྱང་ལོ་(དཀྱང་ལོ་)ལྔ་བཅུ་ཙ་དཀུ་ཐུབ་པར་ལུང་བསྟན། དེ་ནས་འབྱུག་གི(་)ལོ་སྟོན་བླ་ར་བའི་ཚེས་བཅོ་ལྔ་ལ། དགེ་བཞེར[80]བཀྲ་ཤིས་བཙན་གྱིས། ཐུ་[རྟངས་སུ་]སྐྱན་དྲངས། གུ་གེ་བྱང་རྒྱལ་ལེགས། གངས་ཀྱི་ཞེ་དང་མཚོ་མ་པང་ལ་གཡས་བསྐོར་(སྐོར་)དུ་མངྒ། སྐབ་ནགས་ཀྱི[81](ཀྱི་)རོང་ལ་སྐྱོད་དེ། སྐྱིད་ཤེ་གྲིང་དུ་ཐུག་ཤེས། སྐུལ་ལོ་དང་རྟ་ལོའི་བར། མངའ་རིས[82]འབྲོ་དང་སྦེད་ཅན་[83]ལྟ་བ་སོགས་གནོད་པའི་མོལ་བ[84]ཙམ་ལས་ཏ་ཅང་གྱབ་པར་མ་གྱུར། འོན་ཀྱང་། སྐྱིད་ཤེ་གྲིང་དུ་ལྟ་ཁང་ཐུན་གཉིས་བཞེངས། [སངས་རྒྱས་]སྐབ་ཀྱི་ཐུབ(་)ཚོ་གཟམས་བསྒུགས། ལུག་གི་ལོ་འབྲོ་སེང་དཀར་ཡིས། སྐུ་མཁར་ཤེ་བཟུངས་ཐུག་དུ(་ཏུ་)ཕུལ། ཁོའི་བུ་མོ་འབྲོ་ཟ་འཁོར་སྐྱོང་ཁབ་ཏུ(་)བཞེས། མངའ་རིས་བསྐོར་གསུམ་ཚབ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྟུས། །[85]

[79] *Nyima B* 2014: 146 has *sra*.

[80] *Nyima B* 2014: 146 has *bzhir*.

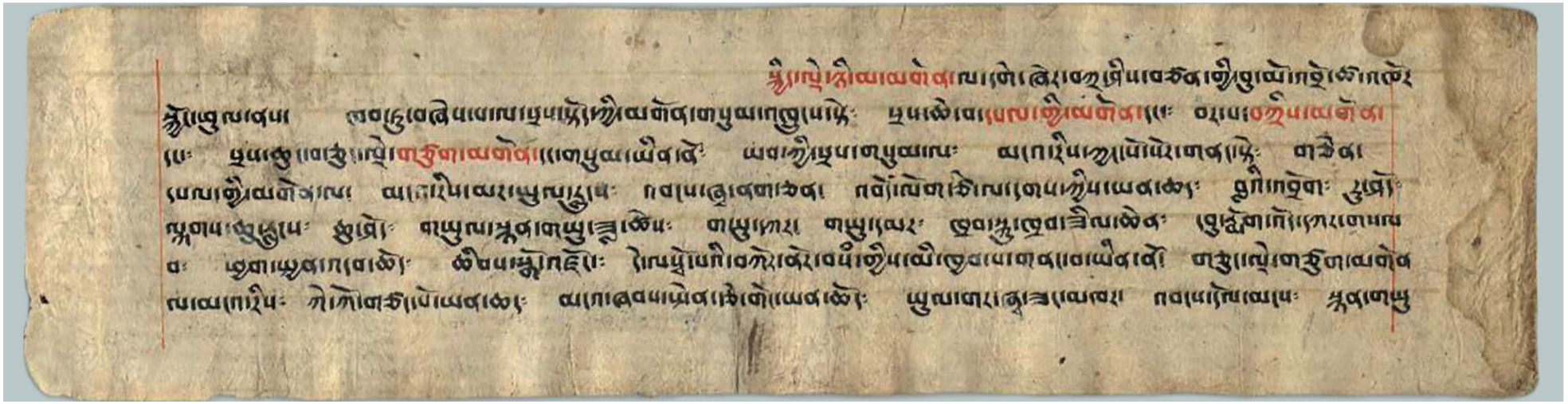
[81] *Nyima B* 2014: 146 has (only) *kyi*.

[82] The following passage (completely missing in *Nyima B* 2014) is added in a very small *dbu med* script on the same page below the line.

[83] *sbed can* is a tentative reading.

[84] *Nyima B* 2014: 146 has *tshol ba*.

[85] The text from page 438/f. 129b, mid l. 7, to page 439/f. 130a, l. 7, which is written in a different script is omitted by Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po (but contained in *Nyima B* 2014: 146–147 in small script).



16. Folio 130b.

གསུམ། སྟོང་གི་མཚོན་གསུམ་གྱི་སྐོར།

[440/f. 130b, ll. 1–7:]

[86]སྐྱིད་ཞེ་ཉི་མ་མཚོན་ལ་དགེ་ཞེར་[87](བཞེར་)བཀྲ་ཤིས་བཙན་གྱི་བུ་མོ་འཕྲོ་ཚ་འཕོར(་)སྐྱོང་ཕུལ་ནས། ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས་པ་ལ་སྲས་སྟོང་གྱི་མཚོན་གསུམ་འཕྲུངས་སྟེ[88](ཏེ)། སྲས་ཆེ་བ་དཔལ་གྱི་མཚོན་དང་། བར་པ་[བཀྲ་ཤིས་]མཚོན་དང་། སྲས་ཆུང་བ་ཅུང་(གཅུང་)ཞེ་གཙུག་མཚོན་དང་གསུམ་ཡིན་ནོ། །ཡབ་ཀྱི་(ཀྱིས་)སྲས་གསུམ་ལ། མངའ་རིས་ཀུང་སོ་སོར་གནང་སྟེ། གཅེན་དཔལ་གྱི་མཚོན་ལ། མངའ་རིས་མར་ཡུལ་རྩྭངས། འབངས་ཞྭ་ནག་ཅན། འབོད་ལོག་ཅེ་ལ་དགས་(དྭགས་)[89]ཀྱིས་ཡན་ཆད། ཆབ་འབྲོག །རྩ་རོད(་)ཤག་ཆུ་རྩྭངས། ཆུ་རོད། གཡུལ་[90]སྟན་གཡུ་རྩི་ཆོས། གཡུ་དཀར། གཡུ་དམར། ཁྲབ་སྐུ་ཁྲབ་ཟེལ་ཆེན། དབུ་རྩོག་འོད་དཀར་གསལ(་)བ། ཕྱག་སྟེན་འདབ་ཚོད། ཆེབས་སྐོ་འཛོངས། དེ་[ལ་སོགས་]པའི་བཀོད(དཀོད་)རྣོར་[བསམ་]གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་གནང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། །

གཅུང་ཞེ་གཙུག་མཚོན(་)ལ་མངའ་རིས། ཀེ་ཀོ་གཙང་ཐོ་ཡན་ཆད། མངའ་ཁབས་སྟེན་རྩེ་གོང་ཡན་ཆོད། ཡུལ་[91]གངས་ཞྭ ཟང་མཁར། འབངས་དོལ་མངས། སྟན་གཡུ(་)

[86] N.B.: left part of line before sKyid is left empty.

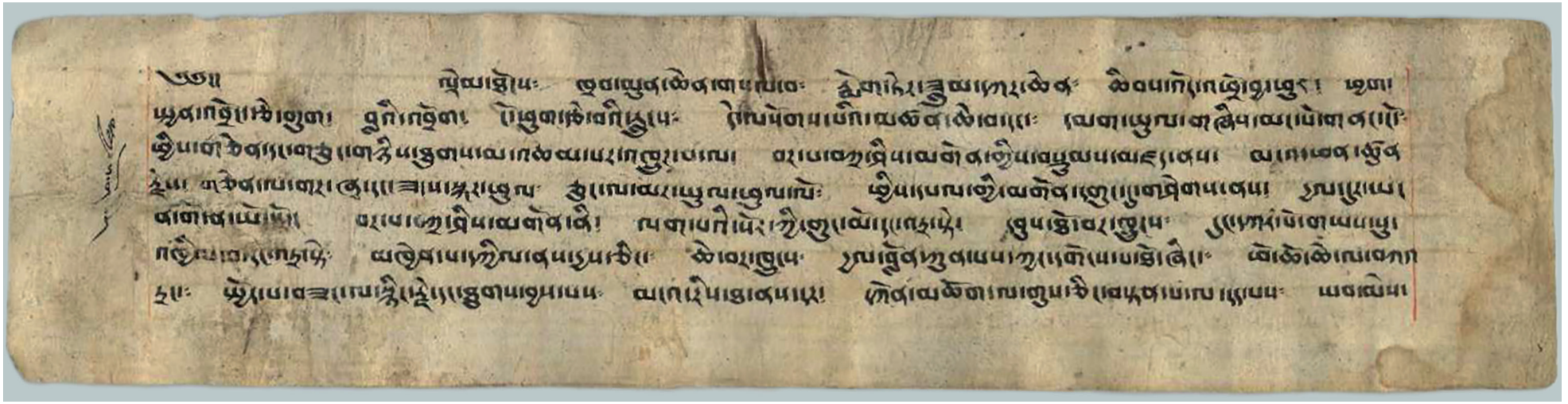
[87] *Nyima B* 2014: 147 has *dge wer*.

[88] *Nyima B* 2014: 147 has (only) *te*.

[89] Also *dgas* may be a possible reading. *Nyima B* 2014: 147 has *dgas*.

[90] Read: *mgul*?

[91] *Nyima B* 2014: 147 has *yum*.



17. Folio 131a.

[441/f. 131a, ll. 1–7:] བརྒྱ་སོ་གཅིག

ཞེས། །ལྷེམ་ཐོངས། ཁྲབ་སྐུན་ཆེན་གསལ་བ། རྩོག་ཉེར་རྒྱམ་དཀར་ཆེན། ཆིབས་འོད་འཕྲོ་བྱ་ཕུར(འཕུར)། ཐུག་རྒྱུན་འབྲོང་རྩེ་གྱག །ཟླའི་འབྲོག །ངོ་ཕྱག་རྩེ་བའི་རླངས། དེ་[ལ་སོགས་]པའི་མཚན་ཆེ་བ་དང་། དམག་ཡུལ་གཞིས་མང་པོ་གནང་ངོ་། །ཕྱིས་གཅེན་དང་གཉུང་གཉིས་ཐུགས་མ་འཚམ་(འཚམས)པར་[འབྲུགས་]པ་ལ། བར་པ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་མགོན་གྱིས་བསྟམས་མངོད་ནས། མདའ་ཕན་ཚུན(་)རྩེས(བརྩེས)། གཅེན་ལ་གར་ཞྭ་དང་ཟངས་སྐར་ཕྱལ་ཉུང་(གཉུང་)ལ་མར་ཡུལ་ཕྱལ་ལོ། །ཕྱིས་དཔལ་གྱི་མགོན་དགྱང་དུ་གཤེགས་ནས། རྒྱལ་དྲུར་ཡང(་)ན་གོ་ན་ཡོད་ངོ[92] ། 

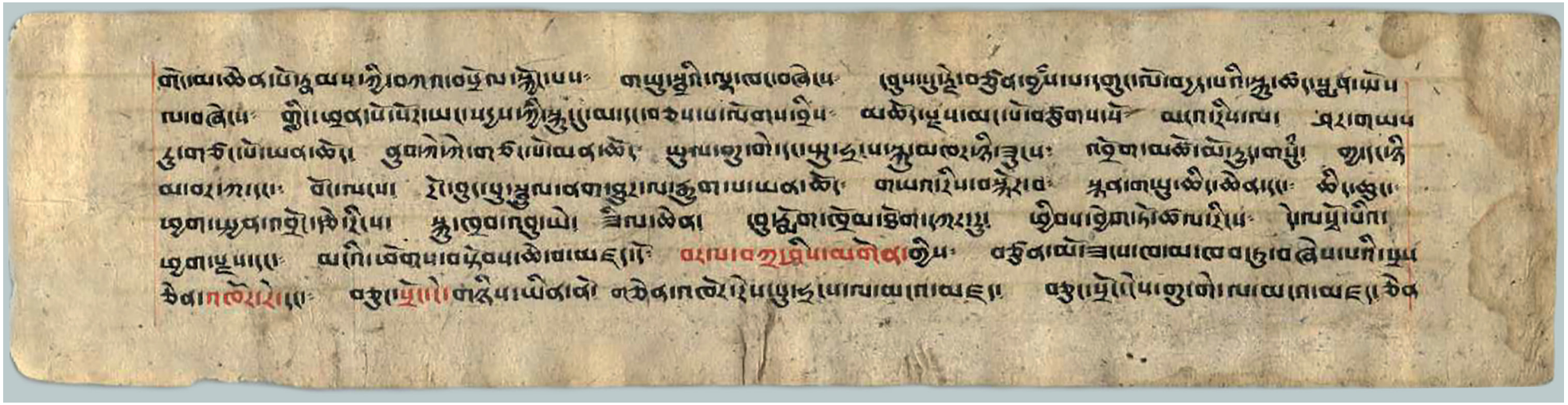
བར་པ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་མགོན་ནི། ལག་པའི་སོར་ཀྱི་(ཀྱི་)[93]གྱང་མོ་དང་འབྲ་སྐྱེ། དབུས་ཐོ་བར་ཟླངས(འཟླངས)། དུང་དཀར་ཡོ་གཡས་སུ་འཁྱིལ་བ་དང་འབྲ་སྐྱེ། མཁྲེན་པ་དཀྱིལ་(དཀྱིལ་)ནས་རྒྱས་ཅིང་(ཤིང་)[94]། ཆེ་བར་ཟླངས(འཟླངས)། རྒྱལ་བློན་ཀུན་པས་ཀྱང་དགོངས་པ་ཐོ[95](མཐོ་)ཞིང་། ཡོ་ཆོ་ཆེ་ལ་བཀའ(་)བྱང་། སྐྱོད་པ་བཟང་ལ་སྙིང་རྗེ་དང་ཐུགས་བྱས་(བྱམས་)པས། མངའ་རིས་ཐ་ནས་དབུ། དགོན་མཆོག་ལ་གུས་ཅིང་ཤིང་)བསྟན་པ་ལ་དད་པས། ཡབ་མེས་

92 Reading of *do* uncertain. *Nyima B* 2014: 148 has (only) *do*.

93 *Nyima B* 2014: 148 has *gi*.

94 *Nyima B* 2014: 148 has (only) *cing*.

95 *Nyima B* 2014: 148 has *thod*.



18. Folio 131b.

[442/f. 131b, ll. 1–7:]

གོང་མ་ཆེན་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་བསྩལ་[96](སྩལ་)སྐྱོང་པས། གཡུ་སྒྲིའི་ལྷ་ལང་བཞེངས། དབུས་སུ་རྩེ་བཙུན་[བྱམས་]པ་དཀྱུང་ལོ་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྐུ་ཚད་སྒོན་སྤོས(་)ལ་བཞེངས། གྲིང་ཐུན་སོ་སོར་ཡང་[སངས་རྒྱས་]ཀྱི་སྐུ་དུ་མ་དང་བཅས་པ་འོག་བྱིས། མཆོད་སྤྲས་[97](ཕྲས་)མང་པོ་བཙུགས་སོ། །མངའ་རིས་ལྷ་ཤར་གཡས(་)རུ་གཙང་པོ་ཡན་ཆོད། ནུབ་ཀེ་ཀེ་གཙང་པོ་མན་ཆོད། ཡུལ་གུ་གེ་དང་[98]སྤུ་ཧྲངས་སྐུ་མཁར་ཉེ་བྱངས། འབྲོག་མཆོ་མོ་རྒྱུད་[གསུམ]། ཀྱ་དང་ཉེ(་)མ་བར་ཀ་ཉེ་མ། བར་ཀ)དང་། བོང་ཡངས། རོང་བྱང་པུ་[99]སྤྱལ་ནག་ཐྱུར་ལ་རྒྱག་པ་ཡན་ཆོད། གཡའ་རིས་བསྐོར་བ། སྤྱན་གཡུ་ཆིང་[100]ཆེན་དང་། ཆིང་[101]ཆུང་། ཕྱག་སྦྱན་འབྲོང་རྩེ་རིངས། སྐུ་ཁྲབ་འབྱུ་ཡི། ཟིལ་ཆེན། དབུ་རྩོག་ཁྲོམ་ཐོག་དཀར་བུ། ཕྱིབས་(འཆིབས་)རྒྱག་ཏོ་ཚལ་རིངས། དེ་[ལས་སོགས་(ལ་སོགས་)]པའི་ཕྱག་སྣས་(རྟགས་)[102]དང་། མངའ་ཐོག་བསྟོབས་(སྟོབས་)[103]ཆེ་བ་མཛད་དོ། ।

བར་པ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་མཚོན་གྱིས། བཙུན་མོ་ཟངས་ཁ་མ་ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས་པའི་སྐས(་)ཆེན་(ཁ་ཆེན་)འཁོར་རེ་དང་བཅུང་(ཁ་ཅུང་)སྲོང་ངེ་གཉིས་ཡིན་ནོ། །ཁ་ཆེན་འཁོར་རེས་ཕྱ་ཧྲངས་ལ་མངའ་མཛད། བཅུང་(ཁ་ཅུང་)སྲོང་རེས་ཀྱ་གེ་ལ་མངའ་མཛད། ཆེན[104](ཁ་ཆེན་)

[96] *Nyima B* 2014: 148 has (only) *srol*.

[97] *Nyima B* 2014: 148 has (only) *rdzas*.

[98] From here (*spu hrangs sku mkhar .. de las* (*la*) *sogs pa*), despite some spelling differences and minor changes, the text corresponds to *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* (Vitali 1996: 51, ll. 1–4).

[99] Read *rong cung spu* (that is, refering to Pooh/sPu in Rong chung)? *Nyima B* 2014: 148 has *rong bud su*.

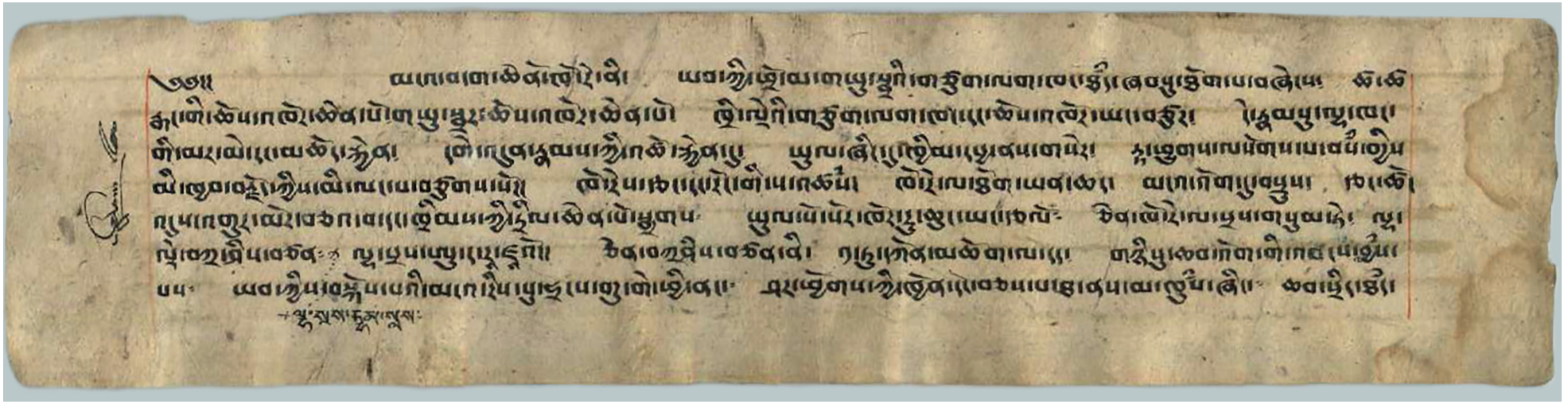
[100] *Nyima B* 2014: 148 has *ching*.

[101] *Nyima B* 2014: 148 has *ching*.

[102] *Nyima B* 2014: 148 has (only) *rdzas*.

[103] *Nyima B* 2014: 148 has (only) *stobs*.

[104] End of line 7 (and page): *cen* is written without *tsheg*.



19. Folio 132a.

[443/f. 132a, ll. 1–7:] བརྒྱ་སོ་གཉིས།

ཞེས། །མངའ་བདག་ཆེན་པོ། ཁོ་རེ་(འཁོར་རེ་)ནི། ཡབ་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་(འཕྲོ་)མ་གཡུ་སྒྲའི་གཙུག་ལག་ལང་། ཐབས་སུ། ཐོག་པ་བཞེངས། ཚ་ཚ(་)ཀྲང་(སྐང་)གི་ཆོས་འཁོར་ཆེན་པོ་གཡུ་སྒྲར་[105](ཆེན་པོ། གཡུ་སྒྲར་)ཆོས་འཁོར་ཆེན་པོ། ཁྱི་ལྷའི་གཙུག་ལག་ལང་དང་ཆོས་འཁོར་ཡང་། བཙུགས། ། དེ་། རྣམས་སུ། ལྷ་ལང་གི་མར་མེ་དང་མཆོད་རྟེན། དགེ་འདུན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་འཚོ་རྟེན་དུ་[106] ཡུལ་ཞིང་དུ་ཁྱིམ་དཔྱ་ནས་གསེར། རྟ་ཕྱུགས། ། ལ་སོགས། ། ས་། བསམ། ། ཀྱིས(་) མི་ཁྱབ་བརྗོད་ཀྱིས་མི་ལང་པ་བཙུགས་སོ། ། ཁོ་(འཁོར་)རེས་རྩང་(གཙང་)[107] དང་རོང་གི་ས་། མཚམས། ། ཁོ་རེ་(འཁོར་རེ་)ལ་ཐོག་ཡན་ཆད། མངའ་འོག་དུ་(ཏུ་)བསྒྲུས། རྩང་(གཙང་)ཚོང(་)[108]འདུས་འགུར་མོར་[109]བཅའ་བ་དང་ཁྱིམས་ཀྱི་དྲིལ་ཆེན་པོ་སྒྲགས(བསྒྲགས།) ཡུལ་སོ་སོར་ཁོར་ཟུ་ཆུང་ཡང་། རྩལ་ལོ། ། ཅེན་(གཅེན་)གོ་རེ་(འཁོར་རེ་)ལ་སྒས་གསུམ་ཉེ(སྟེ)། ལྷ་ལྷེ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བཙན།[×110] ལྷ་སྒས་རྒྱམ་(རྒྱམ་)སྒས་[111]། ལྷ་སྒས་ཐུ་དཀར་རྡོ(རྡོ་)བོ། །ཅེན་(གཅེན་)བཀྲ(་)ཤིས་བཙན་ནི་[112] ། གཅིག་། ཀུ་དགོན་མཆོག་ལ་དཀྲ། ། གཉིས་སུ། ། ཆབ་འོག་གི་འབངས་། ཁྱམས། ། བས། ཡབ་ཀྱི་བསྐོས་པའི་མངའ་རིས་པུ་[113]ཧྲངས་གྱ་གེ་ཕྱི་ནང་། ཤར་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་ཁྲོན་དང་བཅས་པ་ཐ་(མཐའ་)ནས་མ་། ཁྱམས་། ཞིང་(ཤིང་)། ཆབ་སྲིད་། ཐམས་ཅད་།

[105] *Nyima B* 2014: 149 has *sbrang*.

[106] *Nyima B* 2014: 149 has *dang*.

[107] *Nyima B* 2014: 149 has (only) *gtsang*.

[108] End of line 4: *tshong* is written without *tsheg*. *Nyima B* 2014: 149 has *tsho*.

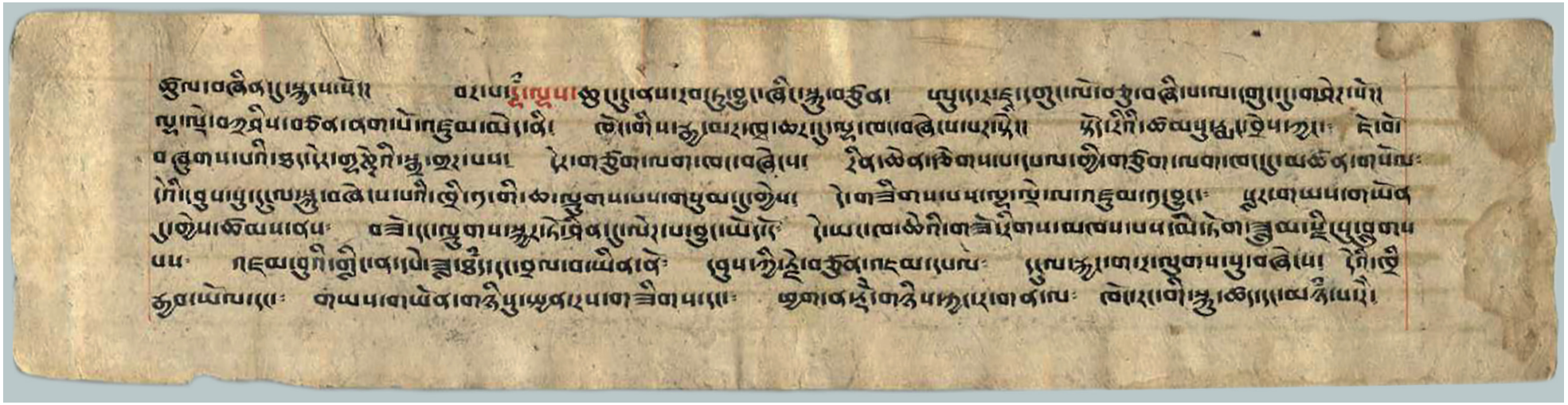
[109] 'Gur mo is the name of a place in gTsang where once a year a market (*tshong 'dus*) took place. *Nyima B* 2014: 149 has (only) *mgur mo*.

[110] The following passage (marked by an x in the manuscript) is added in smaller *dbu can* script on the same page below line 7.

[111] Read *lhas* (suggested by Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po)? *Nyima B* 2014: 149 has *lha sras dharma sras*.

[112] In the manuscript *ni* is followed by space as usual after *shad*.

[113] *Nyima B* 2014: 149 reads *mnga' ris su hrangs* and corrects this to *mnga' ris pu hrangs*.



20. Folio 132b.

[444/f. 132b, l. 1:]

ཚུལ་བཞིན་དུ་སྐྱངས་(བསྐྱངས་)[114]སོ། །བར་པ་ཉོ་(ཆོ་ཆ་)ལྷས་ཆུང་དུ་ནས་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་ཞིང་སྐུ་བཙུན། ཕུ་ད་རྣ་ཆོ་(རྣ་ད་)[115]དགུང་ལོ་བཅུ་བཞི་པ་ལ་དགུང་དུ་(གཤེགས་)སོ།།

## བཞི། མངའ་བདག་ལྷ་ལྷེའི་སྐོར།

[444/f. 132b, ll. 2–7:]

ལྷ་ལྷེ་བཀྲ(་)ཤིས་བཙན་ནག་ལོ་འཚུམ་མེད་ནི། ཁོང་གིས་ཆུ་མར་ཁྲ་ཚར་དུ་ལྷ་ཁང་བཞེངས་པར་སྐེ(ཏེ)། སྐོད་རིའི་(ཚམས་[116]སུ་(མཚམས་སུ་)) རྩང་བྱེས་ཀྱང་། ངོ་བོ་བཞུགས་པའི་ཐད་དེར་ཐུན་ཆེའི་[117]སྒྲ་(གྲགས་)པས། དེར་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས། རིན་ཆེན་རྩེགས་པ་དཔལ་གྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དུ་མཚན་གསོལ(།)[118] དེའི་དབུས་སུ་དཔུལ་སྐུ་བཞེངས་པའི་ཁྲི་(གཅིག་)གི་ཚ་ལུགས་པས་གསུམ་དུ་གྱེས། དེ་གཟིགས་པས་ལྷ་ལྷེ་ལ་འཛུམ་(གཅིག་)བྱུང་། སྐབས་གཡས་གཡོན་(་)དུ་གྱེས་ཚམས་(མཚམས་)ནས། བཟོ་དང་ལྷུགས་(ལུགས་)སྐྱབ་(བསྐྱབ་)ཅེ་ཤེན་དུ་(ཏུ་)(ལེགས་)པ་བྱུང་ཡོད་དོ། །དེ་ཡང་ཁ་ཆེའི་གཟོ་(བཟོ་)རིགས་མཁས་པས་མེ་ཏོག་རྒྱམ་(སྡེངས་སུ་(ཇེང་དུ་))[119]བླུགས(་)པས། འཛམ་བུའི་གླིང་ན་དེ་ལེ་རྒྱ་(ཐམས་ཅད་)བཅ་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། །དབུས་ཀྱི་རྩེ་བཙུན་འཕྲལ་དཔལ། དབུལ་ཀྱང་གི་ར་[120]ལུགས་སུ་བཞེངས། དེའི་ཁྲི(་)རྒྱབ་ཡོལ་དང་། གཡས་གཡོན་(་)ཕྱེན་པས་གཟིགས་དང་། ཕྱག་ན་(རྩོ་རྩེ་)གཉིས་ཀྱང་ར་གན་ལ། ཁོང་རང་གི་སྐུ་ཚད་དང་(མཉམ་)པ་(རེ་རེ་)

[114] *Nyima B* 2014: 149 has (only) *bskyangs*.

[115] *Nyima B* 2014: 149 has *rdzas*.

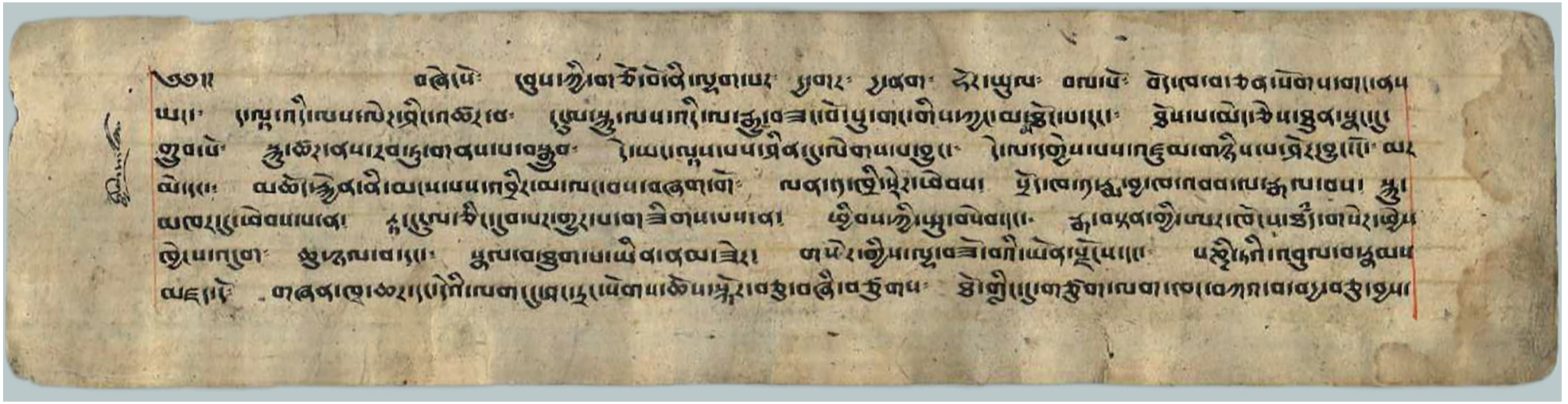
[116] *Nyima B* 2014: 149 has (only) *'tshams*.

[117] *gaṇḍi* (see *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo* 2002: 482)

[118] End of line 3: *gsol* is written without *tsheg* or *shad*.

[119] *Nyima B* 2014: 149 has *rdzings su*.

[120] Possibly standing for *gar.*



21. Folio 133a.

[445/f. 133a, ll. 1–7:] བརྒྱ་སོ་ཁ་གསུམ་།

ཅི། །ཁཞེངས་སོ། །ཀདུས་ཀྱི་གཙོ་པོ་ནི་ལྷག་པར། རྒྱ་གར། རྒྱ་ནག ཏིར་ཡུལ། བལ་པོ། བོད་ཁ་བ་ཅན་སོགས་གང་ནས(')ཡང་(ཀྱང་)། དཔལ་འདི་ལས་ཁ་ལེགས་།ཤིང་འཚང་(མཚང་)བ། དཏུལ་སྐྱ་ལས་འདི་ལ་རྒྱ་བཟང་པོ་སྤུ་གང་གིས་ཀྱང་མ་ལ་ཐོང་[121]པ་དང་། ཐོས་པ་མེད་ཅེས་ཟུན་སྣང་དུ་གྱུར་པོ(བོ)། །སྐྱ་ཚང་ནས་རབ་ཏུ་གནས་པ་བསྐྱབ(བསྐྱབས)། དེ་ཡང་ལྷས་ (བལྷས་) པས་ཤིན་དུ་[122](ཏུ་)ལེགས་པ་བྱུང་། དེ་ལ་དགེས་པས་འདྲ་མ་གཉིས་པ་ཤོར་བྱུང་ངོ་། །མར(')མེ་དང་། མཆོད་རྟེན་ནི་མངས་པས་འབྲིན་མ་ལང་བས་བཞག་གོ། །ལན་།གཅིག་།ཁྲི་སྟེར་ཞེས་པས། སྲོད་ཁ་།གཅིག་།རྩ་བྱ་ཁ་འབབ་ལ་ཆལ་བས། སྐྱ་མཁར་དུ་ཞེས་པ་ན། ཏ་དཏུལ་(རྟུལ་)ཅིང་དུབ་པར་གྱུར་པ་གཟིགས་པས་ན། ཕྱེས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་བསེབ་(ཁེབས་)དང་། ཏ་(སྐ་)བསྟན་ཀྱི་ཤར་ལོངས་།ཐམས་ཅད་།གསེར་ཕྱེ(')ཁྱེངས[123](ལེངས་)འདུག །ཆུ་ཤལ་བ་དང་། སྐལ་[124]བ་ཟུག་པ་ཡིན་ནམ་ཟེར། གསེར་གྱིས་ལྷ་བཟོ་བའི་ཡོན་སྟོངས[125](རྩོངས་)དང་། པཉྩེ་ཏའི་འབུལ་བ་ཆམས(')མངོ་དོ། །གཞན་ཁུ་[126]ཆར་དང་དེའི་ལག་དུ་(ཏུ་)བང་[127]དང་སོགས་ཆོས་སྐོར་བཅུ་བཞི་བསྡུགས། ཐོ་(མཐོ་)ཤིང་དུ་གསྡུག་ལག་ཁང་བཀའ་(ཀ་)བ་བརྒྱ་[128]བཅུ་བྱས

[121] In the manuscript the prefix *ma* is inserted in a smaller size below the line.

[122] *Nyima B* 2014: 150 has (only) *shin tu*.

[123] *Nyima B* 2014: 150 has (only) *khengs*..

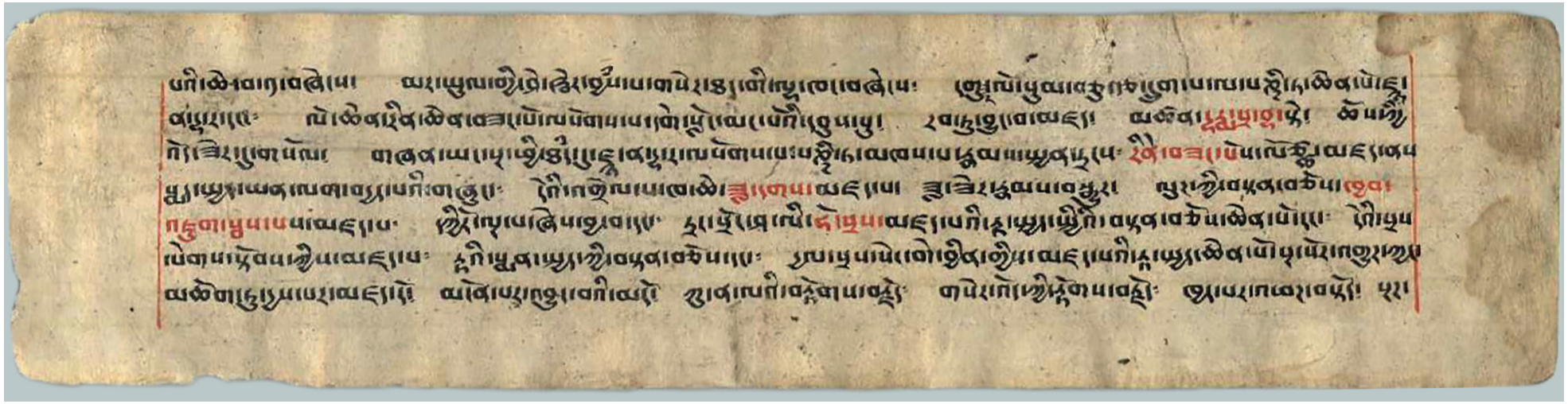
[124] *Nyima B* 2014: 150 has *sgal*. Also *ne'u* (or *ne'u le*), mongoose, weasel may be considered.

[125] *Nyima B* 2014: 150 has (only) *rdzongs*.

[126] *Nyima B* 2014: 150 has *khra*.

[127] Possible alternative reading: *shang* (see *Nyima B* 2014: 150).

[128] *Nyima B* 2014: 150 has *brgyad*.



22. Folio 133b.

[446/f. 133b, ll. 1–7:]

པའི་[129]ཆེ་བ་[གཅིག]་བཞེངས། མར་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཤེ་ཕེར་[བྱམས་]པ་གསེར་ཐང་གི་ལྷ་ལང་བཞེངས། དགུང་[130]ལོ་སུམ་བཅུ་[131]རྩ་དྲུག་པ་ལ་པཎྜི་ཏ་ཆེན་པོ་རྣོ་ན་རྒྱ་ར་དང་། ལོ་ཆེན་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་[ལ་སོགས་]པ་དག་སློང་མང་པོའི་དབུས་སུ། རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བ་མཛད། མཚན་རྒྱམ་པ་རྣ་སྟེ། ཆོས་ཀྱི་()འོད་ཟེར་དུ་གསོལ། གཞན་ཡང་སྤ་ཕྱི་[ཐམས་ཅད་]དུ་རྣོ་ན་རྒྱ་ར་[ལས་སོགས་(ལ་སོགས་)]པ་པཎྜི་ཏ་མཁས་པ་ཆམས་སྦྱན་དྲངས། [རིན་ཆེན་]བཟང་པོས་ལོ་སྟོང་མཛད་ན་ས()སྣད་སྦྱད་(སྣན་དཔྱད་)ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་གཞུང་།[132] དེའི་འགྲེལ་པ་ཆེ་རྒྱ་དགས་(རྒྱ་བ་མངོན་དགས་)མཛད་པ། རྒྱ་ཟེར་ཆམས་བསྒྱུར། [ལུགས་]ཀྱི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ཁྲབ་འདྲུག་སྒས་པས་མཛད་པ། [དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་]ལྟ་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དང་། དང་སྒོང་ཤ་ལི་ཀོ་བྷས་མཛད་པའི་རྟ་སྦྱད་(དཔྱད་)སྟེའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ཆེན་པོ་དང་། དེའི་སྐས()ལེགས་སྒོམས་ཀྱིས་མཛད་པ། རྟའི་སྨན་སྦྱད་(དཔྱད་) ཀྱི་བསྟན་བཅོས་དང་། རྒྱལ་སྐས་ཞེང་གེ་ཅིན་ཀྱིས་མཛད་པའི་རྟ་སྦྱད་(དཔྱད་) ཆེན་པོ་སྐ་སོར་འགྱུར་ཀྱང་མཆོག་ཏུ་རྒྱས་པར་མཛད་དོ། །མངོན་པར་འབྱུང་བའི་མདོ། ཀུ་ན་ལའི་བརྟེགས་[133](རྟོགས་)བརྗོད། གསེར་འོད་ཀྱི་རྟོགས་བརྗོད། ཁྱད་པར་[འཕགས་]བསྟོད། [སྐུགས་[134](བསྐུགས་)]

[129] *Nyima B* 2014: 150 has *pa*.

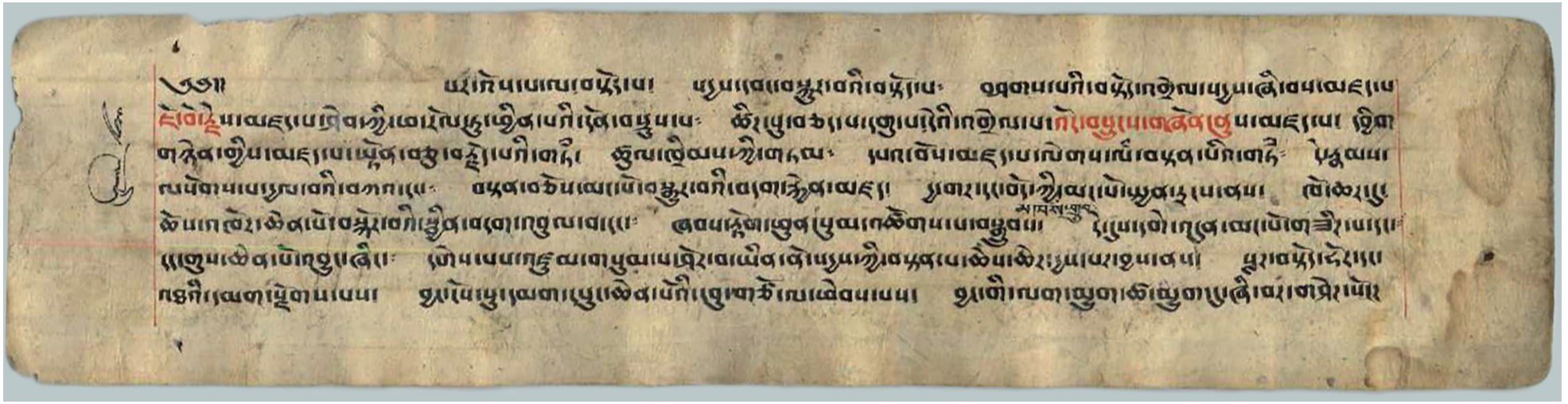
[130] In the manuscript the letter *nga* is inserted in a smaller size below the line.

[131] *Nyima B* 2014: 150 has *cu*.

[132] *sman dpyad yan lag brgyad pa*: *gso rig gi gzhung lugs* (Tsering Drongshar).

[133] *Nyima B* 2014: 151 has (only) *rtogs*.

[134] *Nyima B* 2014: 151 has (only) *bsngags*.



23. Folio 134a.

[447/f. 134a, ll. 1–7:] བརྒྱ་སོ་བཞི།

ཞེས། །པར་འོས་པ་ལ་བསྟོད་པ། ཁངས་རྒྱས་དབང་བསྒྲུར་བའི་བསྟོད་པ། བཤགས་པའི་བསྟོད་འགྲེལ་ཁངས་རྒྱས་ཞི་བས་མཛད་པ། རྡོ་ཙེ་རྡེས་མཛད་པ་ཨེས་རབ་ཀྱི་ཐ་རོལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པའི་དོན་བསྟས་པ། ཚིགས་སུ་བཅད་པ་དཀྱུ་པ་དེའི་འགྲེལ་པ་འོད་བསྲུངས་གཞོན་ནུས་མཛད་པ། དཔྱིག་གཞེན་གྱིས་མཛད་པ་ཡོན་ཏན་ཁ་བཏུ་བརྩེ་བའི་ཁཏྟམ། །ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་གཏམ། དཔའ་བོས་མཛད་པ་ལེགས་ཉམ་བསྟན་པའི་ཁཏྟམ། དེ་ནམས་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྒྱུ་བའི་བདག་ཉིད་མངའ་བོ་བསྟན་དང་། བསྟན་བཅོས་མང་པོ་བསྒྲུབ་བའི་བདག་ཉིད་མཁྱེན་མཛད། རྒྱ་གར་དང་བོད་ཀྱི་མཁས་གྲུབ་[135]མང་པོ་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ནས། ཆོ་ཆར་དུ་ཆོས་འཁོར་ཆེན་པོ་བསྐོར་བའི་སྒྲིན་བདག་འབུལ་བ་དང་། ཞབས་རྟོག་(ཞབས་ཀྱི་)ཐུན་སྐམ་འཚོགས་(ཚོགས་)པ་བསྒྲུབས།[136] དེ་དུས་དགེ་འདུན་མང་པོ་[གཟིགས་]པ་དང་། དད་གུས་ཆེན་པོ་འབྱུང་ཞིང་། དགེས་[137]པས་འཇྱམ་གསུམ་པ་ཤེར་བ་ཡིན་ནོ་[ཁངས་རྒྱས་]ཡིན་ནོ། །[ཁངས་རྒྱས་]ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་ཆེས་ཆེར་རྒྱས་པར་བྱས་ནས། སྔར་བསྟོད(སྟོད་)ཅོར་དང་འཐའི(མཐའི་)[138] དམག་སྡོགས་(རྫོགས་)[139]པས། བྱང་ངོས་སུ་དམག་དཔུང་ཆེན་པོའི་དབུ་གཙོ་ལ་ཞེས་པས། བྱང་གི་ལག་སྐྱ་ཚ་སྐྱ་དུ་(ཏུ་)ཞི་བར་[གཤེགས་]སོ།།

## ལྷ། མངའ་བདག་ཁྲི་བཀའ་ཤེས་འོད་ལྡེ་བཙན་གྱི་སྐོར།

[448/f. 134b, ll. 5–7:]

འདིར་ཅེན་(གཅེན་)ཙོ་རེ་(འཙོར་རེ་[140])ལ་སྲས་གསུམ་ཡོད་པའི་ཆེ་བ་ལྷ་ལྡེ་བཀའ་ཤེས་བཙན། དེ་ལ་ཡང་སྲས་གསུམ་ཞུངས་[141](འཁྲུངས་)པའི་ཆེ་ཤོས(་)མངའ་བདག་འོད་ལྡེ་འདི་ནི། ལུགས་གི་ལོ་སྐུ་ཁྲུངས་(འཁྲུངས་)སྐུ་ཤེད་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་ཞིང་སྐོབས་དང་ཚལ་རྒྱས་ཤིང་དཔའ་བ། གཞོན་ནུ་ནས་ཐུགས་རྒྱལ་ཅན་དུ་

[135] In the manuscript *khas grub* is inserted in small *dbu can* script below the line. Its place between *thugs* and *du* is also indicated by two dots.

[136] *Nyima B* 2014: 151 has (only) *bsgrub*.

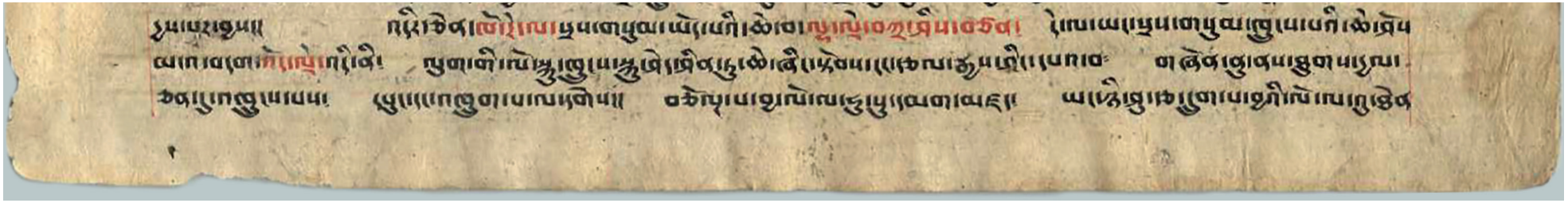
[137] *Nyima B* 2014: 151 has (only) *dgyes*.

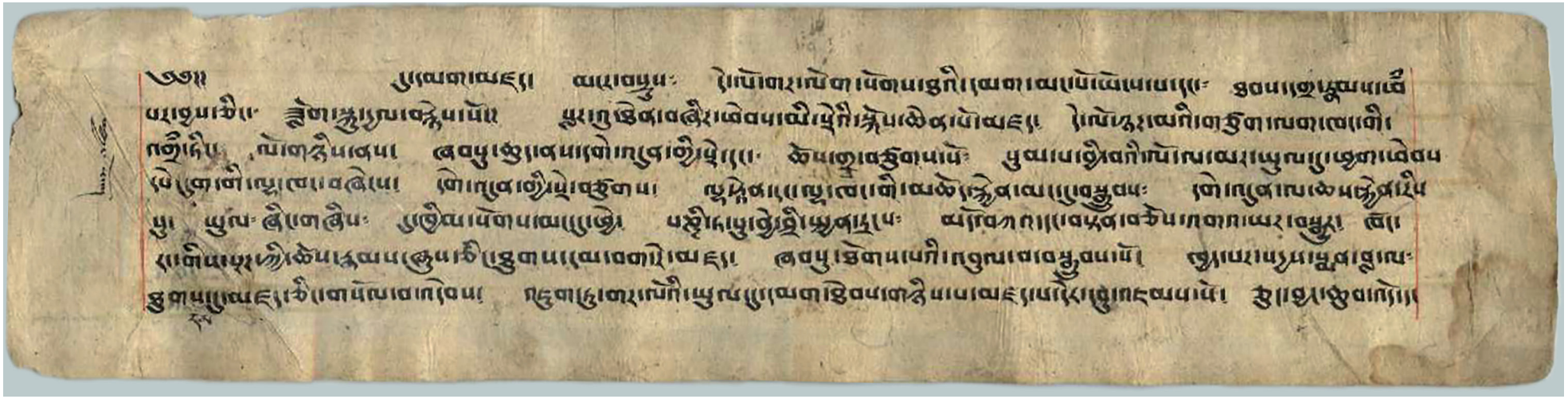
[138] *Nyima B* 2014: 151 has (only) *mtha'*.

[139] *Nyima B* 2014: 151 has (only) *rdzogs*.

[140] *Nyima B* 2014: 152 reads *'khor re* and corrects this to *'khor res*.

[141] *Nyima B* 2014: 152 has (only) *'khrungs*.





འཛུངས་པས། དཔུང་དང་འཛུག་པ་ལ་དགེས[142](དགྱེས)། བཙོ(')ལྡ་བ་བྱ་ལོ་ལ་ཏུ་པུ་དམག་མངའ་དེ། ཡང་ཞི་ཤྲ་ཚ་བྷག་པ་བྱའི་ལོ་ལ་འུ་ཐེན(')

[449/f. 135a, ll. 1–7:] བརྒྱ་སོ་ལྔ།

༦༣ ཀུ་དམག་མངའ་དེ། མངར་བསྟུས། དེ་ལོ་གང་ལོག་སོགས་ཐའི་(མཐའི་)དམག་མང་པོ་ཡོངས་པ་དང་། ཐབས་དགྲ་ནམས་ཁ(')ཡར་བྱས་ཅིང་ཤིང་)། རློག་སྐུ་རྒྱལ་བརྒྱེས་སོ། །སྐར་འུ་ཐེན་བཞིར་ཐེབས་མི་སྟེའི་སྐོས་ཆེན་པོ་མངའ་དེ་ལོ་ཉར་མའི་གསུག་ལག་ལང་གི་ཁ(འགམ་)ཏིང་(བཏིང་)། ལོ་གཉིས་ནས། ཁ(ཞབས་སུ་)ཆུང་(ཚུང་)ནས་དགེ་འདུན་ཀྱི་སྟེ་དང་། ཆོས་སྐྱ་བསྒུགས་སོ། །སུམ་པ་བྱི་བའི་ལོ་ལ་མར་ཡུལ་དུ་ཐུག་ཐེབས།། དེའི་དུག[143]གི་ལྷ་ལང་བཞེངས། དགེ་འདུན་གྱི་སྟེ་བསྒུགས། ལྷ་རྟེན་དང་ལྷ་ལང་གི་མཆོད་རྟེན་མང་དུ་བསླབས། དགེ་འདུན་ལ་ཆས་རྟེན་རིས་སུ། ཡུལ། ཞིང་གཞིས། དུ་ཁྱིམ་སོགས་མང་དུ་ཕྱེ། བཀྲ་ཤིས་བྱེ་ཆེ་ཐྱི་རྒྱུན་དབས། མདོ་བཀའ་དང་བསྟན་བཅོས་འགའ་ཡང་བསྒྲུབ། ཁོང་རང་གིས་ཁ(སྐབས་)ཀྱི་ཚོས་རྣམས་ཞུས་ཅིང་ཤེང་)ཐུགས་དམ་བཀའ་མངའ་དེ། ཁ(ཞབས་སུ་)ཐོགས་པའི་འབྲལ་བ་བསྒྲུབས་སོ། །ཕྱོད་པར་ཁ(སངས་རྒྱས་)སྐུན་བྷ་ལ་ཐུགས་དམ(')[144]དུ་མངའ་ཅིང་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས། འཇུག་(མཇུག་)ཏུ་གར་ལོའི་(གར་ལོག་གི་)ཡུལ་དུ་དམག་ཐེབས་གཞིས་པ་མཇའ་པ་དེར་དབུ་འཛམས་སོ། །ཆུང་(ཁུངས་)བྱང་ཆུབ་འོད་དང(')

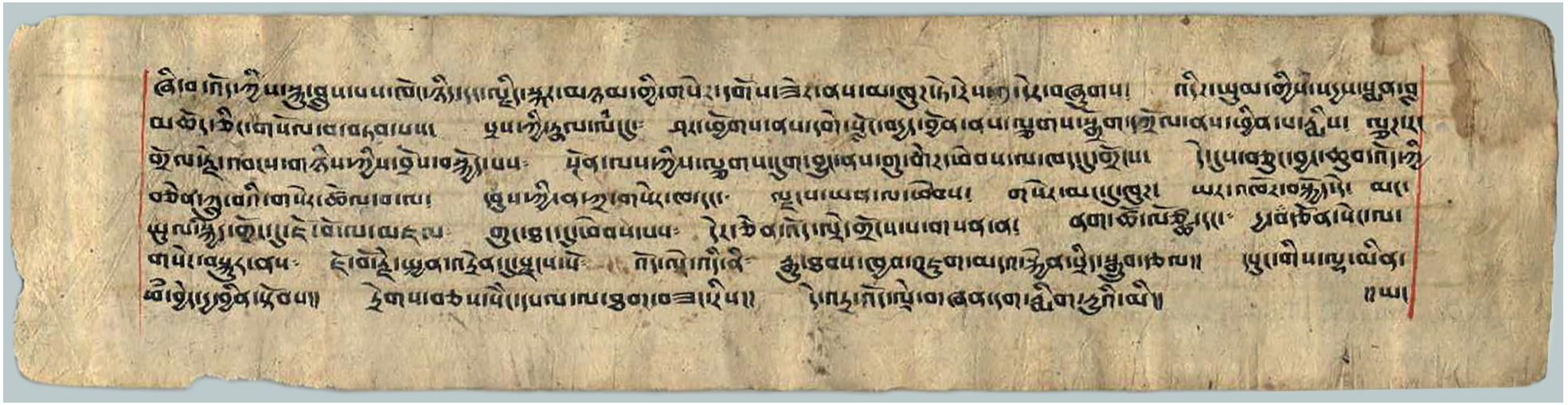
142 *Nyima B* 2014: 152 has (only) *dgyes*. Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po reads *dgos*.

143 Read: *dpe thub* (alias Spituk).

144 In the manuscript *dam* is inserted in small *dbu can* script below the line. Its place between *thugs* and *du* is also indicated by two dots.

24. Folio 134b.

25. Folio 135a.



26. Folio 135b.

[450/f. 135b, ll. 1–7:]

ཞེ་བ་འོད་ཀྱིས་སྐུ་བླུས་པས་ལོང་ཉིད་དང་ལྡིད་སྐར་མཉམ་གྱི་གསེར་དགོས་ཟེར་ནས་མ་ཁ(ཁུགས་)ཉེ་རེས་ཁ(གཅིག་)དེར་བཞུགས། འདིར་ཡུམ་ཀྱིས་ཁངས་རྒྱས་)སྐྱན་བླ(་)མཆོད་ཅིང་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་པས། སྲས་ཀྱི་རྣལ་ཁ(ལམ་)དུ། ཤག་ཡོགས་ནས་དགེ་སློང་བཙུད་བྱོན་ནས་ལྷགས་སྨྲག་དགོལ་ནས་ཕྱིན་པ་རྣེས་ཁ(ལྷགས་)རང[145](་)གསོལ་རྗེ་འབངས་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བློས་བསྐྱོད་པས། སྔོན་ལས་ཀྱིས་ལྷགས་དུག་བྱང་ནས་ཀུ་གེར་ཕེབས་ལ་ཁད་དུ་གོངས། དེ་དུས་བཙུང་(གཙུང་)བྱང་ཆུབ་འོད་ཀྱི(ཀྱིས་)བཅེན་(གཅེན་)སྐུ་(བླུ་)བའི་གསེར་ཚོལ་(འཚོལ་)[146] བ་ལ། དབུས་ཀྱི་ན་ཀ་གསེར་ཁ་དང་། ལྟངས་ཡན་ལ་ཕེབས། གསེར་མང་དུ་(ཁུགས་)[147]། ཡར་འཁོར་བསྐྱོད་དེ། མང་ཡུལ་སྐྱིད་གྱོང་དུ་ཇོ་བོ་ལ་མཇལ་ཀྱང་ཐང་དུ་ཕེབས་པས། དེར་ཅེན་(གཅེན་)འོད་ལྡེ་གོངས་པ་གསན་ན(ནས)[148]། ནག་ཚོ་ལོ་ཚྭ་དང་། རྒྱ་བཙོན་སེང་ལ་གསེར་བསྐྱར་ནས(་)[149] ཇོ་བོ་རྗེ་སྐྱབ་འཕེན་དུ་སྟངས་[150](རྫངས་)སོ། །འོད་ལྡེ་འདི་ནི། ཤཱཀྱ་(སྐྱ་)ཐབས་ཁྱབ་འཇུག་མདའ་སྐེན་ཐིང་སྐྱབ་ཆལ། །དཔུང་གིས་ལྷ་མིན་(ཐམ་)བྱེད་རྒྱ་བྱེན་སྟོབས། །དེགས་བཅས་(སེང་གེ་)དཔལ་ལ་ཐག་བཟང་རིས། །དེ་འབྲ་འོད་ལྡེ་གཞན་དག་རྣོག་[151](སྨྲིག་)རྒྱའི་མི།། ॥ ཡང(་)

[145] *Nyima B* 2014: 153 has *lcags ra*.

[146] *Nyima B* 2014: 153 reads *tshal* and corrects this to *'tshal*.

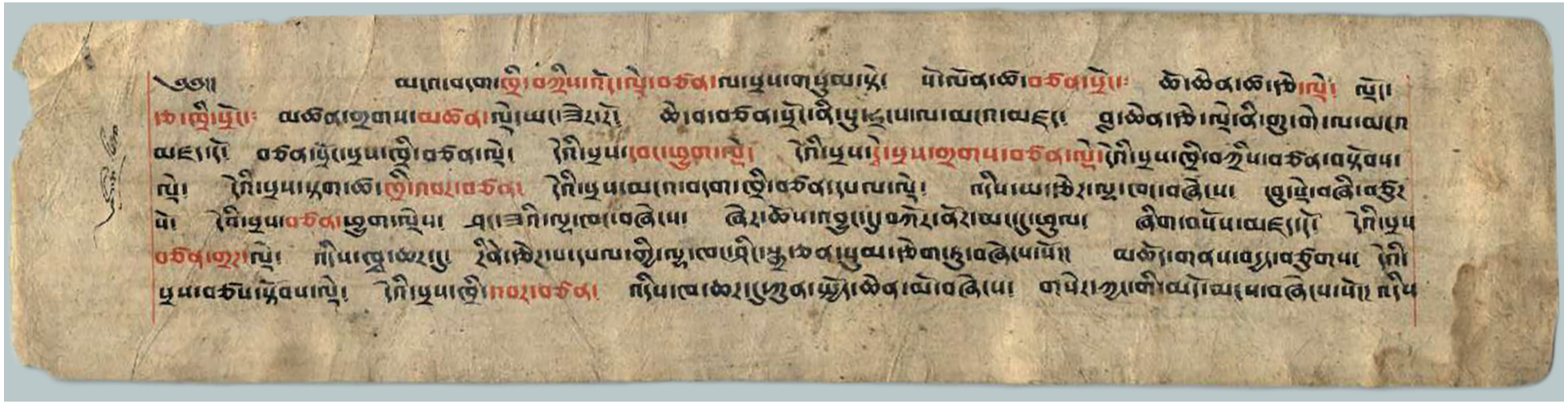
[147] *Nyima B* 2014: 153 has *khug*.

[148] *Nyima B* 2014: 153 reads *na* and corrects this to *nam*.

[149] In the manuscript *nas* is followed by space as usual after *shad*.

[150] *Nyima B* 2014: 153 has (only) *rdzangs*.

[151] *Nyima B* 2014: 153 has (only) *smig*.



27. Folio 136a.

[451/f. 136a, ll. 1–7:] བརྒྱ་སོ་བྱུག

ཞེས། །མངའ་བདག་ལྷོ་ཁ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལོད་ལྡེ་བཙན་ལ་སྐས་གསུམ་སྟེ། སོ་ལོན་ཚ་བཙན་སྡོང་། ཚོ་ཆེན་ཚ་རྩེ་ལྷེ། ལྷོང་རྩ་ཁྲི་སྡོང་། མཚན་གྲགས་མཚན་ལྡེ་ཡང་ཟེར་རོ། །

བྱུག མངའ་བདག་ལོད་ལྡེའི་སྐས་བཙན་སྡོང་དང་དེའི་རྒྱུད་པའི་སྐོར་ཆེ་བ་བཙན་སྡོང་ནི་པུ་ཏྲངས་ལ་མངའ་མཛད། བློ་ཆེན་རྩེ་ལྷེ་ནི་གུ་གེ་ལ་མངའ(་)མཛད་དོ། །བཙན་སྡོང་སྐས་ཁྲི་བཙན་ལྷེ། དེའི་སྐས་དབང་ཕྱུག་ལྷེ། དེའི་སྐས་དེ་[152]སྐས་གྲགས་བཙན་ལྷེ་དེའི་སྐས་ཁྲི་[བཀྲ་ཤིས་]བཙན་བསྟོབས་[153](སྟོབས་)ལྷེ། དེའི་སྐས་སྐྱག་ཚ་ཁྲི་འབར་བཙན། དེའི་སྐས་མངའ་བདག་ཁྲི་བཙན་དཔལ་ལྷེ། འདིས་ཡ་རྩེར་ལྷ་ཁང་བཞེངས། དབུ་སྟེ་བཞི་[བསྒྱགས(་)]སོ། །དེའི་སྐས་བཙན་ཕྱུག་ལྷེས། ཤང་ཟའི་ལྷ་ཁང་བཞེངས། ཞེར་ཆོས་འབྱུང་དུ་བགོར་(དགོར་)ནོར་མང་དུ་ཕུལ། ཞིག་བསོས་(གསོས་)མཛད་དོ། །དེའི་སྐས(་)བཙན་[གྱགས་]ལྷེ། འདིས་ཀྱ་[154]ཚར་དུ། [རིན་ཆེན་]ཁྲག་[ཐུར་]ལ་དཔལ་གྱི་ལྷ་ཁང་ཤེང་སྐུ་ཅན་སྐུམ་རྩེག་[155]ཏུ་བཞེངས་སོ། །མཆོད་གནས་བརྒྱད་བསྒྱགས། དེའི་སྐས་བཙས་(བཙན་)སྟོབས་ལྷེ། དེའི་སྐས་ཁྲི་འབར་བཙན། འདིས་ཁ་[156]ཚར་དུ་ཀུན་སྡུད་ཆེན་མོ་བཞེངས། གསེར་ཀྱང་(གསེར་རྐྱང་)གི་མདོ་མངས་བཞེངས་སོ། །འདིས(་)

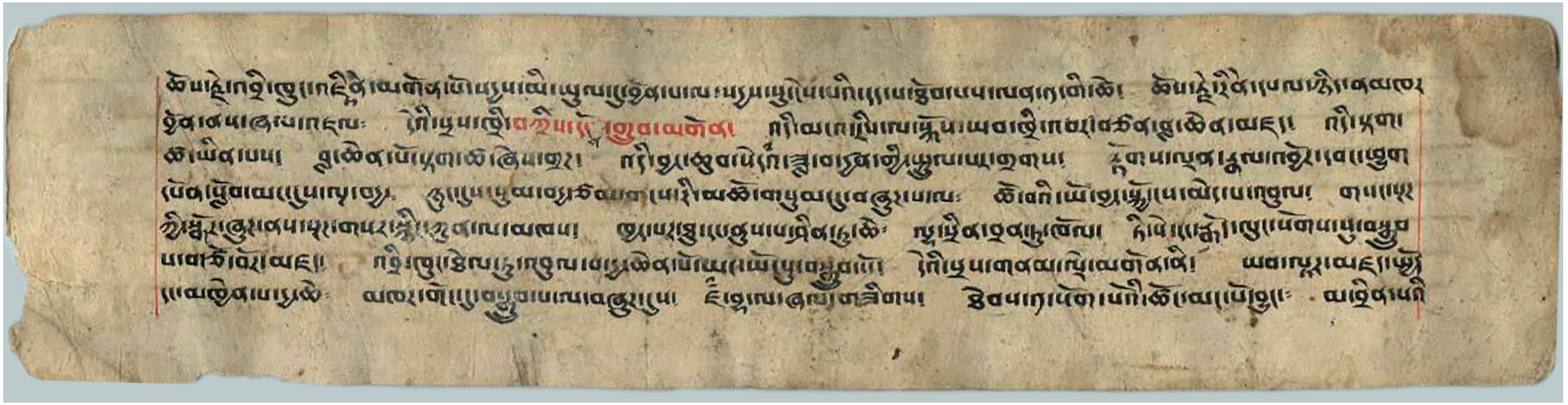
[152] *Nyima B* 2014: 153 has *dē* (that is, *de* with *'a chung* subscript).

[153] *Nyima B* 2014: 153 has (only) *stobs*.

[154] *Nyima B* 2014: 154 has *khā* (that is, *kha* with *'a chung* subscript).

[155] *Nyima B* 2014: 154 has *brtsegs*.

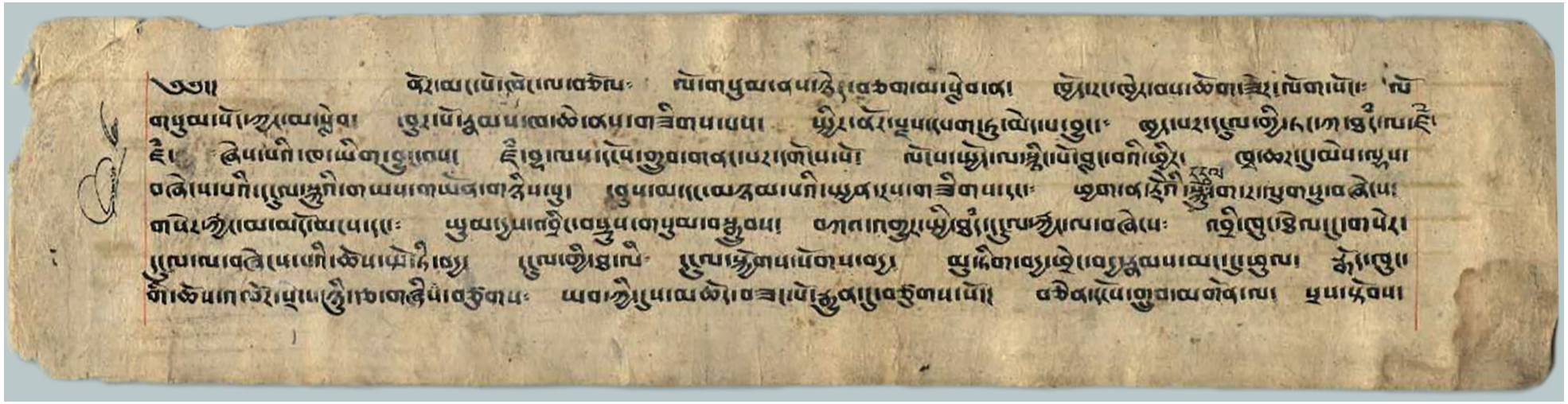
[156] *Nyima B* 2014: 154 has *khā* (that is, *kha* with *'a chung* subscript).



28. Folio 136b.

[missing[157]/f. 136b, ll. 1–7:]

ཚོས་རྗེ་འཕྲི་ལྗང་ཁའི་ཏེ་ཁེན་ཟེ་ཁ་ཐོག་ཡོ་ཁ་ཚང་ཁ་རྒྱས་ཤི་ཡུལ་དུ་བྱོན་པ་ལ་ཁ་ཚང་ཁ་རྒྱས་ཤུ་སུ་བའི་དད་པ་ཐོབ་པས་ལན་ཁ་ཅིག་ཁ་གཏུགས་ཏེ་ཁེན་ཆེན་དཔལ་ལྡན་མཁར་(་)བྱོན་ནས་ཞལ་མཇལ་ཏེ་ཁ་ཅིག་ཁ་ཐོག་ཏུ་ཕེབས་ཀྱང་ཁ་ཅིག་ཁ་ཐོག་ཏུ་ཕེབས་ཁ་གྲགས་།། འདི་ལྟར་ཆུབ་ཁམས་དཔའ་ཁ་བར་ཁུལ་མཚན་ཁ་ཐུལ་པར་གྱུར་ཏེ་ཁེན་ཆེན་མཇད་ཀྱི་ཚེ་ཁ་ཅིག་ཁ་ཐོག་ཏུ་ཕེབས་ཁ་གྲགས་།། འདི་ཡང



29. Folio 137a.

[453/f. 137a, ll. 1–7:] བརྒྱ་སོ་བདུན།[159]

ཞེས། །ཞོན་མང་པོ་ལོང་ལ་བཙོལ། ལོ་གསུམ་ནས་ཉེད་[160]བཅག་ངེད་ཅག་མ་སྐྱེབ་ན། ཕྱེད་རང་ཕྱིར་བས་ཆོག་ཟེར་ལོག་སོང་། ལོ་གསུམ་སོང་ཀྱང་མ་སྐྱེ། ལྷོར་ཆོམས་ལ་ཆེ་ནས་གཟིགས་པས། ཐྱི་ཧོར་སྐམས་[161](ཕྲུས་)དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པ་བྱུང་། ཁྱད་པར་དབུལ་གྱི་ཉང་ཀ་ [ཐམས་ཅད་] ལ་ [ཧ་མ་] [ཧ་མ་][162] ཞེས་པའི་ལ་ཡིག་བྱུང་བས། [ཧ་མ་] ཐུ་ལས་དངོས་གྲུབ་གནང་པར་[163](བར་)དགོངས་སོ། །ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ལ་སྙིང་པོ་ཟྭང་བའི་ཕྱིར། ཁྱ་ཆར་དུ་མེས་ལྷས་བཞེངས་པའི་དབུལ་སྐྱའི་གཡས་གཡོན་གཉིས་སུ། དབུས་མ་དང་མཉམ་པའི་སྐྱན་རས་གཟེགས་དང་། ཕྱག་ན་ [རྡོ་རྗེའི་] སྐུ་དབུལ(་)[164]གི་ར་(གར་) [ལུགས་སུ་] བཞེངས། གསེར་རྒྱང་མ་མདོ་མངས་དང་། ཡུམ་ཆུས་འབྱིང་བསྟུས་གསུམ་བསྐྱེས། བཀའ་འགྱུར་སྐྱི་ [ཐམས་ཅད་] དབུལ་རྒྱང་ལ་བཞེངས། འབྱི་ལྗང་ཟེལ་དུ་གསེར་དབུལ་ལ་བཞེངས་པའི་ཚོས་སྐོ་(ཟེ་)ཀྱི་བཙུ། དབུལ་གྱི་ཐ་ལི། དབུལ་སྐྱོགས་སོགས་བཙུ། སུ་ཀེག་བཙུ་ཟེང་བཙུ་ནམས་མང་དུ་ཕུལ། ཚོད་ལྗང་གི་ཚོས་འཁོར་སྐང་ [ཉེ་ཤུ་] རྩ་བཞིས་བསྒོགས། ཡབ་ཀྱི་དུས་མཚོད་བཟང་པོ་རྒྱུན་དུ་བསྒོགས་སོ། །བཅེན་(ཁེན་)དངོས་གྲུབ་མཁོན་ལ། སྐས་སྐོལས་

[159] The sequence of the pages 452–453 as published in the 2011 facsimile edition (and rendered into *dbu can* script in *Nyima B* 2014) needs to be reversed. The correct order of the text is given here in the correct form (based on the inspection of the complete MS).

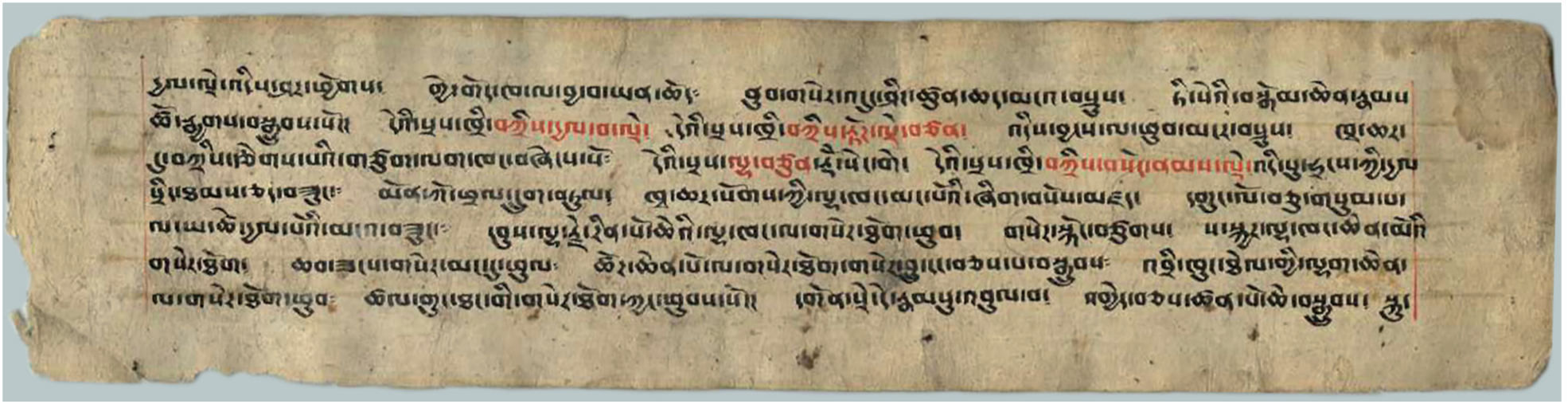
[160] *Nyima B* 2014: 154 has *nyer*.

[161] *Nyima B* 2014: 154 has (only) *rdzas*.

[162] In the manuscript *'dzam* is followed by space as usual after *shad*.

[163] *Nyima B* 2014: 154 has (only) *bar*.

[164] In the manuscript *dngul* is inserted in small *dbu can* script between *sku* and *ga ra* above the line.



30. Folio 137b.

[452/f. 137b, ll. 1–7:]

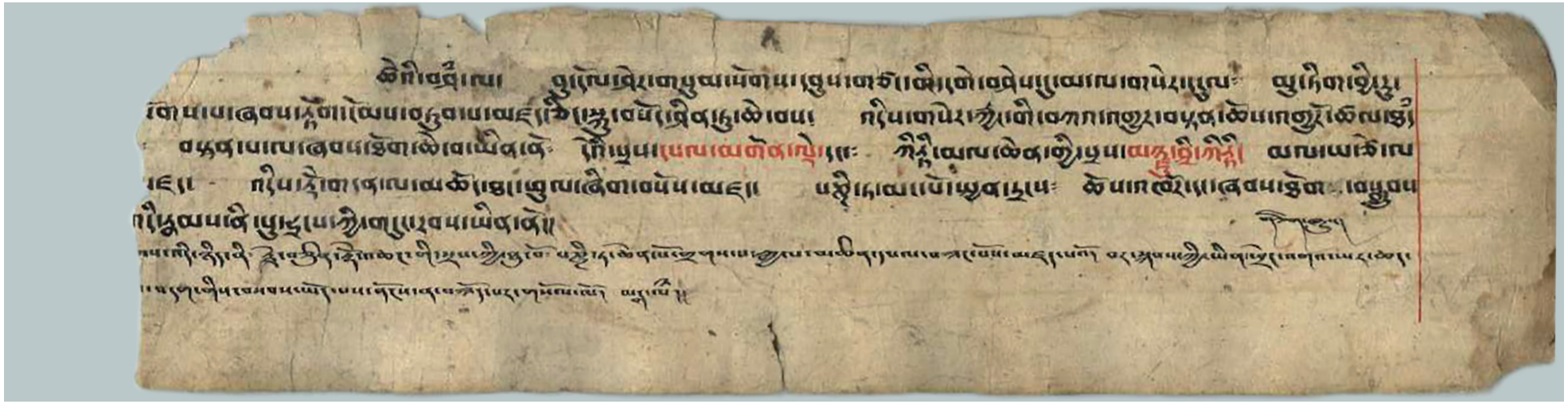
རྒྱལ་ལྟེ་འདིས་ཤར་ཕྱོགས། ཀྱེ་གོད་ཁ་ལ་བྱ་བ་ཡན་ཆོད། ནུབ་གཞེར་འདུད་[165] ཤིང་ཚུན་ཆད་མངའ་བསྟེ། ཏེ་སེའི་བསྐོམ་ཆེན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཆུགས་བསྒྲུབས་སོ། ཇེའི་སྲས་ཁྲི་[བཀྲ་ཤིས་] རྒྱལ་བ་ལྟེ། དེའི་སྲས་ཁྲི་[བཀྲ་ཤིས་] [རྟོགས་]ལྟེ་བ་ཙན། འདིས་བྱངས་(བྱང་)ལ་ཕུབ་མངར་བསྟེས། ཁྲ་[166]ཚར་དུ་[བཀྲ་ཤིས་] རྩེགས་[167]པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ལང་བཞེངས་སོ། ཇེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་བཙུན་[རོ་རྗེ་] སེང་གེ། དེའི་སྲས་ཁྲི་[བཀྲ་ཤིས་] བསོད་ནམས་ལྟེ་འདི་(འདིས་)ཟུ་རྟངས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་(་) སྲིད་ཐམས་ཅད་བཟུང་། མོན་ཀོ་ཁྱལ་དྲུག་བཏུལ། ཁྲ་ཚར་སོགས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་ལང་མང་པོའི་ཞིག་བསོས་(གསོས་)མཛད། དཀྱང་ལོ་བཅུ་གསུམ་པ་ལ་ཡ་ཚེ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མངའ་[168]བཟུང་། དབུས་ལྷ་རྩེ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་ལྷ་ལང་ལ་གསེར་ཐོག་ཕུབ། གསེར་སྐོང་བཙུགས། ས་སྐྱར་ལྷ་ལང་ཆེན་མོའི་(་)གསེར་ཐོག །ཚབ་ཟངས་གསེར་མང་དུ་ཕུལ། ཁོག་[ཆོགས་]ཆེན་པོ་ལ་གསེར་ཐོག་གསེར་བྱ་དང་བཅས་པ་བསྒྲུབས། འབྲི་ཁུང་ཐེལ་གྱི་ལྷག་ཆེན་ལ་གསེར་ཐོག་ཕུབ།(།) ཚལ་གུང་ཐང་གི་གསེར་ཐོག་ཀུང་ཕུབས་སོ(ཕུབ་བོ)། ཁོགོན་སྟེ་དེ་[རྣམས་སུ་]འབུལ་བ། འགྲེད་བཅས་ཚན་པོ་ཆེ་བསྒྲུབས། སྐུ་

[165] *Nyima B* 2014: 154 has *'du*.

[166] *Nyima B* 2014: 154 reads *kha* and corrects this to *khā* (that is, *kha* with *'a chung* subscript).

[167] *Nyima B* 2014: 154 has *brtsegs*.

[168] *Nyima B* 2014: 154 has *mda'*.



31. Folio 138a.

[454/f. 138a, ll. 1–5:][169]

ཚེའི་[བཤམ་]ལ། བྱ་དོལ་ཤེར་གསུམ་སོགས་དབུས་གཙང་གི་དགེ་བཤེས་དྲ་མ་ལ་གསེར་དཏུལ། སྐུ་ཏིག་བྱི་ནུ་[... ...][170]སོགས་[171]ཞབས་རྟོག་[172](ཏོག)ངོམས་བཏུབ་(བཏུབས)ས་མངོད་ཅིང་སྐུ་བསོད་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བས། འདིས་གསེར་རྒྱང་གི་བཀའ་འགྱུར་བསྟན་ཚོས་[173](བཅོས་)[འགྱུར་རོ་]ཚལ་[ཐམས་ཅད་(་)][...][174] བསྟན་པ་ལ་ཞབས་ཐོག་ཆེ་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། །དེའི་སྐས་དཔལ་མགོན་ལྷེ་དང་། ཀིཏྟི་མལ་[175]ཆེན་གྱི་སྐས་མཆུ་ཐྲི་ཀཱཏྟི། མལ་ཡ་ཅོ་ལ་(་)[...][176]མངོད[177]། འདིས་[རྫོ་ཇེ་]གདན་ལ་མཆོད་ཐང་སྒུལ་ཞིག་བསོས་མངོད། བཀྲི་ཀ་མང་པོ་སྦུན་དྲངས། ཚོས་འཁོར་དང་ཞབས་ཐོག་བསྒྲབས(།)[..][178]འདི་ཆམས་ཅི་ཕྱུ་རྟུང་ཀྱི་གདུང་རབས་ཡིན་ནོ། ། [179]གཅིག་ཞུས། [180][...]ས་འདི་ཉིད་ནི་རྗེ་བཙུན་རོ་རྗེ་འཚང་གི་སྐས་ཀྱི་ཕུ་ཐོ་པན་ཆེན་པོ་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོས་མངོད་པའོ།། བར་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཟེར་འགའ་ཡར་ཚད་[181][...]བདག་གིས་བསབས་ཡོད་པས་ནོངས་ན་བཟོད་པར་གསོལ་ལོ།། མཇུ་ལོ།།

[169] Based on the inspection of the photographs of the complete MS it is evident that folio 138 is not fully preserved and that on the left ca. 4–5 cm of the page is missing (which is not clear from the 2011 facsimile edition (nor from *Nyima B* 2014). The reverse side of folio 138 is empty.

[170] At the beginning of line 2 one or two words seem to be missing.

[171] In the photographs of the original MS a fragmentary *sa*, the first letter in *sogs*, is recognisable.

[172] *Nyima B* 2014: 155 has (only) *tog*.

[173] *Nyima B* 2014: 155 has (only) *bcos*.

[174] At the beginning of line 3 one or two words may be missing.

[175] Unclear sign (perhaps subscript *'a chung*?) below *ma*.

[176] At the beginning of line 4 one or two words may be missing.

[177] Left part of the prefix *ma* is missing in the manuscript.

[178] At the beginning of line 5 one or two words may be missing.

[179] The following text, starting more than a half page away at end of line 5, is written in smaller *dbu med* script.

[180] At the beginning of line 6 one or two words may be missing.

[181] At the beginning of line 7 one or two words may be missing.

32. Folio 138b.

བདུན། བཏྲི་ཀ་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་སྐོར།

བཏྲི་ཀ་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ནི་བོད་ངན་བྱང་བདུན་བའི་ཤེང་མོ་ལྷག་གི་ལོ་སྐེ། རྒྱི་ལོ་༡༩༡༤ལོར་མངའ་རིས་གུ་གེ་སྟོང་སྐྱོང་མདའ་བ་ཚེས་རྒྱལ་ས་ཁོངས་ཀྱི་གཏོགས་པའི་སྐུ་ཞྭལ་དུ་སྐུ་འཕྲུངས། གདུང་ནི་ཞང་ཞུང་རྒྱལ་ཁའི་ནང་ནས་སྐྱི་ནོར་ཡིན་ཞིང་ཡབ་མེས་གོང་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ཉི་མའི་གཉེན་གྱི་གདུང་རྒྱུད་ཀྱིས་བསྐུར་ཞིང་། ཡབ་ཀྱི་མཚན་ལ་རིག་འཛིན་རྡོ་རྗེ་དང་ཡུམ་གྱི་མཚན་ལ་སྐྱིད་པ་བརྗོད། ཆུང་དུའི་དུས་ནས་བློ་རིག་རབ་ཏུ་བཀྲ་ཞིང་བཙོན་འཁྲུས་ཀ་ཅང་ཆེ་བས་འཕྲི་གླ་ལ་ཐོགས་པ་མེད་པར་ཚགས། ཆུང་ཟད་ཆེར་ལོངས་སྤྱས་སུ་སྐྱེད་ནད་དྲག་པོས་ཟིན་མོད་ཀྱང་། བྲ་མ་དམ་པ་ཆོས་དཔལ་འཛིན་ལས་ཆེ་བདག་དང་ཏ་མཐིན་གྱི་གདམས་ངག་ཞུས་ཤིང་བསྒོམས་པས་སྐྱང་ནད་ལས་གློལ། དེ་ནས་ཁོང་གིས་དྭགས་པོ་བཀའ་བཀྲུད་ཀྱི་དབང་ཁྲིད་མན་ངག་ལུང་ལ་སོགས་པ་དུ་མ་དང་། ཡབ་ཀྱི་དྲུང་ནས་གུ་རུའི་གཏེར་བཀའ་དང་། ཡབ་མེས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་དུ་མ་གསན། དགུང་ལོ་བཅུ་གཅིག་པར། ཡབ་ཡུམ་གཉིས་ལ་ཆོས་ལ་བྱོན་པའི་ཞུ་བ་ཕུལ་བར་མ་གནང་ཡང་ཆོས་རྗེ་ནམ་མཁའ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་དྲུང་དུ་བྱོན། དྲང་པ་ནམ་མཁའ་རྩེ་མོ་སོགས་དགེ་འདུན་བཅུ་གཅིག་གི་དབུས་སུ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་། དེའི་ཚེ་དྲུང་པ་ནས་མཁའ་རྩེ་མོ་དང་སྤྱལ་སྐུ་ནམ་མཁའ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དྲུང་འདུལ་བ་འོད་ལྡན་དང་། མཛངས་ཀློག་ཀུན་ལས་བཏུས་པ་གསང་འདུས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མདོ་ཀུན་ལས་བཏུས་པ་ཐུན་མོང་ཐེག་པ་ཆུང་ངུ་ནས་ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་བར་ཡུམ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ནས་གསན་ཅིང་བཞུགས། དགུང་ལོ་ཉེར་གཅིག་བའི་དུས་ཀུ་གེའི་རྒྱལ་པོས་དྲུང་ནམ་མཁའ་རྩེ་མོ་ཆོས་རྗེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཞབས་ཏོག་ཏུ་ཞུགས་པས་ཁོང་ཡང་ཁ་ཆེ་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་ཤཱཀྱ་ཤྲཱི་དང་། ཨ་ཙ་ར་ཀུ་ལ་ཤཱཀྱ་ཤྲཱི་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཁ་ཆེ་ཐུབ་བསྟན་ཀུན་ལས་བཏུས་པ་ཐུན་མོང་ཐེག་པ་ཆུང་ངུ་ནས་ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་བར་ཡུམ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ནས་གསན་ཅིང་། དེའི་ཚེ་ཁོང་པ་ནམ་མཁའ་རྩེ་མོ་དང་སྤྱལ་སྐུ་ནམ་མཁའ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཞབས་ཏོག་ཏུ་ཞུགས་པ་ཡིན་ཞིང་། ཁོང་ཉིད་ཀྱང་ཆོས་རྗེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ནས་ཐུན་མོང་ཐེག་པ་ཆུང་ངུ་ནས་ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་བར་ཡུམ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ནས་གསན་ཅིང་། ཆོས་རྗེ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ཁོང་ལ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་མིང་ཡང་ཕུལ་ཞིང་། ཁོང་ཉིད་ཀྱིས

ཡིག ། རྒྱས་བཟས་དུ་མ་ནམས་ལ་ཐན་པ་གཙོ་བོ་མཛད་པ་དང་། སྲེབ་སྦྱོར་གཙོ་བོ་མཛད་པ་གཉིས་ཀ་ཡོད་གསུངས་ཤིང་། བོད་རབ་བྱུང་བརྒྱད་པའི་ས་རྟ་ལོ་སྐྱེ་སྦྱི་ལོ་༡༩༥༤ལོར་དགོངས་པ་ཚོས་དབྱིངས་སུ་ཐིམ། དེའི་ཚེ་དཀྱུང་གྲངས་བརྒྱད་ཅུ་ཀྱ་གསུམ་དུ་བྱོན་ནོ།།

## མཇུག་བསྡུའི་གཏམ།

པཉྩེ་ཀ་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་མཛད་པའི་མངའ་རིས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་འདི་ནི་བོད་བཙན་པོའི་རྒྱུད་པ་དེ་བོད་ལྷོངས་ནུབ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་སྐྱོད་ཕྱོགས་སུ་མེ་བས་གོང་གི་ཞང་ཞུང་ལོ་རྒྱས་ཅུང་རྒྱས་པ་དང་། སྐྱིད་ལྷེ་ཉེ་མ་མགོན་སྐྱོད་ལ་བྱོན་ནས་མངའ་རིས་རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ལྟར་ཆགས་པའི་རྒྱུད་རིམ་ཞིབ་ཅིང་སྦྱར་བགོད་ཡོད་ལ། མངའ་རིས་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་མགོན་གསུམ་གྱིས་སོ་སོའི་མངའ་ཁོངས་ཅི་འདྲ་བྱས་ནས་བདག་དུ་དབང་བ་དང་། ཞ་མེས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རྩ་ཆེའི་རྒྱུ་དངོས་སོ་སོར་བགོ་བཞག་ཅི་འདྲ་བྱུང་མིན། དེ་བཞིན་མངའ་བདག་འཁོར་རེ་དང་། དེའི་བུ་མངའ་བདག་ལྷ་ལྷེ་བཙན་བཅས་ནས་རྒྱུད་པའི་ཐུ་རངས་རྒྱལ་རྒྱུད་དེ་དུས་རབས་བཅོ་ལྔ་པའི་བར་ཁ་གསལ་བགོད་ཡོད། དེ་དག་སྔར་གྱི་མངའ་རིས་ལོ་རྒྱས་དེབ་ཞེས་རྣང་འཁོད་པ་ཤིན་ཏུ་དགོན་པས་དེ་ཚ་འདིར་མངའ་རིས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་ཞིབ་མཇུག་བྱ་རྒྱུར་རིན་ཐང་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བ་ལྟན་ཡོད་ཙང་འདིར་ཁོ་བོས་ཇི་ཇི་བཞིན་མཚམས་སྦྱོར་བྱས་ཡོད། དེས་ན་དེ་ཚ་འདིས་མ་འོངས་པར་སྐྱོད་མངའ་རིས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་གསལ་ཡོ་མེད་པའི་སྐྱོང་ཚ་མང་དག་ལ་ཁ་བསྐོང་ཐུབ་ངེས་ཡིན་པ་བརྗོད་མེད་དང་། དུས་མཚུངས་སུ་དེ་ནི་སྐྱོད་མངའ་རིས་ལོ་རྒྱས་བང་མཛོད་ཀྱི་སྐོ་མོ་འབྱེ་བའི་ལྷེ་མིག་མེད་དུ་མི་རུང་བ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་ཡིན་ནོ།།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Tsering Drongshar and Christian Jahoda

# The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan*: The Tibetan Text

Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's work entitled *lHa bla ma ye shes 'od kyi rnam thar rgyas pa (Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od*) was published as a facsimile edition in 2011 by dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang in no. 43 (Pi) of the series *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs* (see Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011a). This manuscript, like *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes* (see Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011b), was originally written in *dbu med* script. Due to the frequent use of contracted words (*skung yig*), abbreviations (*bsdus yig*) and old (partly also 'unorthodox') spellings, it is not easily readable.

In 2013 an annotated *dbu can* version was published in which most of the contracted expressions (with the exception of numerals) were resolved and corrected. Also modern spellings were suggested. See Do rgya dBang drag rdo rje 2013: 1–55 (henceforth D2013) for the biographical text and *ibid*., pp. 56–130, for annotations and bibliography. This edition, which is certainly very useful, unfortunately has some shortcomings—it comes without the apparatus of a critical edition and most regrettably does not contain any references to the pagination of the facsimile edition—as well as a number of editorial problems (for example, in the resolution of *skung yig*).

The aim of the text published is here to provide an improved edition that overcomes these shortcomings and mistakes, in addition to the collation of original (*dbu med*) *skung yig* and *bsdus yig* expressions and resolved (*dbu can*) spellings. As research on the content of this text is only just about to begin and as new texts and documents that shed additional light on the history of Western Tibet are still turning up (see Pa tshab Pa sangs dbang 'dus 2012a, Pa tshab Pa sangs dbang 'dus 2012b, Khyung bdag 2013, Martin 2019: 218, n. 90), the main goal at this point is to establish a sound textual basis for dealing with various critical questions that need to be investigated.

The work on this edition, which was based first on a typewritten version provided by Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, was actually begun in January 2011, initially mainly with the intention to bring together and eventually publish relevant information on selected research questions. When the facsimile version became available and the existence of another relevant historical text by Grags pa rgyal mtshan was revealed by Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po not only the scope of interest and approach but necessarily also the required input widened considerably. The main editorial work on the Tibetan text leading to its present state and form has been in the hands of Tsering Drongshar since autumn 2012.

**Editorial Note**

The Tibetan text edition is based on the facsimile of the original version (see Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011a: 273–355).

Editorial information, such as references to page/folio numbers of the facsimile publication appear in square brackets. Round brackets indicate the suggested correct spelling or grammatical form. The full (usual) spelling of contracted ligatures and of otherwise shortened forms (including numbers) are given in brackets ⌈ ⌉. The related spelling of the *dbu med* originals of such contracted ligatures—sometimes complex or unusual forms—are given on the same line in the margin columns. 'Tortoise-shell' type brackets 〔 〕 indicate brackets occurring in the Tibetan manuscript. Their function and meaning is not entirely clear. Sections between these brackets seem to represent quotations from other sources.

[273/vol. NYA/f. 1a:] ཀ[1] གཅིག

༄༅། །ལྷ་བྱ་མ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ལོངྟ་ཀྱི་ཁམས་(ཆམ་)། ཐར་རྒྱས་པ་ཁཉེགས་སྟོ(ཁཉེགས་སོ)།།

[274/f. 1b:]

༄༅། །ཨོཾ་སྭ་སྟི། རྒྱ་[2]ཆེན་ཁཾཏམ། གཉིས་ཀྱང་དབྱིངས་ལས་འཕྲུངས། །

ཁཉམས། ཁཾཏམ་རྒྱལ་སྲས་གྲིང་ཁཉིའི་དབུས་ནམཏེས། །

དཔག་ཡས་ཡོན་ཏན་ཁང་རིམ་གྱིས་ཁཉམས། ལ། །

ཁྱབ་བསྡུན་གསེར་གྱི་ལྷུན་པོ་དེ་ལ་འདུག །

ལྷ་ལས་རབ་བྱུང་ལྷ་ཡི་ཐྲ་མ་སྟི། །

མཉྫི་བཙཱེའི་ཁེ་ཤེས་གསལ་བས(བ་)[3]ཉེ་མའི་ཁིགས། །

ཁཕྱི་ལས། ཁོད་ཟེར། ཁབྱམ། ཀྱི་(གྱིས་)མི་འཇེད་(མཇེད་)ཁྱབ། །

དེ་ལྷར་ཁམས། ཐར་(ཆམ་ཐར་) ཁྱོགས། བཅུར་སྒེལ་ལ་སྟོ། །

འདིར་བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་བཙན་པོ། ཀྱི་ལྷེ་(རྐྱེད་ལྷེ་)ཉེ་མ་མགོན་ལ་སྲས་མགོན་གསུམ་ཁབྱངས་པའི་བར་པ་ནི། ཁཀུ་ཤེས་མགོན་ཡིན་ལ། དེ་ལ་སྲས་ཁགྲིས། ཁབྱངས་པ་ནི། གཅེན་ཁཙོར་རེ་ཁངཔ། བཅུང་(གཅུང་)ཁསྲོང་

[1] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 1 has *nye*.

[2] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 1: 1 has *dya* (*skung yig*).

[3] D2013: 1 has *ba* without indicating this as a corrected reading.





[275/f. 2a:] གཉིས།

༄༅། །ཁཅུང་(ཁཉུང་)ཁསྲོང་རེས། གྱུ་གེ་ལ་མངའ་མངྱ་ཁ། སྐར་གཅུང་སྲོང་རེ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བ་ནི། ལྷ་ཐྲ་མ་ཁཡེ་ཤེས་ལོངྟ[5]འདི་ཁིད་དོ། །ཁོད་ཁཨམས་ཀྱི་མཁས་པ་མང་པོས་གཅེན་ཁཙོར་རེ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བ་ནི། ལྷ་ཐྲ་མ་ཁཡེ་ཤེས་ལོངྟ་ཁཡིན་ནོ། །ཁཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ནི། ཁཅུང་ཟད་ཁཤཱཀྱ་པར་ཁ། མ་བཞག་པ་སྟེ། མི་ལྷའི་ཞིག[6]ཆོམ་དང་།[7] སྐོས་ཁཆེན་མོ[8]མངྱ་པའི་ཏྲིལ། དང་རང་གི་ཆོས་ཁརྒས་ཀྱི་[9]མནན་པ་དུ་མ་ལས། ཅུང་(གཅུང་)རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བ་ཁབྱང་ཆུབ་ཁཞེས་དཔའ་ལྷ་མ་(ལྷ་ཐྲ་མ་)ཡེ་ཤེས་ཁངྟ་དང་།། གཅེན་མངའ་བདག་ཁཆེ་པོ་ཁཁོར་རེ་བཙན་དང་། ལྷ་སྲས་དེ་བ་རྣ་ཚ[10](དེ་བ་རྣ་ཌ)། ལྷ་སྲས་ནྷ་གཱ་རྣ་ཚ(ནྷ་གཱ་རྣ་ཌ)[11]། ལྷ་སྲས་ལྷ་ཉེ་གཙན(བཙན)། ལྷ་སྲས་ཙུ་ཀྵ་རྣ་ཚ(ཙུ་ཀྵ་རྣ་ཌ)[12]། ལྷ་སྲས་ཁཀམ་[13]ཟླས་སྐུ་མཆེད། ཁཏུདོན་ཡབ་ངཆེད་(ཡབ་མཆེད་)ཆམས་གདན་ངངོ་མ་(ངངོ་མས་)[14]ནས།

[4] In 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 1 not indicated as *skung yig*. In 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015 only about half of the *skung yig* are indicated as such.

[5] In 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 1 *'od* is missing.

[6] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 2 has "*yig*?" in parentheses after *zhig*.

[7] *shad* (and space) after *dang* is missing in D2013: 1.

[8] D2013: 1 has *chen po*.

[9] D2013: 2 has *kyi* and suggests correcting this into *kyis*.

[10] *'a chung* below *dza* is missing in D2013: 2.

[11] D2013: 2 does not correct the spelling *ra' dza'* (*rā dzā*) into *ra' dza* (*rā dza*) in order to render the Sanskrit *rāja*.

[12] Again D2013: 2 does not correct the spelling *ra' dza'* (*rā dzā*) into *ra' dza* (*rā dza*) in order to render the Sanskrit *rāja*.

[13] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 2 wrongly reads རྐོ་.

[14] Not corrected in D2013: 2.

ཅེས་ཞེས་)[15]དང་། བསྟོད་(སྟོད་)ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་བསས་[16]། ཚད་མ་རྣམས་ལས་ཀྱང་འདི་བཞིན་དུ་འབྱུང་(བྱུང་)བའི་ཕྱིར་རོ། ། དེས་ན་བྱང་ཆུབ་། སེམས་དཔའ་། ཡེ་ཤེས་། འོད་འདི་ནི། བསྟན་པ་ལ་བྱ་བ་ཆེར་མཛད་ཅིང་[17] རྒྱལ་བས་མདོ་རྒྱུད་དུ་མ་ལས་ལུང་བསྟན་པའི། ཐད་ཀ་ཉིད་། ཡིན་ཏེ། དེ་སྐད་དུ་ཡང་། འཇམ་དཔལ་཮་རྒྱུད་ལས།

ལྟ་ལྟན་ཡུལ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཡི། །

[276/f. 2b:]

གང་ཅན་རི་ཡི་ནང་གནས་པ། །
རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྟ་ཡི་བློ་མ་ཞེས། །
ཤཀྱ་ཡིས་[18](ཡི་)ནི་། རིགས་། ལས་འཕྲོངས། །

དེ་ཡང་། སྤྱགས་། ཀྱི་དོན་བསྟུབས་སྟེ(ཏེ)། ། ཚོས་དང་། ལོངས་སྤྱོད་། ལྟན་པར་། འགྱུར། ། དེགས་པ་། ལོངས་སྤྱོད་། ལྟན་ཞེས་པ། ། མི་ཡི་བདག་པོས་དེའང་འགྲུབ། ། ལོ་ནི་བཅུད་བཅུར་(ཅུར་)རྒྱལ་སིད་བྱེད། །

ཅེས་དང་། སྐྱིང་རྡེ་། ཟད་དཀར་། ཆེ་བ་ལས། ཀུན་དགའ་བོ། ང་འདས་པའི་ དུས་ན། མ་འོངས་པ་ན། བྱང་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་བརྒྱད། ཁ་བ་ཅན་ཀྱི་ཡུལ། སྤོས་ཀྱི་ངད་ལྟན་པའི་འགྲམ་དུ། དགེ་སློང་། ཡེ་ཤེས་། འོད་ཞེས་(ཅེས་)[19]བྱ་བ་བྱང་སྟེ། དེ་ནི་མང་དུ་ཐོས་ཤིང་[20] འདུལ་བ་དང་། མདོ་དང་། མ་མོ་འཕྲོ་ན་པ། གཞང་(གཞུང་)[21]འཛིན་། དུ་འདུག་པར་འགྱུར་ཀྱི། ངའི་བསྟན་པ་། རྒྱས་པར་། བྱེད་དོ། ། ཞེས་གསུངས་། ལ། ལོ་ཆེན་ཀྱི་སྒོབ་མ། ཕྱེ་ཞེས། ཚ་རྒྱུ་པ། འཇམ་པ། རྗེ་བཙུན་ས(་)རྒྱ་པ་གོང་མ་རྣམས་ནི། ཚ་རྒྱུད་ལས། ཁ་བ་ཅན་ཀྱི་། ཤྲོངས་སུ་། རྒྱལ་པོ་འོད་ཀྱི་མཐའ་ཅན་། འབྱུང་ངོ་། ཞེས་ལུང་དུ་བྱངས་ཡང་(ཀྱང་)[22]། ཁ་བ་ཅན་དུ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་། རིགས་། ཡེ་ཤེས་། འོད་ཅེས་བྱ་བ་

[277/f. 3a:] ། གསུམ།།

ཨཻ། ། རབ་ཏུ་བྱང་སྟེ། དེས་ངའི་ཚོས་རྣམས་དང་བར་། འགྱུར་རོ། ། ཅེས་ཞེས་)[23]དང་། ཞི་བ་འོད་ཀྱིས།།

སྤོན་ཀྱི་། སྨོན་ལམ་། ཐུགས་། རྗེའི་དབང་གིས་ན(ནི)། ། ལྟ་། རིགས་། བྱང་ཆུབ་། སེམས་། དཔའི་སྤྱལ་བ་[24]སྟེ། ། ས་སྟེངས་(ས་སྟེང་)རྒྱལ་པོའི་རྒྱལ་པོར་སྐྱེ་སྤྱལ་བ། ། འབྱོ་བ་སྐྱོབ་ཕྱིར་ཞིམས་(ཞིམ་)གནས་སྤངས་པ་ཡི། ། ཐྱ་མ་། བྱང་ཆུབ་། སེམས་དཔའ་། ཡེ་ཤེས་། འོད། ། མངའ་རིས་བསྟོད་(སྟོད་)འདི་འདུལ་བའི་དོན་དུ་འབྱུང་། ། 

[15] Not corrected in D2013: 2.

[16] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 49, n. 23, suggests reading the *skung yig* as *rnam dag* or *rnam gzhag* and holds the latter as more likely.

[17] *shad* (and space) after *cing* is missing in D2013: 2.

[18] Not corrected in D2013: 2.

[19] Not corrected in D2013: 2.

[20] *shad* (and space) after *shing* is missing in D2013: 2.

[21] Read *gzhung* for *gzhang* (see D2013: 2)? 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 3 has only *gzhung*.

[22] Not corrected in D2013: 3 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 3.

[23] Not corrected in D2013: 3.

[24] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 3 has *ba*.

།ཞེས་གསུང་(གསུངས་)།པ་ལྷར། བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་བཙན་པོ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ལོད་འདི་ནི། ས་ཡི་སྲོང་བཙན་མེ་མོ་ལྕགས་ལ་འཕྲུངས། ། ཤར་ཕྱོགས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་།བསྟན་པ་དར་།རྒྱས་སུ་འབྱུང་བ་དང་། ཞེས་ཅན་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་།བསྟན་པ་དར་།རྒྱས་སུ་།འབྱུང་བ་དང་། ཐོ་ལེ་ཁྱིའི་།ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་ཤཱཀྱ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་། ། ཞེས་བཀའ་ལུང་ཐོག་ཏུ་ཡང་། ། ཤ་མོ་ལྕགས་ལ་མཐོ་གྲིང་།གནས་སུ་།གཤེགས།། ། ། 

པོད་[མངོན་པར་]དབང་བསྐུར་བར་[35]བྱའོ། ཀྱེ་སྐད་དུ་ཡང་དྷི་ལ་དཀར་ཟླ་བ་ལས།

[279/f. 4a:] བཞི།

ཅཽཏ། [འཇོམ་]གྲིང་ས་སྦང་གྲང་པོ་[ལ་སོགས་]·····(པའི་)···[36]ཁ་ནས་འབབ་པའི་ཚུ་ཙོ་[བཞི་]ཡི་མཚོ །

མ་རྟོས་གཟི་ཆེན་མ་སྦང་བདེ་[གཤེགས་]ཀྱི་(ཀྱིས་)[བཅགས་]ཤིང་བྱོན་པའི་གནས། །

ཏེ་ཞེ་(ཏེ་ཞེ་)གང་སྟན་(གཅན་)ཤེལ་གྱི་མཚོད་རྟེན་དབང་ཕྱུག་ཆེན་པོའི་གཏེ་(ཏེ་)གནས་པ། །

ན་སྟིལ་སྤོས་ངད་ལྡན་པའི་རི་བཙུད་རྩེ་མོ་བཙུ་བར་གྲགས་པ་དང་། །

དེ་ན་ན་ལ་གསེར་གྱི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་[གིས་(ཀྱིས་)སྐོར་]ཚུ་ཙོ་བཙུ་པའི་འགྲམ། །

བསྟོད་(སྟོད་)ཀྱི་མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་ཡངས་རྩེ་ཕུ་རྟངས་[གུ་གེའི་]ཡུལ་གྱི་]དབུས། །

དེ་ལྟའི་[གནས་སུ་]ཡབ་མེས་[བྱང་ཚུབ་]སེམས་དཔའ་]སྐུ་འཕྲུངས་སྟེ(ཏེ)། །

དེའི་སྐུ་ཆེའི་[ཡོན་ཏན་]རྒྱ་མཚོའ་(རྒྱ་མཚོ་)[37]ལྟ་བུ་ལས་ནི་[ཐེགས་]ཡ་ཙམ་བརྗོད་པ།

[བཀུ་ཤེས་]དུང་དཀར་[གཡས་སུ་]འཕྲིལ་བ་ལས། །

[35] D2013: 4 has *bskur par*.

[36] In the facsimile of the original MS a few *tsheg* (not given or mentioned in D2013: 4) can be seen on both sides of *pa'i* (uncertain reading).

[37] Not corrected in D2013: 5.

ཚུ་རྒྱུན་བྱེངས་(དྲངས་)ཏེ་སྐུ་ཡི་[དབང་བསྐུར་]བ། །

བྱ་མ་[བྱང་ཆུབ་]སེམས་དཔའ་]ཡེ་ཤེས་]འོད། །

[ཐུགས་]སྐམ་དཀྱིལ་(དཀྱིལ་)ཆེ་ལྟ་རིགས་[འཕྲལ་གྱི་]རྒྱ། །

སྐྱེ་བས་ཐོབ་པའི་[ཤེས་རབ་]མཆོག་མངའ་བ། །

ཤེས་བྱ་མཐའ་དག་ལ་ནི་རྣོངས་མི་མངའ། །

བཀའ་དང་འགལ་བའི་[སྐུགས་]ལོག་པོན་སྨྲ་དང་། །

སྨྱོར་སྨོལ་[ལ་སོགས་]ཡང་དག་ལུང་གིས་བཀག། །

མངའ་རིས་པོད་[ཁམས་]དཀར་

[280/f. 4b:]

པོར་ཡོངས་བསྐྱར་ནས། །

འགྲོ་བ་དཔག་[ཏུ་མེད་]པ་ཐར་པར་བསྒྲུབ། །

རྒྱལ་སྲིད་[ལོངས་སྤྱོད་]ཚམས་]ཀྱང་[དཀོན་མཆོག་]ལ། །

བསྟབས་ཤིང་འགྲོ་[རྣམས་]སོ་སོའི་བདེ་ལ་བཀོད། །

[དམ་]ཆོས་གསུངས་རབས་(ཁས་བླངས་)སྡུང་བྱང་[བཞི་(ཁ་ཤས)][38]རྣམས་ཀྱང་། །

[ཆུང་ཟད་]ཡན་ཆད་]དོན་ཆེན་གཉེར་བས་[བསགས]། །

མ་འགྱུར་འཆད་ཀྱིས་[39][དམ་]པར་གསར་འགྱུར་ནས། །

[ཐེག་གཞུང་]ཚང་བར་བསྒྲུབས་ནས་ཡོངས་ལ་སྨྲབས(བསྟབས)། །

[38] Not corrected in D2013: 5.

[39] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 6 has wrongly *kyi*.

།ཅེས་(ཞེས་)གསུངས་།པ་ལྟར་འདི་ནི་དགོན་གདུང་གི་མཆེ་[40]ཞུར་[41]བྱན་རྣ་རི་ཀའི་ཁེ་ཏོག་།ལྟར་འཕྲུངས་ཤིང་། [[42]བྱིས་པ་ན། ཁམ་ཉིན་།པ་ཅེ། ཁྲུགས་།སྐམ།། འདི་ཀ་རྟེན་།སྐྱོང་བའི་ཐབས་ལ་མཁས། ཁྲུགས་རྟེ་།ཆེ་བས་།གཞན་།དོན་གྱི་ཐབས་འབའ་ཞིག་དགོངས་པའི་།མངོད་།སྐྱོད། ཁེམས་ཅན་།གྱི་བདེ་སྐྱིད་ཙོ་ནའི་ཐབས་བཅོོན་(བཅོོན་)པ། སྐན་དང་གོ་ཆ་།ལ་སོགས་།པ་འདིར་དཀོན་པ་།རྣམས་།ཐོགས་།གཞན་ནས་།ཚོལ་(འཚོལ་)བ། མངའ་རིས་མཐའ་མི་འགོང་བར་བན་སྐྱ་།ཐམས་ཅད་།གྱི་(ཀྱིས་)[43]བསྡུང་[44]བ། སྐྱེ་བོ་མཐའ་།དག་གི་།འཇིང་སྡང་[45]དང་། ཟོག་ཡིག་ཅིས་གསུམ་སྐོབ་པ། །ལྷགས་།ཀྱི་།བསྟན་བཅོས་།རྣམས་།ལ་རྩལ་སྐྱོངས་(སྐྱོང་)ཟེད། འབངས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་བོས་དགེ་བ་ཇི་ལྟར་སྐྱོད་པའི་ཚུལ་ལྷགས་།ཁྱིམས་སུ་།བྱ་བ་དང་། བཅུ་བཞེས་དུས་།སྐུ་གཟུགས་།(སྐུ་གསུང་ཐུགས་)ཀྱི་

[281/f. 5a:] ལྷ།

ཞི། །བརྟེན་(ཅེན་)བཞེངས་པའི་གཙོ་(བཟོ་)རིགས་།རྣམས་།ཀུང་།ལེགས་པར་།སྐྱངས་ཤིང་ཐུལ་དུ་ཕྱིན་པ་ལ་བསླབས་ཅིང་(ཤིང་)། །དེ་དག་གི་།ཡོན་ཏན་ལྡན་བྱ་བ་ལ། རི་མོ་མཁན་།གཟུགས་།ལེགས་པར་།བྲིས་ཅིང་(ཤིང་)[46]བཟབས་ནུ། གསང་བ་རབ་གནས་རབ་པའི་དུས། ཞག་བཅོ་ལྔ་ལ་སྐང་།གཅིག་།གི་ཐང་དུ་བཅལ་ཀོ(ལོ)། །མ་བཟབས་ན་།ཡོན་ཀྱི་།སུམ་།ཆ་དྲི་སྐེ། །དགོན་མཆོག་

[40] ‘Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 6 has wrongly *mtsho*.

[41] D2013: 5 has an inaccurate reading (*mtshe’ur*).

[42] First instance of a bracket occuring in the Tibetan manuscript.

[43] Not corrected in D2013: 6.

[44] ‘Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 6 has *bsrungs*.

[45] ‘Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 6 has *prang* but also *srang* seems equally possible.

[46] Not corrected in D2013: 6.

ཀྱི་།[47]མངའ་མཛད། ཁྱུགས་།མཁན་(ལྷགས་མཁན་)དང་། ལྷེར་གཟོ་(བཟོ་)མཁན་གྱིས་།གཟུགས་།ཁྱིམ་དང་། དབྱིངས་དང་། ཕྱི་བརྟེ་བཟབས་ནུ་ཁྱིད་སུ་།ཆོས་སུ། བགྱིད་ནུ་ཡོད་ཀྱི་།བཞེ། ཆ་།དགོན་མཆོག་གི་།[48]མངའ་མཛད། བཟབས་ནུ་ཡོན་དམར་སུང་།གཅིག་།གི་ཐང་དུ་།བཅལ་ལོ། །གེས་རབ་སྐུ་ལ་ནུ་བཟའ་གང་།གསོལ་ཀྱི་།སུམ་།འགྱུར་དུ་བགྱིད། རྒྱན་ཅན་དང་། ཕྱག་མངས་ལ་བྱག་འགྱུར་དང་། །བཅུ་གཉིས་།འགྱུར་འབྱུལ། མ་བཟབས་ནུ་།བཞེ། ཆ་།དགོན་མཆོག་གི་།མངའ་།མཛད།། གསུང་རབ་བྱི་བའི་སྐུ་ཞུས་ཤེ་ཡིག་མཁན་དངོས་ཀྱི་(ཀྱིས་)[49]བགྱིད། །ཡིག་གེ་(ཡི་གེ་)།འབྲུ་།ཚུགས་།བཟབ་པར་བྱིས་ཏེ་ཕྱ་བ་།རྣམས་།ནེ་གསར་སྐོབ་ཀྱང་བགྱིད་དུ་སྐང་[50]། འབྱིང་དུ་ཆུང་བ་།རྣམས་།ཀྱིས་སྐེ་ཆེས་ཐུ་།རིམ་།།བཞེན་།དུ་བྱི། སྐུ་ཚོས་དང་སྐྱོ་ཡིག་བགྱིས་ནུ། ཅི་བྱིས་པའི་།།བཞེ་།ཆ་།གཅིག་།རང་།རྒྱས་།དང་།ཐུགས་།།དམ་།དུ་འབྱི་འཚལ། ལྷག་པ་དང་

[282/f. 5b:]

ཚད་པ་མི་།འཚམས་(འཚམ་)།པ་བྱང་ནུ་ཁོ་ནུ་དངོས། སྐེགས་བུ་ལ་སྐོས་འཚལ། ཡོན་དམར་འོད་ཐུབ་མ་ལས། ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་།།ཐ་རོལ་།ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པ་ལ། །བམ་།པོ་།རེ་རེ་།ལ་ཞོ་ཐུབ་དང་།གཉིས་།།གཉིས་སུ་།ཆོས་(བཅོས་)[51]ནས། སྡང་བྱུག་བཅུ(ཅུ)ཚ་ཐུབ་དང་།།གསུམ།། ཇི་ཁྱི་ལྟ་སྐོང་པ་ལ་སྐོང་(སྐང་)བཅོ་ལྔ་དང་ཞོ་ལྟ། ཁྱི་བཅུད་སྐོང་པ་ལ་སྡང་།བཅུ་གཅིག་།དང་ཞོ་།གཉིས།།

[47] D2013: 6 has *dkon cog gi*.

[48] D2013: 6 has *dkon cog gi*.

[49] Not corrected in D2013: 6.

[50] D2013: 6 suggests reading *gnang* instead of *snang*.

[51] Not corrected in D2013: 7.

ཁྲི་པ་ལ་སྡང་བྱག་དང་ཞོ་ཁ་གཉིས། བརྒྱད་སྟོང་པ་ལ་སྡང་ལྷ སྣང་མ་མདོ་སྡེ་ཁ་ཞན་ལ ཁམ་པོ་ཁ་གསུམ་ཁ་ཡན་ཆད་བའི་སྡེ་ཆེ་བ་ལ ཁམ་པོ་རེ་རེ་ལ་ཞོ་ཁྱེད་དང་[52] ཁ་གཉིས་ཁ་གཉིས། དེ་མན་ཆོད་[53]ཁམ་ཞོ་ཐང་བྱ་བཙལ(བསྡུལ)[54]། གསུང་རབ་ཀློག་པའི་ཚེ། རྗེ་ལྷ་བ་ཁཞིན་བྱ་བྱང་ན། ཁེས་རབ་ཀྱི་ཁ་རོལ་བྱ་ཕྱིན་པ། ཚར་ཁ་ཅིག་ལ་སྡང་ཁ་ཅིག་ཉེ་(ཉེ་)ཁྲི་ལྟ་སྟོང་པ་ལ་ཞོ་ཁྱེད་དང་[55]ངོ་ཁྲི་པ་ལ་ཞོ་རེ་འབྲལ། དེ་ལས་ཚར་མང་དུ་ཀློག་ན། ཉེར་(ཉེ་)ཁྲི་པ་ནི་ཁཞི་སྡང་ཁྲི་བཅུད་སྟོང་པ་ལ་ལྟ་སྡང་། ཁྲི་པ་ལ་[56]བཅུ་སྡང་། བརྒྱད་སྟོང་པ་ལ་[57]ཁཅུ་ཁཉིས། ཁངོ་སྡེ་ཁ་གན་[58](ཁཞན་)ནི་ཁམ་པོ་ཉི་ཤུ་ཁ་ལ་ཞོ་ཁཅིག་ཁང་དུ་བཙལ(བསྡུལ)[59]། འདི་ཀློག་པ་དང་དགེ་བའི་ཚ་བ་བརྒྱ་(རྒྱ་)ཆེན་པོ་ཁཀྱིད་ན་ཁབྱམ་ལ་ཞན་ཁཡོཁས་རས་ཡུག་རེ། བཀྱི་ན། ནོངས་པ་ཐུ་མོ་ལུས་སྡོག་ལ་མི་བཀུག(ཁ་ཀུག) །མཁོས་ཆེ་བ་ཆབ་སྲིད་ལ་གནོད་པ་མན་ཆད། བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་དང་འགལ་བ་ཆ་ཐུབ་པ། ཁཉིཁས་ཀ་སུ་འཕེབས་(ཕབ་)པར་མཛད་ཅིང་། ཆབ་སྲིད་ཅི་དང་ཀྱི་ཐབས་ལ་ཁཚོན་པར་ཀ་ཁམཛ་དོ་)[61]།

སྡོད་ཀྱི་ཁལུགས་ཀ་ཞེས་མཛད་པ་ཡི། །
ཆ་ཙམ་རེག་པའི་ས་སྐྱོང་གང་། །
སེང་གེའི་ཤལ་སྐབས་ཁདྲིག་གི་གཤེས(འཤེས)[62]། །
གཞོན་ནུས་བཀྱི་བར་མ་ལགས་སོ། །

གཞེས་པ་ནི།

[283/f. 6a:] བྱག

ཅཅ། ཁཞན་ཡང་སྐུ་ནར་སོན་པ་དང་། དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་བསྡུན་མོ་གཞེས་ལབ་ཏུ་བཞེས་པ་ལས། སེང་དཀར་མ་ལ་སྲས་ལྷམ(འལྷམས་)པ་ནི། ཁྲི་ལྷེ་མགོན་བཙན་དང་། ལྷ་འཚེར་བཙན་དེ། རབ་ཏུ་བྱོན་[63]ནས་དེ་ཤ་ནུ་ཇོ་[64](དེ་བ་ནུ་ཇོ)དང་། ནུ་ཁ་ནུ་ཇའོ་[65](ནུ་ཁ་ནུ་ཇའོ)[66]། །ཡབ་སྲས་འདི་ཁསུམ་ནི་རིམ་པ་ལྷུན། ཁཤཁས་ཀ་པ་ཁཤཇ་དཔལ་ཁ་དང་། ཁེ་མ་ལྷུང་སྣང་བྱེད། ཟླ་བ་ལྷུང་

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[52] In 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 7 *dang* is missing (not indicated as *skung yig*).

[53] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 7 has *chad*.

[54] D2013: 7 suggests reading *bcal* (and not *bstsal*) for *btsal*.

[55] D2013: 7 has an inaccurate reading (*phyed do*).

[56] After *khri pa la* 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 7 adds *ni* (which is not in the original MS).

[57] After *brgyad stong pa la* 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 7 adds *ni* (which is not in the original MS).

[58] It is not entirely clear whether *gan* should be read as a contracted or hidden word (*skung yig*) in this case as suggested by D2013: 7 (hence *gzhan*) or not.

[59] D2013: 7 suggests reading *bcal* (and not *bstsal*) for *btsal*.

[60] D2013: 7 suggests reading *chung du*.

[61] It is not clearly visible (as in all other instances where this occurs in the manuscript) whether the thin vertical line is meant to represent a bracket or not.

[62] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 8 reads the *skung yig* as *dbyig gi bshes*.

[63] D2013: 8 suggests reading *byung* for *byon*.

[64] Not corrected in D2013: 8.

[65] Not corrected in D2013: 8.

[66] D2013: 8 does not correct the spelling *ra' dza'* (*rā dzā*) into *ra' dza* (*rā dza*) in order to render the Sanskrit *rāja*.

གསལ་བྱེད་གསུམ་གྱི་སྣུལ་པ་[67]།ཡིན་པར་།།གྲགས་སོ།། །།[68]

[284/f. 6b:]

བསྒྲུན་མོ་།གཅིག་།ཤོས་ལ་སྐས་མོ་།གཅིག་།ལྟམ་(བལྟམས་)།པའི་མཚན་ལྟའི་།ཆེ་ཀྱོག་།ཅེས་བྱའོ།། །

།དབུགས་།ཀྱི་དུག་ཅན་བརླ་།ཐག་གི(ཀྱི་ས)།། །
།མཐྱུད་(འཐྱུད་)པར་།རྒྱུར་ཀྱང་།ཙན་དན་།ནི། །
རང་གི་།རང་བཞིན་།འདུད་རྩིའི་།ཚ། །
དྲི་ཞིམ་གསིལ་(བསིལ་)ངད་འདོར་བ་མིན། །

དེ་ལྟར་།སེམས་དཔའ་།ཆེན་པོ་།འདི་ནི་།འཇིག་རྟེན་།གྱི་མཐུན་འདུག་ལ་དགོངས་ནས། བསྒྲུན་མོ་ཁས་ཀུ་བཞེས་ཀྱང་། ཐུགས་སངས་རྒྱས་།ཀྱི་།ཡི་ཤེས་(ཡེ་ཤེས་)[69]།ཉིད་ལ་གཞོལ་བས་ཐན་བདེའི་ཚ་ལག་དུ་(ཀུ་)[70]མངོད་པ་ཁོ་ན་ལ་དགོངས་པ་ནི་བདག་ཐོབ་ཉིད་དུ་ཤུར་ཏོ། །

[སྐྱིར་ཡང་།ཆོས་ཀྱི་།རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལྷོ་སོང་ལྷེ་སྲུང་(་)[71]གཙན་(བཙན་)[72]འདི་ནི། དར་མའི་དུག་ཅན་ནས་བཟུང་སྟེ་རྒྱལ་རབས་ལྔའི་རིང་དང་། ལོ་བརྒྱ་།བཞི་།བཅུ་ཙ་།དུག་གི་།བར་དུ། བསྟན་པ་སྤྱི་ཡི་ཤེང་(སྟེང་)[73](ཞུགས)། །ཁྱད་པར་།མངའ་རིས་ཀྱི་སའི་ཚར་གཅུག་ལགས་ནི་བོན། ཤིང་ནི་ནགས་པོ་ཐ་།གཅིག་།བོན་ཤིང་ཁྲའོ། །གསོན་པོ་ལོག་ཆོས་སྐྱོང་ལ། ཤེན་པོ་(གཤེན་པོ་)ལ་སྟེག་རྩོང་སྟེབས(འདེབས)། །དམ་པའི་།ཆོས་ཀྱི་(ཀྱིས་)།མ་ཁྱབ་།ཅིང་།[74] ཚ་།བཞག་པའི་།དུས་སུ་།། གཉ་ཁྲི་(གཉའ་ཁྲི་)བཙན་པོ་ནས་།བཙམས་སྟེ(བརྩམས་ཏེ)།། གདུང་རབས་།བཞི་།བཅུ་རྩ་།བདུན་ནས་།འདི་འཕྲུངས་པ་ཡིན་དེ(ཏེ)།

ལྟ་སྨས་

[285/f. 7a:] བདུན།

ཞེཐ། །ཆོས་སྐྱོང་མ་འཕྲུངས་།ཡན་ཆད་།ཀྱི། (།)
མཐའ་ཁོབ་(འཁོབ་)ཀླ་ཀློའི་བོད་།རིགས་།དག་གི་།ཚུལ། །
བྱན་རྩོངས་སྟེང་རྩེ་ཆེད་ལ་མཆེ་(འཆེ་)བྱེད་པའི། །
ཡི་།དགས་(དྲགས་)།གདོན་ངན་ཐལ་བ་ལྟར་མཆོད་ཅིང་། །

[67] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 105 has *ba*.

[68] Part of the text here in tortoise-shell brackets [ ] shows considerable parallels to *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* 1996: 51 (differences are given in Roman type): "lha'i sprul pa srong nges *btsun mo seng dkar ma khab tu bzhes pa*'i sras/ de ba ra dza dang/ na ga ra dza gnyis te/ mtshan *khri sde mgon btsan dang/ lha 'khor btsan* yang zer/ *yab sras 'di'i gsum rim pa* bzhin/ byang chub sems pa *nyi ma ltar snang byed* dang *zla ba ltar gsal byed kyi sprul* par *grags so/*". As stated by Vitali (1996: 137), it becomes "evident that Ngag.dbang grags.pa had at his disposal ancient original documents [...] from which he extracted material for his *mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs*. [...] Ngag.dbang grags.pa evidently had access to sources in West Tibet which were not available elsewhere. [...] One passage in particular *(mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* p.63 lines 16-17) proves that ancient documents had been consulted by Ngag.dbang grags.pa, and thus must have been extant in 15th century sTod. It records Byang.chub.'od's provision of maintenance to the temples founded during his time. Ngag.dbang grags.pa invites the reader to consult the scrolls, one for each temple, which were issued for the purpose of fixing the terms of those grants." The obvious parallels between the texts in this passage suggest that both works drew from the same sources or the later from the earlier one.

[69] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 105 has the *skung yig* wrongly with double *'greng bu*.

[70] Not corrected in D2013: 8. 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 105 has only *tu*.

[71] In the manuscript *srong* is inserted in a slightly smaller size under the line (between *lde* and *gtsan*), perhaps because it was first forgotten and added later.

[72] Not corrected in D2013: 8.

[73] It is not entirely clear whether *steng* should be read for *lteng* (as also suggested by D2013: 9) or not.

[74] *shad* (and space) after *cing* is missing in D2013: 9.

བསྡུན་(རྫུན་)སུ[75]སྐྱུ་མའི་གཙུག་ལག་བོན་ཚོས་སྒོར། །
གཤེན་པོའི་ཁྲེས་སུ། ས་འོག་དུར་ཁྲང་དུ། །
གསོན་སྐས་ཅེད་པས་གཤེན་ལ་སྟིག་རྫོངས་འདེ་བས། །
ལྟ་ཁོག་གཡང་། སའི་(ས་)སྐུར་ལྟང་ཁོན་མོངས། རྐྱོས། །)
སྟིག་ཅན་ཁམས་(ཤམ་)ངར་[76]འཁྲམ་(འཁྲམས་)[77]པའི་ཁྲོད་ཚོགས་སུ། །
ཁྱགས། རྩེ་སྐོན་ལམ། དབང་གིས་གང་འཁྲངས་པའི། །
ཁོས་རྒྱལ། ཐྲ་མ་ཁམ། པའི་དགོངས་སྐབས་(བྱབས་)ཀྱིས། །
དགའ་བ་དུ་མ་ཁངས། གྲིང་མཐའ་ཁབ་སུ། །
འབད་པས་བརྒལ་(བཙལ་)ཏེ་སྟེང་(རྩེད་)[78]པའི་ཁེན་ཆེན། གཏེར། །
ཁཀུན་མཁྱེན། རྐྱོན་བྱལ་ཁོན་ཏན། ཡོངས་ཁྲོགས་(རྫོགས་)[79]པ། །
འགྲོ་བ་སྐྱོབ་པ་ལྟར་མཆོད་དེ་ཡི་བཀའ། །
ཡང་དག་བདེན་པའི་ཁམ། སྟོན་སྐྱོན་མ་[80]ཡི(ཡིས)། །
ཁམ། གོལ་ལས་བཟློག་མ་རིག་སྐན་པ་བསལ། །
བོད་ཁམས། ནག་པོ་དཀར་པོར་ཡོངས་སྐུར་(བསྐུར་)[81]ཏེ། །
ལྟ་ཆོས་ཁདུད་རྩིའི། ཁང་བཞིན།

[286/f. 7b:]

ཁཆི་མཁྲ་ནས། །
མིའི་ལུས་ལ་ལྟའི་ལྟར་བསྐྱབ་(བསྐྱབས་)[82]པ། །
ཡ་[83]ཁཚན། ངོ་མཚར་ཞེ་མ་ཏོ་སྐད་(ཟད་)རེ་ཅེ། །
ལྟའི་ཁྱིན་རྟབས། ལྟ་རྩེར་གང་འཁྱེངས་པ། །
ལྟའི་རྩེས་འབྲང་(འབྲངས་)ལྟའི་ཚོས་སྐྱོད་ཅིང། །
ལྟའི་མཆོག་ཐུར་ལྟའི་ཁབས་བསྐུར། སྟེ(ཏེ)། །
ལྟའི་ཚོས་ཁལུགས། ཁམ། པ་དར་ཁཤྲད་བར། །
ཁམ་པར། དག་པའི་ལྟའི་ལུང་བསྟན་ཅིང། །
ཏྲི་མ་མེད་པའི་ལྟའི་བསྟན་པ་སྐྱོང། །
ལྟ་ལ་འཁྱེངས་པར་ཐུར་པ་ལྟའི་སྐས། །
ལྟའི་ལྟར་ཐུར་ཐྲབ་པའི་ཁབས། ཀྱི་སྐས། །
དེ་ཕྱིར་ཁོས་སྐྱོང། ཁཐུལ་པོ། ཁང་ཉིད། དང་། །
ལྟའི་ཁསྐས་སུ། ཁཚན། གསོལ་དོན་དང་འཕྲན(མཐུན)། །

ཞེས་ཁབྱང་ཆུབ། འོད་ཀྱི་(ཀྱིས་)གསུངས་པ་ལྟར། ཁཆོས་སྐྱོང་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཁཆེན་པོ། འདིས། ཆོས་མ་ཡིན་པ་སྐྱོད་པའི་ལོག་རྟོག་ཁཕམས་ཅད། ཞི་ཁདག་གི། སྐོ་ནས་ཚར་ཁསྐྱོང་(གཅོད་)པར། མཇད་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། དེའང་དང་པོ་ཞང་ཞུང་གི་ཡུལ་འདི་བོན་ཀྱི་(ཀྱིས་)བདག་ཉས་ནས་དུར་ཤེད་ཁལ་སོགས། པ་སྐྱོད་ཆུལ་ཁསྐ་

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[75] Also *bsdun slu* is a possible (however likewise not fully certain) reading. Unfortunately, due to a black spot, the facsimile is not clearly readable. D2013: 9 suggests reading *brdzun slu*.

[76] D2013: 9 suggests reading *nyam ngan* for *nyams ngar*.

[77] Not indicated as corrected reading in D2013: 9 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 106.

[78] Not indicated as corrected reading in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 106.

[79] Not indicated as corrected reading in D2013: 9 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 106.

[80] D2013: 9 suggests reading *sgron me* for *sgron ma*.

[81] Not corrected in D2013: 9.

[82] Not corrected in D2013: 10.

[83] In 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 106 a *tsheg* is missing after *ya* (no *skung yig*).

ཚོགས།པ་དང་། ཞཇྲིའི་བན་རྡེ་[84]བསྟོ་[85]བརྒྱད་ཅས་བྱ་བ། ཁཐམས་ཅད།སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་དེ། ཅི་ཡང་མ་གྲུབ་པས་

[287/f. 8a:] བརྒྱད།

ཞི། ར་རོགས་པའི་ཁོག་པར་ལག་པ་སྟངས་(བརྫངས་)[86]པ་དང་། ཚད་བྱ་ནག་པའི་ཁོག་དུ་(ཀུ་)[87]ལག་པ་སྟངས་(བརྫངས་)[88]པ་ལ།ཁྱད་པར་།མེད།ཅེས་སོགས་།ཟེར་ཞིང་།[89] སྟོང་སྟེལ།ཚོས་སུ་།སྣ་བ་དང་། སྟེག་པ་ལ་ཚོས་ལྟར་སྟོད་པ་དུ་མ་བྱང་པ་དེ་དག་སྐག་[90](བཀག་)[91]པར་མཛད་པ་ཡིན་)དེ(ཀེ)། རྗེ་སྐད་དུ་ཡང་། ཨེ་ཤེས་།རྒྱས་པའི་མདོའ་དང་། དགེ་སྟིག་སྐྱན་(བསྐྱན་)པའི་མདོའ།གཱ་ལས། ཚེ་འདི་ལ་བོན་བྱེད་ཅིང་། འཇེ་ཁོང་མི་ཤེས་ཏེ་(རྒྱུ་)ངོ་(རྟེ་)ཤེས་(ཤེས་)ཀྱི་(ཀྱིས་)[93]བརྟན་དོགས་བསྐྱར་བ་དང་། ཁམས་།བདེ་མི་བདེ་ཤྱ་ཞིང་།[94] གྲེན་པ་བསྟུས་དེ་(ཀེ་)ཆོར་ལེན་པ་དེ་ནི། ཤུགས་ཀྱི་དྲྭ་བར་བཅུག་པའི་དཔྱལ་བ་ཁེན་།ཤེས་།ཤུ་ལེ། །ཞེས་གསུངས་།སོ། །ངོན་ཀྱི་དབང་འདི་དག་ཁགེགས་།

[288/f. 8b:]

ནས་ཁྱིང་རྡེ་།ཆེན་པོའི་།ཤུགས་།ཀྱི་(ཀྱིས་)[95]བརྟན་དེ(ཀེ)། ཁཏམ་།བུས་ལས(་)[96]ངན་པ་ལ་(ལས་)བཟློག་པ་དང་། སྐལ་བ་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཁམས་།རབ་ཏུ་བྱང་བ་ལ་ཅི་ཁེགས་སུ་།སྟོ རྒྱ་[97]བ་མཛད་ཅིང་། ཤེན་དུ་(ཀུ་)[98]མི་ཟད་(བཟད་)པའི་གདུག་པ་ཅན། ལོག་པར་སྟོད་པ་ཁམས་།ནི་དག་པོས་ཚར་།སྟོད་(གཅོད་)པར་།མཛད་པ་ཡིན་དེ(ཀེ)། བོན་པོ་ཁཐམས་ཅད་།བསྟས་ནས་ཁ་ཅིག་།ཀུ་བཅུག་དེ་(སྐེ་)རྐོ་ལ་ཁགེགས་སུ་གསོལ་ལོ[99]། །བོན་དང་[100]འགའ་ཞིག་ཆབ་ལ་སྟངས། འགའ་ཞིག་ཞུགས་ལ་[101]གསོལ། འགའ་ཞིག་སར་བཞུག་[102] (བཞུགས་)པར་གསོལ་ལོ། །འགའ་ཞིག་དྲི་གཞོན་(བཞོན་)[103]ལ་སྟུན་དང་བར་བྱའོ། ।

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[84] Various spellings are found in Tibetan historiographical texts. *Deb ther sngon po* ["Blue Annals"], for example, has *ar tsho ban de* (Roerich 1988: 696f.). D2013: 10 has *ar rdzo'i ban dhe*. The foundation for this reading (duplication of *ra*) is unclear.

[85] D2013: 10 has *bco* (without indicating this as a corrected reading).

[86] D2013: 10 suggests reading *rdzangs*.

[87] Not corrected in D2013: 10 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 107.

[88] D2013: 10 suggests reading *rdzangs*.

[89] *shad* (and space) after *zhing* is missing in D2013: 10.

[90] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 107 has *sgyeg* and suggests reading *khegs* for this.

[91] D2013: 10 has an inaccurate reading (*sgeg*) and suggests reading *dgag* for this.

[92] Not indicated as corrected reading in D2013: 10 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 107.

[93] *shad* (and space) after *cing* is missing in D2013: 11.

[94] *shad* (and space) after *zhing* is missing in D2013: 11.

[95] Not indicated as corrected reading in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 107.

[96] In the manuscript *las* (without *tsheg*) is inserted in a slightly smaller size above the line. Its place between *bus* and *ngan* is also indicated by three dots.

[97] In the facsimile a vertical line/bracket seems to go through *sbyor*. This indicates perhaps the beginning of a marked passage the end of which is clearly visible in the bracket in line 4 (after *bya'o*).

[98] Not corrected in D2013: 11 and in Khyung bdag 2015: 108.

[99] *lo* is missing in D2013: 11, obviously due to a different reading of the complex *skung yig*.

[100] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 108 *rnams* is missing!

[101] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 108 wrongly has *bzhug par*.

[102] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 108 wrongly has *gzhug*.

[103] Not indicated as corrected reading in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 108.

ཕྱོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རབ་ཤའི་།ཁོད་ཟེར་།དང་། །
ཕྱི་རོལ་ཤིང་ལས་བྱང་བ་བསྡེགས(་)ཟའི་མེས། །
བོད་ཡུལ་རྩོངས་པའི་མུན་ནག་སྐྱག་པོ་དང་། །
བོན་།སོགས་།ལོག་ལྟའི་ཚང་ཆོང་མཐའ་དག་བསྡེགས(བསྡེགས)[104] །

[105]གཤེན་པོའི་དོན་དུ་ནོར་དུར་དུ་སྦིད་པའི་ལུགས་ཡོད་པ་བཀག་ནས། དགེ་བ་
བྱེད་དུ་བཅུག །བོན་ཉི་ཚེ་ཙམ་།གཅིག་།(ཞིག་)།མངོད་།དུ་བཙལ་(བསྡལ་)
བ་ལ། བོན་པོས་ཀྱང་། སྟོན་ཀྱི་བོན་གཞུང་སྤྱིང་(རྩིང་)པ་བཞག་པ་དེ་ཉིད་ལས།
བསར་(གསར་)།ཆོས་སུ་།ཆོས་བོན་བསྡེས་པ་ལྟར་མི་བགྱིད། བགྱིས་

[289/f. 9a:] དགུའ(དགུ)།

ཁ།། །ན་བོན་ཡིག་།བསྡེགས་།[106]པའི་འོག་།ཏུ་འཆད་པ་(ཆད་པ་)རྣ་རེ་
སྐྱད(གཅོད)[107]། དོན་[108]བདག་ལ་[109]སྐང་།གཉེས་།ཀྱི་སྐྱད(གཅོད)། ལྷམ་པོ་
ལ་སྐང་།གཅིག་།སྐྱད(གཅོད)།[110] མངའ་།རིས་སུ་།བོན་ཤེད་།ནག་པོ་[111]།ཆོས་
སུ་།བགྱིད་ན་མི་གནང་། བགྱིས་པ་བྱང་ན་བོན་པོ་དུ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་སྐང་
།ཕྱེད་ཕྱེད་།། དོན་བདག་ལ་སྐང་གཉེས་ཀྱི་སྐྱད(གཅོད)། །ལྷམ་།པོ་ལ་
སྐང་།གཅིག་།རྩལ(སྟོལ)། བོན་པོ་དངོས་།གྲུམ་།པ་ལ་ནི་ཤེད་ནག་།ཆོས་
སུ་།བགྱིད་དུ་མི་གནང་། བསོན་(གསོན་)བོན་ཀྱི་།ཕྱུགས་།བསོད་(གསོད་)
པ་སྐྱང་། བསད་ན་ཉ་ཚས་བཞི(གཞུ)། །རྫོགས་།ཆེན་ཨ་ཀྱེའི་ཆོས་དགག་
ཀེ(བཀག་སྟེ)[112]། སྐོབ་མ་བསྟུད་ཅིང་(བསྟུས་ཤིང་)བསོན་(གསོན་)གཤེན་ཀྱི་ཆོ་
ག་བགྱིད་དུ་ཡང་མི་གནང་། བགྱིད་པ་བྱང་ན། །དཔོན་སློབ་།།གཉེས་།།ལ་
རྣ་།གཅིག་། །ཡོན་བདག་ལ་སྐང་རེ་བཅད(གཅོད)། ।ལྷམ་།པོ་བ་ལ་[113]སྐང་
།གཅིག་།བརྩལ(སྟོལ)[114]། མངའ་རིས་ན་ལྕང་དང་མན་།ངག་[115]གསོལ་།བའི་
ཕྱིན་ཅི་ལོག་སྐྱོད་ཅིང་།[116] སྐོབ་མ་བསྟུད་(བསྟུས)པ་།རྣམས་།དགག །བགྱིད་
པ་བྱང་ན།[117] ।སྐོབ་དཔོན་།ལ་རྣ་།གཅིག་ ।སྐོབ་མ་ལ་སྐང་རེ། ।ལྷམ་།པོ་
བ་ལ་སྐང་།གཅིག་།।རྩལ་ལོ(སྟོལ་ལོ)།। །དེ་ཡང་།། )

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[104] Not corrected in D2013: 11 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 108.

[105] From *gshin po'i don* ... to .. *gcig rtsal lo* [*bstsal to*] (f. 8b6–f. 9a6) the text corresponds to one of the so-called fragments or fragmentary copies of edicts (*bka' gtsigs*) of Ye shes 'od, in this case *bka' gtsigs* or Fragment Cha (see Ra se dKon mchog rgya mtsho 2004: 125; van der Kuijp 2015: 345f.). See also Karmay 2013, 2014 and 2015 for discussions of these fragments. Karmay pointed to the fact that at least in the case of two of these fragments they are rendered in the *rnam thar* as quotations from other sources, a "sky-blue scroll" (*dril sngon nam mkha'*) (Fragment Kha, f. 31a3–f. 35b2) and "a scroll on the activities of the three—the father [Ye shes 'od] and the two sons [De ba rā dza/Devarāja; Nā ga rā dza/Nāgarāja]" (Fragment Ka, part 1 according to Karmay 2015: 479–480, f. 24b7–f. 26b5; see also Dalton 2015: 102). Together with the fact that references to additional scrolls are found in the *rnam thar* (including a quotation from a "moon-white scroll" [*dril dkar zla ba*] (f. 3b7) this can be taken as evidence that these fragments existed *somehow* independent of the *rnam thar* (unless we mistrust the text)—in which way remains to be established—and perhaps even as an indication, as argued by Karmay (2013: 236), that also the other fragments were incorporated into the *rnam thar* from one or the other of these scrolls.

[106] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 108 has only *bsreg*.

[107] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 108 suggests reading *bcad* instead of *spyad*.

[108] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 108 wrongly has *yon*.

[109] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 108 wrongly has *yon bdab la ni la* (adding *ni* and *la*).

[110] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 108 has "*bstsal* (?)" for *spyad*.

[111] *po* is missing in D2013: 12 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 108.

[112] Not corrected in D2013: 12.

[113] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 108 has *bal*, in parentheses "*ba la*[?)".

[114] Not corrected in D2013: 12.

[115] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 109 adds *tu* after *ngag* (*skung yig ngag gsol* not indicated).

[116] *shad* (and space) after *cing* is missing in D2013: 12.

[117] *shad* (and space) after *byung na* is missing in D2013: 12.

ཨེ་ཀོག་ཅདབ་ལྡན་ཀེ་ཀ་ནི་སོ་ཅན་ཐལ་བས[118]ཟས་སུ་བྱས། །

བསྒྲེས་ [119](བསྒྲེད་པ)ཞེད་ཡིན་སྤོས་ཀྱིས་སྤང་པོས་རྩོས་ཏེ་[120]དྲི་བཟངས་(བཟང་)[121]འགྱུར། །

དང་སྲོང་ཆེན་པོའི་ཚུལ་

[290/f. 9b:]

ལས་དེས་ཤེས་ཆེར་ཐོབ་རིང་ལུགས་ཅི་ནི། །

ཁྱོད་ནི་ལོག་པར་འཆུ་བའི་དབྱ་སྟེ་སྐལ་བཟང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་གཞིག། །

ཁྱི་ལྟེ་སྲོང་གཙུག་བཙན་འདིས། ཕུ་ཆངས་སུ་ལོ་ཆཅུ་གཅིག་པ་མེ་མོ་ཁཤ་གི་ལོ་ལ། མངའ་རིས་སྐྱོང་བའི་མོལ་དུ་འགྲོས་(ཁྲོས)ཆད་དེ་ནས་སྐུ་རུའི་ཁར་ལྟག་དུ་(ཀུ་)[122]གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས། ཁཡུང་རྒྱང་ཁྲ་འབྲུག་ལྟར་རྡོ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་ཐེ་སྐོས་བྱས་པ། རྗེ་བཙུན་ཁྱབས། པ། ཁཏམ་དབྱངས། རྒྱལ་བྱང་སྐོར་ནི་མ་ཆུགས། ལྟ་ཁང་ཁཀོག་དང་རྡོ་སྐུ་ཆེ་བ་ཁཀོག་ཅ་ཞེངས་སོ། །སྐར་ཡང་ [124]མེ་མོ་ཁྱིའི་ལོ་ལ་གཙང་གི་ཀ་པེ་རྩྭ་ཏུ། གཅེན་ཁའོར་རེ། །ཁྱི་ལྟེ་སྲོང་གཙུག་ཡབ་ཆེད་(ཡབ་མཆེད་)ལུ་དགོན་ཁམས་ཁ་གདན་

[118] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 109 has *bas*.

[119] In the manuscript after *bskyes* follows a *tsheg* and empty space and again a *tsheg* before *nyid*. D2013: 12 has *bskyed pa* which is not indicated as corrected reading.

[120] In the manuscript *zos te* is inserted in a slightly smaller size under the line. Its place between *pos* and *dri* is also indicated by three dots.

[121] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 108 has only *bzang*.

[122] Not corrected in D2013: 12. 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 109 has only *tu*.

[123] Not corrected in D2013: 13.

[124] From *me mo khyi'i lo* ... to .. *brtsal lo* (*bstsal to*) (f. 9b4–f. 9b7) the text corresponds to the so-called Fragment Ja (Ra se dKon mchog rgya mtsho 2004: 125).

ལངྡོམ(ལངྡོམས)[125]། པུ་ཁུག་གི་ལབངས་དྲ་མ་ཁཐམས་ཅད་ཁ་མངའ་ཁིས་སུ་ཁདམ་ཁ་བའི་ཆོས་ཅི་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་སྩལ་(ཁྲོས་)བཅད། ཁསྲོང་དེ་ཁ་རབ་ཀུ་ཁབཤེགས་(གཤེགས་)ཁ་བར་བཞེད་པས་གཅེན་གྱི་(གྱིས་)[126]མངའ་སྐྱོང་བར་ཞུ་ཐུལ། ཁས་སོར་ཁྲིམས་ཁགེས་ཀྱི་ཁ་བཅའ་ཡིག་ཀྱང་ཁབཙལ་ལོ[127](བསྡུལ་ཀོ)། །

གསུམ་པ་(གསུམ་པ། )[128]རབ་ཀུ་ཐྱོང་བའི་ཁརྒམ་པར་ཁབར་པ་[129]ནི། ཀླའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་མ་

[291/f. 10a:] བཙུ།

ཬཬ། ཁཏོས་པའི་(ངོས་པས་)ཞུས་པའི་མདོ་ལས། ཆེས་ཆེར་སྐྱེས་ནས་ཁིགས་ཁདང་ཁལོངས་སྐྱོང་ཁ་ཞེས་ཀྱི་ཁལེགས་པ་མེད། ལྷག་པའི་ང་རྒྱལ་མེད། ལོག་པའི་གཡོ་ཁམི་མཚད། ཆོས་འདོད། ཆོས་དོན་དུ་གཞེར། ཆོས་ཡོངས་སུ་ཆོལ། ཆོས་ལ་ཁསོ་སོར་ཁརྟག །ཆོས་སྨོན། ཆོས་ལ་ནན་ཏན་བྱེད། ཆོས་བསྒྲབ་པ་ལ་གནས་ཤིང་། ཁའོད་དེ། བཙུ་པོ་འདི་དག་ལྷན་པས་ནི། ངའི་བསྐན་པ་དང་། ཁདམ་ཁའི་ཆོས་ཁཡོངས་སུ་འཛིན་པའོ། །ཞེས་གསུམ་པ་ལས་ཀྱང་ཁབཀའ

(ཀྱིས)[131]ཞེས་པར། གང་[132]ཆུ་མཚོའ་(ཆུ་མཚོ་)ཆེན་པོའི་[133]ནང་ན། རིན་ཆེན་ཀུན་འདུས་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཆོགས་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་ནོར་བུ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་དེ[134]། དེ་ནི་གང་དུ་ཡང་བསྐྱུར་བར་མི་ནུས། སུས་ཀྱང་བཞིག་པར་མི་ནུས། ཉི་མ་བདུན་ཤར་ཡང་[135]ཁ[136]བར་འགྱུར་བ་གང་ཡང་[137]། ངའི་སྐྱན་པ(བསྐྱན་པ)ལ་བསླབ་པར་བྱ་བའི་[138]། དོན་གྱི་དབང་འདི་གཟེགས་ནས་ས་ཧྲངས་ནས་

ལྷག་པའི་[139]ཚད་[140]ཀྱི་ཐུན་ཙམ་ཞིག་ཏུ་ཡོད་[141]ཀྱང་། མངའ་རིས་དང་འབྲས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུན་རན། འདི་ཁ་ཅིག་ཅེས་ཟེར་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། །ཞེས་གསུངས།། དོན་གྱི་དབང་འདི་ཁོ་ན་ཏེ་ལྷ་བྱའོ། ། ཐུབ་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡང་ཚེ་ཐ་མར་ཡང་ཞེས་ཟེར་ཏེ་ཡང་ཡང་ཞེས་ཟེར་ཏེ་ཡང་ཡང་ཞེས་ཟེར་ཏེ་ཡང

(བསྟེན་)པར་། ཐོ་ཕྱོགས་(རྩོགས་)། པ་ལྟར། ལུས་ངག་དང་དབང་པོ་དུལ་ཞིང་མཛེས་པ། དུར་མིག་དང་། འདུལ་བ་ཁྲིན་ལ་ཆགས་ཀྱི་མཚོག་ཏུ་སྐྱར་ཏེ།

ཚོང་ཁྲགས་ནི་བལ་དག་པའི་ཤེལ། །
སྒོང་ཁེམས་ཆབ་ཀྱི་(ཀྱིས་)[147]ཉེས་སྐྱོན་བསྐུས། །
མི་བསྡུན་ཡིད་ཀྱི་སྒང་པོ་ཆེ། །
ངན་ཤེས་ལྷགས་ཀྱུས་དུལ་བར་བྱས། །

ཁམས་(ཚམ་)། ཐར་འགའ་ཞིག་དུ་(ཏུ)[148]། ཁྱིམས་ཁ་འཛུགས་ཁ་འཛུགས་ཁ་གཟིགས་པའི་ཕྱིར་དུ། ཁགཅིག་ལུར་རོང་ཁྱོགས་སུ། ཤེབས་པས[149]། ལ་ཁགཅིག་གི་རྩེ་མོར་རྐུན་པོས། ཁྱུགས་བསད་མ་ཁད་ཀྱི་མགོ་དང་། ཤ་ཁྲག་ཞིར་འོང་བ་དང་འཛལ(མཛལ)། ཅི་ཡིན་དྲིས་པས། ཁོ་ན་རེ། རྒྱལ་པོ་སྟིག་ཅན་ཀྱི་ཁྲལ་མ་འཁོར་བས[150] སྐུར་(རྐུར་)ཕྱིན་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར། མོད་ལ་འཁོར་བ་ལ་ཅིར་(སྨིར་)དེས་འབྱུང་བྱ་པོ་དང་། །ཁྱད། ་ཁེམས་ཅན་ལ་སྟིང་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་འཁྱེར་བ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ཏེ། ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཁྱེ་ཆེན་(ཁྱེན་)ཀྱི་དུང་དུ། རང་བྱུང་གི་ཁྱེན་(བསྟེན་)པར་། རྩོགས་པ་མཛད་དོ། །ཞེས་འབྱུང་ཡང་། སྟོང་འདུལ་འཛིན་གྱི་ཐུ་རབས་ཁམས་

[294/f. 11b:]

ལས། གོང་ལྟར་བྱིས་པས། དག་ཅིང་ཁེལགས་པར་བཤད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། །

ཁེའི་ཆེ་ལོ་ཆེན་གྱི་དགུང་ལོ་བཅུ་གསུམ་པ་ལ་གནས་བརྟན་ལེགས་པ་བཟང་པོའི་དྲུང་དུ་དགེ་ཚུལ་མཛད་ཏ། ཁིན་ཆེན་། བཟང་པོར་མཚན་གསོལ། བཅུ་བདུན་པ་ལ་འཁོར་མཁའ་འགྲོ་མས་ལུང་བསྟན་པ་ཁཞིན། དཔོན་[151]ཁ་ཆེར་བྱོན། བྱམ་ཟེའི་གོང་(གྲོང་)དུ་ཟླ་བ་ཁཅིག་། འཕལ་སྐད་སྨབས(བསྨབས)། དེ་ནས་ཁྲོང་ཁྲེར་། ཀ་མ་ལར་བྱོན་དེ(ཏེ)། ཤྲ་ཆ་ཀ་ར་ཁཆ་དང་འཇལ(མཇལ)། བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་མཆོག་ཏུ་ཁེམས་། བསྐྱེད་པ་དང་། ཡོ་ག་ཇོ་རྗེ་། དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་། དུ་ཁདང་བསྐུར་བ་ཞུས། ཁེ་ཀོག་ཁ་ཇོ་རྗེ་རྣོན་པ་ལ་ཐོག ཁེ་རྗེས་གསང་བ་འདུས་པ་ཁཇམ་། པའི་ཇོ་རྗེ་ཐུབ་ཅིང་། དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་། ཀྱི་(ཀྱི་)ཆོ་ག། །ཁཇམ་དབྱངས་། ཀྱི་དངོས་སྟོབ་མར་མེ་ཁམཚ་ཆེན་པོས་མཚོད་པ། ཁའི་གཅེན་། སྐང་བྱེད་ཀྱི་སྐྱེངས་ནས་ཤུང་ཁཐུགས་། བསན(གསན)། སྒོམ་ཁམས་པར་། དག་པ་དང་ཁལྟ་བར་། མཚོད། གཞན་དུབ་ཅིང་། རྒྱུད། མན་ངག །མདོ་དང་། འཇེལ་(འཇེལ་)པ་ཁ་སོགས་། པའི་བཤད་སྒོལ་མང་དུ་བསན(གསན)། དེ་ནས་ཇེ་བཙུན་། ན་ངོ་ཀ་པ་ལས། ཁདེ་མཆོག་། ཁ་སོགས་། པ་ཟླ་མེད་། ཀྱི་ཁཀྱིལ་འཁོར་། ཁམས་སུ་། ཁངང་བསྐུར་། དང་། ཁྲྭུད་དང་།། མན་ངག་ཁ་སོགས་། པ་མང་དུ་གསན། ཁྲུ་གང་ཤར་ནུབ་ཆུ་ཁཞིན་། དུ་བྱུགས་(ཁྲུགས་)སྟེ(ཏེ)། པཎྜིཏ་[152](པཎྜི་ཏ་)[153]དུ་མའི་ཞབས་ལ་བཏུགས(གཏུགས)།

[147] Not corrected in D2013: 15.

[148] Not indicated as corrected reading in ‘Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 151.

[149] D2013: 15 reads *phebs pa las*, obviously understanding pas as a *skung yig* for *pa las*. This seems to be quite unusual (at least within the present manuscript) and would imply a different if not contrary meaning.

[150] *shad* (and space) after *bas* is missing in D2013: 15..

[151] Not corrected in D2013: 15 and in ‘Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 152.

[152] D2013: 16 has *paṇṭita*.

[153] See also *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo* 2002: 1269.

[295/f. 12a:] བཅུ་གཉིས།

ཞི། །འདུལ་བ་མདོ་སྡེ་མངོན་པ་ཁ་སོགས་པ་འཕེ་ཚོས་ཚུལ་དུ་མ་བསན་(གསན་)ཅིང་ ཁེགས་པར་ཁྱགས་སུ་ཆུད། བསྟན་པ་མཐའ་དག་གི་བདག་པོར་ཐུབ་ཀེ། བོད་ཡུལ་དུ་ཆགས་(ཕྱགས་)མེའམ། ལྷ་ཐ་མ་ཁེ་ཤེས་ངོད་ཀྱི་(ཀྱིས་)[154]སྒྲིན་བདག་དུ་(ཀུ་)[155]མངོད་ནས། ཁྲགས་ཁ་ཚན་ཉིད་ཁ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་བཤད་བསྒྲབ་(སྒྲུབ་)[156]ཀྱི་ལྟ་ཁ་ཅིག་པོ་བསྒྲགས(བསྒྲགས)།།

ལོ་ཆེན་དཀྱང་ལོ་སུམ་བཅུ(ཆུ་)[157]སོ་བབྱངས་(ཁྱངས་)ཀྱི་དུས་སུ། འགྲོ་བ་དུ་[158]མ་འདུལ་བ་ལ་དགོངས་ནས། ཡོ་གའི་གར་དབྱངས་མང་དུ་བཙམས། ཚུང་བསྟོད་(སྟོད་)ཀྱི་ཀུང་བུ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཁྲོ་གྲོས། ཚུང་སྡད་ཀྱི་སྒེའུ་ཆུང་བ། ཕྲེ་ཁེད། ཙ་[159]སྐུ་པ། བསོད་ནམས། གནུབ་པ། འཇིམ་པ་ཁ་སོགས་པ་དབུས་གཙང་གི་སྐོབ་མ་ཤིན་དུ་(ཀུ་)[160]མང་བར་བྱུང་། སྐུ་ཆེ་སྟོད་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་ལེན་ནམས་ཤེན་དུ་(ཀུ་)[161]རྒྱས་ཤིང་། མཁས་པ་དེ་ནམས་སོགས་ཁམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ཁ་ཆ་སྡད་ཁྱོགས་སུ་དར་བར་བྱས་པས་ན། ཡོ་ག་སྡད་ཁུགས་སུ་ཁྱགས་སོ།།) །ཚུང་སྟོད་ཀུང་དུར་ན། ཁོ་རྡེ་དབྱིངས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་ཆོགས་བཞུགས་པའི་ལྷ་ཁང་ཆེན་མོ་ན། དབུས་ན་ལོ་ཆེན་ཀྱི་ནང་བཅེན་(ཅེན་)ཤྲཱི་ཐུབ་པའི་གསེར་སྐུ་རྒྱས་ཤིང་ཕྱག་ཏུ་[162]བཀྲ། ཁྲི་རྒྱབ་ཡོལ་དང་བཅས་པ། ལོ་ཆེན་ཀྱི་དབུ(་)སྐུ། ཁན་ཆན་སྒྲུབ་ཁང་། ཁན་བཟའ་རྒྱ་གར་ཤར་ནུབ་ཀྱི་

[154] Not corrected in D2013: 16 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 152.

[155] Not corrected in D2013: 16 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 152.

[156] Not corrected in D2013: 16.

[157] Not corrected in D2013: 16 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 152.

[158] In 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 153 *du* is missing.

[159] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 153 has only *rtse*.

[160] Not corrected in D2013: 16.

[161] Not corrected in D2013: 16.

[162] D2013: 16 and 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 153 read *bco* (without *wa zur*).

[296/f. 12b:]

མཁས་གྲུབ་དུ་མའི་ཁ་ཐུགས་ཀ་དམ་ཅིག་ཆགས་[163]དང་བཅས་པ། རྐེན་ཁ་སྔོན་མས་(ཚོན་མས་)[164]སུ་བཞུགས་[165]ཤིང་། ལོ་ཆེན་ཀྱི་ནང་བཅེན་(ཅེན་)ཆེ་བ་ནི། བོད་ན་འདི་ཁོ་ན་ཡིན་ལ། བསྟོད་(སྟོད་)འདུལ་ཀྱི་སྟེ་དང་། ཡོ་གའི་གྲྭ་ཆེན་ཁོ་བཙུགས།། དུ་དུང་ཡང་ཁུང་ཟད་ཀ་ཁཉམས་པ་ཡོད་དོ།། །སྐར་ཡང་པཉྩིཏ་[166](པཎྜི་ཏ་)ཤྲཱ་[167]ཀྲ་ཀ་ར་ཁཆ་དང་། པཉྩིཏ་[168](པཎྜི་ཏ་)པཙྪ་ཀ་ར་གྱ་(ཀྱབ་)[169]ཀ། བུཌྡྷ་པཱྀ་ཤཀྟི། བུད་ཀྲ་བྷ་ལ[170]། ཀ་མ་ལ་གུ་(ཀྱབ་)[171]ཀ་ཁ་སོགས་པ་མཁས་པ་མང་དུ་ཁྱུན་ངདས།། ཁྲགས་ཁ་ཁཚན་ཉིད་ཀྱི་བཤད་གྲ་(གྲྭ་)ཆེས་ཆེར་ཁཙུགས།། ཁལ་གས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་ཚོས(བཅོས)[172]སྐབ་སྐྱེད་(དཔྱད་)ཀྱི་གཞུང་། ཁྲགས་དང་། ཁཚན་ཁ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཞེག་པའི་ཚོས་སྐོར་མང་དུ་བཙུགས་ཤིང་། བཤད་ཉན་གྱི་(ཀྱིས་)[173]གཏན་ལ་ཕབ། ཁྱབ་པར་ཁ་དེ་ཁོ་ན་ཉིད་འདུས་པ་ཁ་སོགས་པ་ཡོ་གའི་ཚོས་སྐོར། གསང་བ་འདུས་པའི་བརྒྱུད་སོགས་ཁ་འཕགས་ཁ་ལྷག་ཁ་ཀྱི་བཤད་སྒོལ་ཁམས་ཁ་དག་(ཆམ་དག་)དང་། ཁེ་ཤེས་ཁ་ཞབས་ཁལྷག་ཀྱི་ཚོས་སྐོར། བདེ་མཆོག་ཆུ་རྒྱུད་ཁ་སོགས་པ་མ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཚོས་སྐོར། ཁཇམ་དཔལ་ཁ་གཤེག་རྡེ་ཁ་དང་།

[163] In the manuscript *byin rlabs* is inserted in a slightly smaller size above the line. Its place between *dam* and *dang* is indicated by four dots.

[164] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 153 has only *rdzongs*.

[165] In the manuscript the prescript *ba* is inserted in a slightly smaller above the line.

[166] D2013: 17 has *paṇṭita*.

[167] D2013: 17 has *shrāng*.

[168] D2013: 17 has *paṇṭita*.

[169] Not corrected in D2013: 17.

[170] D2013: 17 has an inaccurate reading (*budha bā la*).

[171] Not corrected in D2013: 17. On Ka ma la gub ta and the two other *paṇḍita*s see also *Nyang ral chos 'byung A* 336.3.6–337.1.2 and *Nyang ral chos 'byung B* 463.13–15.

[172] D2013: 17 has an inaccurate reading (*budha bā la*).

[173] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 153 adds *dang* after *chos* (*bcos*).

།འཇམ་དཔལ་། །གྲགས་། བའི་འགྲེལ་ཆེན་ །སོགས་། མཚན་བརྗོད་ཀྱི་ཚོས་སྐོར་ །རྣམས་། ལ་བརྒལ་(ཚུལ་)དུ་[174]བསྟོན་དེ(བཏོན་ཏེ)། འཚད་ཉན་གྱིས་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་སོ(བོ)[175]། ।

[176]ཤེང་མོ་ །ལུགས་གི་ །དབྱར་རླུ་འབྲིང་པོ་ལ་

[297/f. 13a:] །བཅུ་གསུམ། །

ཞེས། །ལྷ་བླ་མ་ །ཡེ་ཤེས་ །བོད་འདི་ཉིད། ཡུལ་[177]ཐུ་ །ཏུངས་སུ་ །ཐུགས་ཤེབས། ཤེ་ཐུགས་མོར་[178]བསྟོད་(སྟོད་)སྣད་ཀྱི་མཆེད་ལྷ་དབོན་ཟིན་གདན་འཛོམ་(འཛོམས)[179]། མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་གྱི་འབངས། བོད་ཞང་ཏན་ཤེས་པ་ཡི་(ཡོངས་) ཚོགས། །བསྟོད་(སྟོད་) ཐུགས་ །འདི་ཏི་ལྟར་བཀྲིས་ན་བདེ་བ་འགྱུར། བདེ་བར་འགྱུར་[180]བའི་ །ཡན་ལག །ལྷ་བླ་མ་ །ཡེ་ཤེས་ །བོད་ཀྱི་ཞལ་མངའ་(སྐྱ་)ནས། སྐྱེ་བོ་རྣ་འབངས་ཡོངས་ལ་བཀའ་བཅུལ(བསྩལ)[181]། མཆིད་གོང་དུའང་གསོལ། འབངས་ ཞོ་ཤོར་ ཡང་མཆིད་གྲོས་བརྩལ་དེ(བསྩལ་[182] ཏེ[183])། སྤྱིར་བཏུན་རེ་[184]བསྡུས་[185]ནས། མོལ་ཚད་དཀར་ཚག་ཏུ་བཀྲིས་པའི་ གཞི། བོད་ཀྱི་མངའ་རིས་རྒྱ་སྐྱེས་མི་ཆེ་བ་ཞིག་ལ། བློ་བུར་(གློ་བུར་)བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ ཁ་ཅིག་ ཀྱི་(ཀེས་)[186]མངའ་མཛད་ནས། བོད་སྤྱི་མཐུན་ཀྱི་བསོད་ ནམས་ འཕེལ་བའི་དུས་ལ་བབ་པས། འགྲེང་མོའི་ ཚོས་ལུགས་མ་ནོར་བ་ སྐྱེད་དེ། ཡུལ་དབུས་བདེ་ཞིང་ཐར་སྐྱེས(སྐྱིད་)[187]། བཙན་པོ་ཞལ་ ཁ་ཅིག་ གིས་མངའ་མཛད་པས་ནི་མངའ་རིས་ལ་ ཁྱོགས་ མེད། འབངས་ཡི་(ཡོངས་)རྫེ་ ཁ་ཅིག་ ཉིད་ལ་བརྟེན་པས་ནི། ཚན་དང་ རིས་སུ་ མི་ཕྱེད་པ་ཞིག་ལས།

[298/f. 13b:]

བར་[188]ཞིག་ ཚུན་ཚད་ བོད་སྤྱི་མཐུན་གྱི་ལས་དགེ་བ་ཟད་པས། མངའ་ མཛད་ དབུ་གྲངས་མང་། མངའ་རིས་ ཁྱོགས་ བཟུང་ཞིང་། འབངས་སྐྱེལ་ ཚན་ཆེས་པས། དབུས་ནུ་གཡོན་ནུའི་འཁྲུག་པ་དང་། ངག་ ལོག་གི་ ལེངས་ ཡན་ཚད་ ཀྱིས། བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་ ཟབ་ཅིང་ཉམས་དམས་སྟེ(ཏེ)། རང་དབང་ སིལ་བུར་ གྱུར་པ་འདུ། ཡབ་སྐུ་མཆེད་གསུམ་གྱིས་བསྟོད་(སྟོད་)ཁྱོགས་འདི་ མངའ་མཛད་ན་ཡང་། ཐུན་(མཐུན་)པའི་བཀའ་གྲོས་མ་རྟེས་(རྟེད་)[189]པ་དང་། འབངས་ཤུང་ཤས་ཙམ་གནས་པ་འདི་ཡང་ ཞིག་ཆུག་ཆེ་བར་སོང་། དབོན་སྲས་ཡབ་མཆེད་~~ཞབས་མཆེད~~[190]ཞལ་གྲངས་མང་དུ་སྐུ་འཁྲུངས། མ་བྱལ་མ་ཞིག་ པའི་ཐུགས་དགོངས་ཀྱང་ ཁོ་སོ་ ན་མངའ་ན། རྗེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ ཁྲུག་ཆུངས་པ་དང་། འབངས་སྤུ་ཐྲས་པས་དེ་ཤུར་ཡང་མ་བཏུབ། སྟོན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་ཤུ་

[174] D2013: 17 reads *tu*.

[175] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 154 has only *bo*.

[176] From *shing mo lug gi* … to .. *bstan pa dar bar bgyi* (f. 12b7–f. 14b7) the text corresponds to the so-called Fragment Nga (Ra se dKon mchog rgya mtsho 2004: 124–125).

[177] In 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 154 *nyid yul* is missing.

[178] D2013: 18 reads *wi phug mdor*, obviously understanding *mor* as a *skung yig* for *mdor*.

[179] Not corrected in D2013: 18.

[180] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 154 has/reads only *gyur*.

[181] Not corrected in D2013: 18. 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 154 has only *bstsal*.

[182] Not corrected in D2013: 18. 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 154 has only *bstsal*.

[183] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 154 has only *te*.

[184] D2013: 18 reads *de*.

[185] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 154 has *de bstus*.

[186] Not corrected in D2013: 18.

[187] Not corrected in D2013: 18.

[188] Or *mkhar*?

[189] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 154 reads *snyes* and suggests *brnyes* (?) and *brnyed* (?) as possible readings.

[190] *zhag mched* is crossed out in the original manuscript and omitted in D2013: 19.

བུ་མངའ་[མཛོད་]བསྒྲུང་[191]བའི་ཐབས་ནི་དུ་བཀྱིར་ཡང་མི་ཚལ(འཚལ)། འོན་ཀྱང་། གཏུང་རྒྱུད་ལས་ཐར་པར་[བཤེགས་(གཤེགས་)]པའི་མོ་ལ(མོལ)འདི་ལོ་གངས་དུ་མའི་སྒོ་ནས་[བསམ]པ་ལས་འདས། འཐད་མི་མཐད་(འཐད་)ཀྱི་ཀ་གོོས་(བཀའ་གོོས་)ཐོག་དུ་མ་བབ།

[299/f. 14a:] [བཅུ་བཞི།]

ཞེཐ། །འདི་རེས་ཀྱང་རྗེ་འབངས་ལས་དགོས་ཚད་[མི་མཐུན་]པ་ནི་ཡོད་ན། མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་གྱི་མགོ་[ནག་པོ་]འབུམ་ཐག་[གཅིག་]གནས་པ་རེ་ཞིག་བདེ་བར་འགྱུར་བའི་[ཆེད་དུ།]། བཙན་པོ་དབུ་རྒྱས་སྐྱབས་[192]ཀྱི། ཐར་པར་[གཤེགས་]པ་ནི་འབངས་ལ་ཐུགས་རིས་མི་འབྱུང་། མངའ་རིས་ཆོས་འཁོར་དུ་བྱས་ཤིང་། ལྷ་[འབངས་སུ་]བཙད་པས་ནི། ཡུལ་ལ་ང་ཚོད་མི་མངའ། ཐབས་འདི་ལྟར་[193]སྐྱར་བ་ལས་ཡང་གཞན་བཀའ་རྩོས་(ཁྲོས་)ཀྱི་[དམིགས་]གཞན་ཡང་མ་བརྟེད་དེ་[194]དུ་ཕྱིས་སྐན་ཆད་མིའི་[ཆོགས་]ལ་ཐན་པ་དང་། བདེ་བར་བྱ་བའི་ཐབས་བཀྱིའོ། །ཚལ་གྱི་རྣམ་གྲངས་འདོར་བདུས་(མདོར་བསྡུས)པ་ཡིན་གྱིས། ཀུན་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་[ཁྲིམས་]དང་མི་མཐལ་(འཐལ་)ཞིང་། གཞུང་འདི་སྲོངས་པར་གཅས་(གྱིས་)[195]ཤིག། །

བཙན་པོས་ཏི་ལྟར་མཛད་པའི་ཁྲིམས་ལ། དཔལྡེ་མོལ་བའི་བཙན་པོ་མཆེད་ལྷ་དབོན་བཞི་སྐྱེ་བོ་[བཞུགས་]པ་ལས། ཕྱི་མ་ཀུན་ཐར་པར་གཤེགས་མངའ་ཐུལ་བ་[རྣམས་]ཀྱི་སྐུ་ལས་སྲས་སུ་འཕྲུངས་ཀྱང་། [རེ་རེ་]གདུང་ཚབ་ཏུ་བཞག། །གདུང་ཚད་ན།[196] མར་ཡུལ་དང་།[197] པུ་ཧྲངས་

[300/f. 14b:]

[གཉིས་]ཡུལ་ནད་(ཁནད་)ཆེ་བས། བཙན་པོ་(བཙན་པོ་)དགེ་འདུན་ཀྱི་ནང་ནས་[རེ་རེས་]གདུང་བསབ། བཙན་པོ་(བཙན་པོ་)སྐྱེ་བོ་[རྣམས་]ཀྱིས་[རྩིགས་]ལས་འབྱུང་བ་[བཞིན་]་[དགོན་མཆོག་]མཉན་(གཉན་)པར་བསྐྱུར་(བཀུར་)ཞིང་། བསྐན་པ་ཅི་དར་དུ་བཀྱིས་(བཀྱིས། )ཁྲིམས་[ཡིག་གསར་]པ་ལས་འབྱུང་བ་[བཞིན་]རྩེ་ཉིད་བཀའ་རྩོས་(བཀའ་གོོས་)མ་བྱལ་ཞིང་། འབངས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་(ཀྱིས་)སྐྱོང་བ་[གཅིག་]མཛད། ཁྲལ་ཡུན་(འཕྲལ་ཡུན་)ཀྱི་དགྱ་ཐབས་ལས་འབྱུང་བ་[བཞིན་]མངའ་རིས་མཐའ་མིས་གོང་བར་(མི་འགོང་བར་)བསྲུང་བཞིན། [སྡེགས་]རིས་དགྱ་ངོ་ལོན་པ་[གཅིག་]བཤམ། བཙན་པོ་སྐྱེ་གོ་ལས་ཆོར་(འཆོར་)འཛིག་པ་བྱུང་ན། བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་[ཆེན་པོ་]དང་སྦྱུར། མངའ་མཛད་གཞན་ལ་ཏཱལ་(བཙོལ་)ན་རྒྱལ་[ཁམས་]མི་ཅིག་(གཅིག་)པར་སྐྱུགས། །མངའ་མཛད་མ་མཉེན་ན་དེ་[198]བདེན་པས་བཙོ་སྐྱིད་མ་བྱུང་ན། དགེ་འདུན་ལས་དགོངས་[མཉེན་]པ་དང་བརྟེ། བཙན་པོ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བ་[རྣམས་]ཀྱིས་འདུལ་ཁྲིམས་ལ་འབྱུང་བ་ལྟར། དམ་བའི་ཆོས་གཞུང་བཞིན་དུ་སྐྱོང་ཞིང་། བསྐན་པ་དར་བར་བགྱི[199]། [ཞེས་སོགས་]འབྱུང་སྟེ། [ཡི་གེ་]མངས་

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[191] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 154 has *bsnyung*.

[192] Perhaps read *dbu snyung grangs* (or *skyungs* [*bskyungs*])? D2013: 19 reads *dbu grangs*. 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 155 has *dbu grangs snyungs*.

[193] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 155 has *'dra*.

[194] D2013: 19 has (that is, adds) *shad* (and space) after *rnyed de* and before *da phyis*.

[195] Not indicated as corrected reading in D2013: 19 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 155.

[196] *shad* (and space) after *chad na* is missing in D2013: 19.

[197] *shad* (and space) after *dang* is missing in D2013: 19.

[198] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 156 has only *jo*.

[199] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 156 has *bgyis*. In the place of the *sa* only a black spot is visible.

[301/f. 15a:] བརྟོལ་ལྟ།

ཞི། །པས་མ་བྱིས།

〔དེས་ན་མེ་ཙོ་སྦྱི་(སྦྱིལ་)ལོ་ལ་མཛོ་གྱིང་གི་ལྷ་ལང་ཆེན་པོའི་སྣངས་(རྣང་)〔བྱིས་སོ(བྱེས་སོ)〕། [200]མེ་མོ་བྱའི་ལོ་དཔྱིད་རྒྱ་ཐ་རྒྱང་གི་ངོ་ལ། ལྷ་བྱ་མ〔ཡེ་ཤེས་〕འོད། དེ་བ་རྣ་ཚྭ་(ཀྭ་)དང་། ནུ་གུ་རྣ་ཚྭ་(ཀྭ་གུ་རྣ་ཙ་)〔རྣམས་〕དབེན་གནས་ས་〔རྣམ་〕ན་བཞུགས། སྲས་〔གཉིས་〕རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བའི་ཚེ། མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་ནས་〔གཞོན་ནུ་〕ཤེས་རབ་ཆེ་ཤིང་བློ་རྩོ་བ། ཡིད་བཞུངས་(གཞུངས་)ཤིང་སྟོབས་ཆེ་བ། ཉེས་བརྩུ་〔ཐམ་〕པ་བཏུས་ནས་ཐབ་པར་བཏང་། དེའང་གུ་གེ་ནས་བརྩུ་ཐིམ་(བརྩུ་ཐམ་)[201]པ། ཐུ་རྟུངས་ནས་〔བཞི་〕བཅུ། པེལ་ཚོོག[202]ནས་〔སུམ་〕བཅུ(ཙུ)། མར་ཡུལ་ནས་〔སུམ་〕བཅུ(ཙུ)〔རྣམས་〕བསྟས་པ་〔ཡིན་ནོ།〕 །〕 དེ་རྣམས་དང་ཞབས་བྲང་གི་ཉེ་གནས་དང་〔དགེའ་འདུན་(དགེ་འདུན་)[203]〕བྱ་ཞན། དགེ་སྦྱིན་(བསྦྱིན་)པ་ཡོ་(ཡོངས་)ཚོགས། སྐན་ཚད་ཚོས་འཁོར་འདི་〔སངས་རྒྱས་〕བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་〕ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་ཇི་སྲིད་གནས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ། 〔དགེའ་འདུན་(དགེ་འདུན་)〕གྱི་བགྱི་བོ་ཚལ་(འཚལ་)གྱི་〔ཡན་ལག་〕ཚོས་ཀྱི་〔ཡི་གེ་〕འདུལ་བའི་གཞུང་དང་། སྡ་རབས་ཡབ་མེས་〔བྱང་ཆུབ་〕〔སེམས་དཔའ་〕རྣམས་ཀྱི་(ཀྱིས་)[204]མཛད་པའི་ཚོས་ཐྲིམས་ཀྱི་གཞི་དག་ལས་ཀྱང་ཞིབ་ཏུ་

[302/f. 15b:]

འབྱུང་མོད་ཀྱི། དཔལ་འཕགས་ཀྱི་བཀྱེའོ། །ཚ་ཐྲ་བ་ལ(ལས)། བསྟན་པའི་〔བཞི་(གཞི་)〕འདུལ་བ་འདི་ཉིད་ཡིན་དེ(ཏེ)[205]།

རྒྱལ་བ་སྟོན་པ་དེའི་〔དམ〕ཚོས་ནི། །

མདོ་དང་ཚོས་སྡོན་(མངོན་)ཡིན་གསུང་འདུལ་བ་ཡིན། །

བསྟན་དང་བསྟོན་པ་(སྟོན་པ་)དངོས་〔གཅིག〕དེའི་ཕྱིར། །

གཅིག་གྱུར་ནན་ཏན་ཉིད་ཀྱང་ཐུག་བྱའོ། །

ཅེས་(ཞེས་)[206]〔གསུངས་〕པས། དཔལ་〔སངས་རྒྱས་〕ཉིད་〔དངོས་སུ་〕མི་〔བཞུགས་〕ཀྱང་། འདུལ་བ་ནི་〔སངས་རྒྱས་〕ཉིད་ཀྱིས་དངོས་ལྟར་གསུངས་པས། བླ་ནས་ཀྱང་〔རྣམ་〕〔གྲངས་སུ་〕ཕྱེ་ཏེ་(སྟེ་)བཀའ་བགྱོས། འོག་ཏུ་གནས་བརྟན་〔ལ་སོགས་〕ས་[207]〔དགེའ་འདུན་(དགེ་འདུན་)〕ལས་མཆིད་གྱོས་〔གཅིག〕ཏུ་བྱས། རྗེ་འབངས་སྤྱིར་མོལ་དུ་བཅད་ནས། ནང་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་〔ཡི་གེ་〕གཞུང་དུ་བྱིས་པ། 〔གང་ཟག〕〔གཅིག〕གི་(ཀྱིས་)[208]ཚེ་གང་ལ་འདུལ་བའི་ཉམས་ལེན་ཇི་ལྟར་དུ་བྱ་བ་[209]ལོ་〔གཅིག〕ཕྱུད་འཁོར། ཉིན་ཞག་〔ཟླགས་(ཟླགས་)〕〔གཅིག་གི་〕ཉམས་ལེན་〔རྣམས་〕དགོངས་ཤེང་། དེའི་ཕྱིར་〔འདུལ་

[200] From *me mo bya'i lo* … to .. *sras gnyis rab tu byung* (f. 15a1–f. 15a2) the text corresponds to the so-called Fragment Ca (Ra se dKon mchog rgya mtsho 2004: 125).

[201] Not indicated as a corrected reading in D2013: 20.

[202] D2013: 20 has an inaccurate reading (*sil chog*).

[203] The usual old Tibetan spelling is *dge' 'dun* (which is obviously rendered in the manuscript by way of a *skung yig*).

[204] Not corrected in D2013: 21.

[205] D2013: 21 suggests reading *te* for *de*.

[206] Not corrected in D2013: 21 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 156.

[207] In 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 157 *pa* is missing.

[208] Not corrected in D2013: 21 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 157.

[209] D2013: 21 has *shad* (and space) after *bya ba* and before *lo gcig*.

བ་ལ་ཆེར་མཁས་པ། བཀྲིཀ་[210](བཀྲི་ཀ་)རྣམ་པ་ལ་[211](རྣམ་པྲ་ལ་)[212]བརྒྱ་(རྒྱ་)གར་ནས་སྦྱན་འཇེན་པ་ལ་གསེར་མང་པོ་སྐུར་(བསྐུར་)[213]ནས་ཇངས་(བཙངས་)[214]ཀྱང་། དེ་རེས་ལ་གདན་མ་[ཞེབས་སོ]། །

ལྷ་ཁང་དེ་ཉིད་[215]ཤིང་ཙོ་[འབྲུག་གི་]

[303/f. 16a:] [བཅུ་དྲུག]

ཞེས། [ལོ་[ཆོ་འཕྲུལ་]ཆེན་པོའི་བཅོ་ལྔ་(ལ་)རབ་ཏུ་གནས་པ་མངོ་དུ། དེའི་ཚེ་མི་[གཅིག་གི་(གིས་)[216]] ལ་ཟུག་བསར་པ་(གསར་པ་)ལོ་མ་སྟོ་ཞིང་གཞོན་པ་གསུམ་ཞྭར་ཡོངས་ཏེ(ཡོང་སྟེ)། ལྷ་བྱ་མ་[ཡེ་ཤེས་]འོད་ལ་ཟུལ། ལྷ་ཁང་འདི་པའི་[དམིགས་]ལ་ཐེབས་བས[217]། མངའ་རིས་སོ་སོར་ལྷ་ཁང་དང་ཚོས་འཁོར། [དགེའ་འདུན་(དགེ་འདུན་)]གྱི་བསྟེ(སྟེ)། བསྐན་པའི་དར་རྒྱས་ཆེས་ཆེ་ཞིང་། རྒྱུན་རིང་བ་ཡོང་བ་བདའ་(གདའ་)ལགས། ཞེས་ཟེར་ཞིང་དེའི་ཞག་ཐུགས་ཁྲེལ་(ཟེལ་)གྱི་(གྱིས་)[218]དབྱེར་(གཡེར་)[219]། ཕྱིར་ཉིན་མེ་དེ་ཚོལ་(འཚོལ་)[220]དུ་བཏང་བས་མ་བནྡེད། དེ་[ཚོགས་]ཀྱི་བདག་པོ་ཡིན་པར་[འདུག་གསུང་]། དེ་ནས་ཞག་ཉེར་[གཅིག་]གི་བར་དུ་ཞལ་ཟློའི་དགའ་སྟོན་ཆེན་པོ་མངོ་དུ།

[210] D2013: 21 has *paṇṭita*.

[211] Not corrected in D2013: 21.

[212] See also *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo* 2002: 1113.

[213] Not corrected in D2013: 21.

[214] Not corrected in D2013: 21.

[215] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 157 adds *du* after *de nyid*.

[216] Not corrected in D2013: 22.

[217] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 157 has only *pas*.

[218] Not corrected in D2013: 22.

[219] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 157 suggests correcting to *g.yeng*.

[220] Not corrected in D2013: 22.

[304/f. 16b:]

ཙོ་(མཙོ་)གློང་ལང་དམར་དཔེ་མེད་ལྡུན་གྱི་(གྱིས་)གྲྭབ་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ལང་ཞེས་བསྟགས[221](བཏགས)། དབུས་སུ་བསྐྱན་པའི་[གཙོ་ཆེའི་[222]] སྐུ་བཞེངས། གློང་སོ་སོར་ཡོ་གཅོད་དབྱིངས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་[ཚོགས་]དང་། ཚོས་ཀྱི་དབྱིངས་གསུང་གི་དབང་ཕྱུག་གི་ལྷ་ཚོགས་[རྣམས་]སྣན་སྦྱོས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་དང་། ལོགས་རིས་སུ་བཀྱེས། མེ་སྐྱེ་(མེ་སྐྱེལ་)ནས། ཤིང་སོ་(ཤིང་ཙོ་)འབྲུག་གི་བར། ལོ་སྲིལ་(ཆྱེལ་)ཙོ་[223] བརྒྱད་སོང་། མཚོད་པའི་རྟེན་དང་། ཞབས་[ཏོག་གི་]རྟེན་ཡང་། མང་དུ་བཙུགས་སོ། །

[305/f. 17a:] [བཅུ་བདུན]

ཞེས། [གཞན་ཡང་ཐུ་ཚངས་ཀྱི་ཁྲི་ཆར་དུ། ཡིད་[བཞིན་]ཕུན་སྐྱེས་གྲུབ་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ལང་།[224] ཀ་བ་བརྒྱ་[ཐམ་]གྱིང་ཐུན་དང་བཅས་པ། [དབུས་སུ་] བྱམ་པ་(བྱམས་པ་)[225][མགོན་པོའི་]སྐུ་བཞེངས། པོ་ཏི་[226](པི་ཏི་)ཀ་པོ་ལྷོག་ལ་རྒྱན་གྱི་ལྷ་ཁང་། མར་ཡུལ་དུ་ཤར་མའི་ལྷ་ཁང་། [དབུས་སུ་] [སངས་རྒྱས་]མར་མེ་མཎྜ་ཀྱི་སྐུ་[བཞུགས་]པ། མཐའ་འདུལ་གྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ལང་ལ། ང་རའི་ཀ་[ནམ་]གྱི་ལྷ་ཁང་། དྲུག་[པག་གི་]མོ་ནའི་ལྷ་ཁང་། རོང་ཆུང་

[221] D2013: 22 reads *brtags*.

[222] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 157 has the *skung yig* as *gtsoo'i* (double *na ro*), that is *gtso bo'i* (as read by D2013: 22).

[223] D2013: 22 has (that is, adds) *shad* (and space) after *sril* (*hril*) *po* and before *brgyad song*. The reason for this seems to be a big space in the original manuscript (as usual after *shad*).

[224] The reason for the double *shad* or "perpendicular stroke" (*nyis shad*) in this place is not clear. D2013: 22 corrects this into a single *shad* (without indicating the fact).

[225] Not indicated as corrected reading in D2013: 22 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 157.

[226] *po ti*—clearly standing for Spiti, in Tibetan *pi ti*, *spyi ti*, etc.—is not corrected in D2013: 22.

གི་སྤུའི་ལྟ་ལང་།× བེ་ཁར་གྱི་ཀར་[227]ཁག་གི་།ལྟ་ལང་།×[228] གཞན་ཡང་[229]ཐུ་ཁྲངས་སུ་།ཚ་བ་ཆུང་(སྐྱང་)[230]ལ་སོགས་།པ་ལྟ་ལང་བཆུ་ཙ་དང་། མཚོད་བརྟེན་(མཆོད་རྟེན་)དང་། གསེར་སྐུ། དངུལ་སྐུ། ལི་མ་ཁ་སོགས་།པ་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པ་བཞེངས།) མཛོ་གྲིང་དགེ་འདུན་ཚེན་མོ་ཁཞེས་།གཅོ་བྱས་དགེ་འདུན་བཆུད་བཙུའི་བྱས་མཆོ་(ཙུའི་བྱ་འཆོ་)ཁཚང་བར་[231]ཁཙུགས།། ཁགཞན་།ཡང་ལོ་ཚར་དུ་ཁསུམ་།བཙུ(ཙུ)། པོ་ཏི་[232](པི་ཏི་)ཏ་ཡོར་ཁཞི་།བཙུ། མར་ཡུལ་དུ་ཉི་ཤུ། སྤུ་ངུ་[233]བཙུ། དཀར་དཔག་ཏུ་ཉི་ཤུ།། སྐད་མ་ཆོས་འཕོར་དུ་བཆུད་བཙུ་(ཙུ་)བཙུགས་(བཙུགས་)པ་ལ། ཁདེའི་འདུན་(དེའི་འདུན་)བཙོ་ལྟ་བཙོ་ལྟ་རབ་ཏུ་བཏོན་དེ(ཏེ)།

[306/f. 17b:]

ཏེ།[234] ཡུལ་ཁོ་སོར་།བྱ་མཆོའི་(འཆོའི་)ཚ་ཀྱེན། གཙུག་ལག་ཁོང་(ཁང་)ཁོ་སོ་།ལ་མཆོད་[235]ཀྱེན་ཞིང་བཞིས་(གཞིས་)[236]དང་། མི་སྡེ་ཆམས་ཁཞས་སུ་།ཐོགས་ངོས་ཤེས་པ་ཁབཙུགས།། དབུས་གཙང་དང་། མདོ་ཁམས་།ནས་ཀྱང་དགེ་བའི་ཁགེས་(འཕེས་)གཉེན་།མང་དུ་ཁསྐྱེན་དྲངས་།ཏེ། ཚོས་མངོན་

[227] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 158 has *dkar*.

[228] This passage is added in smaller script on the same page below line 7.

[229] D2013: 23 has (that is, adds) *shad* (and space) after *gzhan yang* and before *pu hrangs su*.

[230] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 158 has only *sgang*.

[231] D2013: 23 reads *tshang par*, which—in contrast to *tshang bar*—does not agree with phonetic qualities of syllables paired together.

[232] As above, *po ti*—clearly standing for Spiti, in Tibetan *pi ti*, *spyi ti*, etc.—is not corrected in D2013: 23.

[233] D2013: 23 reads *spu tu*.

[234] Obviously superfluous *te* plus *shad*.

[235] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 158 has *mched* and suggests a possible reading *mchod*(?).

[236] = *gzhis ka*.

པ་མངོན་།ལ་སོགས་།པའི་བཤད་གྲྭ་མང་དུ་།བཙུགས་སོ།། །གསུང་གི་རྟེན་གསེར་ཐང་ལ་།འགྲུར་རོ་[237]ཅོག་ཚར་གསུམ། དཀར་པོ་ཚར་།བཞི།། གཞན་ཡང་མདོ་རྒྱུད་།བསྐྲུན་བཅོས་།མང་དུ་།བཞེངས་སོ།། །)[238]གོང་གི་ཐུ་མཚོའི་(འཚོའི་)དགེ་འདུན་།ཆམས་།ཀྱི་ཐུག་ཚ་རྒྱུན་ཀྱི་ཆས་མཐོ་གྲིང་གིས་མགོ་བྱས། གཞིས་།སོ་སོ་།ནས། ཁལ་སྟོང་ཉག་མ་བཙུའི་ས་བོན་འགྲོ་བའི་ཞིང་། བཅའ་ཐང་ཡོད། ཚ་ཁྲའི་བཅའ། ཡུལ་འབྲོག་ནང་གི་སྐོར་(དཀོར་)ནོར། ཕྱི་འབྲོག །ནང་འབྲོག་ཆམས་ཐུལ་ནས། བསྐྲུན་པ་དང་ཉེ་ཐུ་།ནམ་།གནས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་འཛོག་པར་མཚད་པ་འདི་།ཆམས་།ལས་འབྲིང་[239]འགལ་བྱེད་རེ་ཞེས། ཉ་ས་།འཕགས་།པ་དཔང་(དཔང་)དུ་བཞག་ནས། ཁོན་ཏན་།ཁྱིན་(འཕྱིན་)ལས་།ཀྱི་སྨྲལ་པ་ཚོས་སྐྱོང་ནེ་དགོན་གཟུ་དང་དཔང་དུ་

[307/f. 17 lower a:] བཙུ་བདུན་འོག[240]

ཞི། །ཁཞྭགས་སུ་།གསོལ་དེ(ཏེ)[241]། ཁཐམས་ཅད་།ཀྱི་(ཀྱིས་)དབུ་སྐྱང་མངོད་དེ། ཕྱིས་ཀྱང་སྐས་མཆེད་བཙུན་མོ་(མོ། )བློན་པོ་རིང་རེས་[242]ཀུན་ལ། ཚོས་ཆོགས་དང་མི་འགལ་བའི་དབུས་(དབུ་)སྐ་(མཁའ་)མི་ལེན་རེ། རིང་ཆེས་[243] ཕྱི་མ་ཁམས་།ལའང་དེ་ལྟར་མི་ལེན་ཟེར་རེ། རིང་ཆེས་[244]ཕྱི་མ་ཁམས་།ཞི་བ་འོང་ཀྱིས།

[237] D2013: 23 has only *bka' 'gyur* and omits *ro*.

[238] The bracket indicating the beginning of the passage is either missing or not visible in the facsimile edition.

[239] Read *brid* or *'brid* (see D2013: 23) for *'bring*?

[240] According to Beyer 1992: 229 *'og ma* ("lower") and *gong ma* ("upper") serve to designate *verso* and *recto* sides of a folio. In this case, however, *'og* (*ma*) serves to differentiate a second (or "lower") folio with the same page number from a preceding one with the same number.

[241] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 159 has *do* and corrects this to *to*.

[242] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 159 has *ras*.

[243] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 159 has *chos*.

[244] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 159 has *chos*.

།གསང་སྔགས། སྒོད་པའི་།ལུགས། ཀུན་ཉམས་པ་དང། །
དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་སྦྱིན་བསྲེག་ཚོ་གཉམས་པ་དང། །
དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ཚོ་གས་པ་སྟོང་ལྡན་དེ། །
དེ་བཞིན་སྦྱིན་སྲེག་ཤན་ཏི་ཤྲུག་ཏི་ཅིའི། །

གཞན་

[308/f. 17 lower b:]

ཡང་གསང་སྔགས་སྨས་དོན་ཀུན་ཆུབ་ཅིང་། །
སྒྲོན་སྒྲོལ་(སྒྲོན་སྒྲོལ་)དང་ནི་ཚོགས་ལ་སོགས་པས་སྐད། །
འདི་ཡི་དོན་ཆམས་བཅུལ་(འཚོལ་)[245]ཕྱིར་བཀའ་གཉེར་དེ(ཏེ)། །
ལོ་ཆེན་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་ཆེར་བསྟར(བརྩངས)[246]། །

ཅེས་[247](ཞེས་)པ་ལྟར་སྐར་ཡང་། ལྟ་བུ་མ་ཡི་ཤེས་འོད་ཀྱིས་[248] མངའ་རིས་ནས་ཤེས་རབ་ཆེ་བའི་བྱིས་པ་ཉི་ཤུ་ཐམ་པ་གསེར་གྱི་[249](གྱིས་)བླུས་ནས། ལོ་ཆེན་གྱི་ཕྱག་རྗེ་[250]ལ་ཀ་ཆེར་བསྟངས་(བརྩངས་)[251]པ་ལས། ལོ་ཆེན་དང་། ལོ་ཆུང་ལེགཱ་(ལེགས་)[252]པའི་ཤེས་རབ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་(ཀྱིས་)[253]ཙོད་དུ་ཞེས།

[309/f. 18a:] བཅུ་(བཅོ་)བརྒྱད།

ཞེས། སྐུ་སོར་ཡབ་ཀྱི་དོན་དུ། ཁ་རྩེའི་[འཕགས་]པ་སྦྱན་རས་[གཟིགས་]དབང་[ཕྱག་གི་]སྐུ་[སྦྱན་དངས།] འདི་ལ་པཎྜིཏ་[254](པཎྜི་ཏ་)བརྒྱ་ཐམ་པའི་ཕྱག་གནས་ཡོད། ཞེས་[255](ཅེས)[256]ཟེར། ཕྱིས་སྟོང་(རྐེང་)ཡུམ་གྱིས(ཀྱི)དོན་དུ། [འདུམས་(འདུམ་)]དབྱངས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་བཞེངས་པ་བྱག་སྟེངས་པ་ནས་བརྒྱད་པ་ས(')སྐུར་ཞེས། དབུ་རྩེ་སྟིང་མ(ཆྭིང་མ)[257]ན་[ཞཱཀྱ་སེས།] ཀིང་(རྐེང་)རེས་པཎྜི་[258](པཎྜི་ཏ་) ཆུམ་པ་ལ་(ཆུམ་སྤུ་ལ་)[སྦྱན་དངས་]ཤིང་། )ན་ལེན་ཪའི་(ན་ལེནྡྲའི་)[259]རྐེན་གཙོ་ཐུབ་པ་ལྷ་ཡུལ་མ་སྦྱན་དངས་(ཞུངས། )མཐོ་གྲིང་གི་རྐེན་གཙོ་མཛོ་གྲི[260] མཐོ་གྲིང་དུ་ཕྱག་(ཕྱགས་[261])ཞེས། བསྟོད་(སྟོད་)[འདུལ་གྱི་]བྱ་(གྲྭ་)ས་[ཆེན་མོ་]དང་། [སྟག་]སྐོར་གྱི་བཤད་གྲ་(གྲྭ་)ཆམས་[བཙུགས་]ས་[ཡིན་ཏེ[262]]། །[263]འདུལ་བ་འཛིན་པ་ཐུང་ཆུང་སེང་གེས(། )

[245] Not corrected in D2013: 24.

[246] Not indicated as corrected reading in D2013: 24 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 159.

[247] Not corrected in D2013: 24.

[248] *shad* (and space) after *kyis* is missing in D2013: 24.

[249] Not corrected in D2013: 24. D2013: 22 corrects this into a single *shad* (without indicating the fact).

[250] D2013: 24 suggests reading *rjes* for *rje*.

[251] Not indicated as a corrected reading in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 159.

[252] Not indicated as a corrected reading in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 159.

[253] In 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 159 *kyi* (*kyis*) is missing.

[254] D2013: 24 has *paṇṭita*.

[255] Not corrected in D2013: 24.

[256] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 159 has only *ces*.

[257] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 159 has only *rnying ma*.

[258] D2013: 24 has *paṇṭita*.

[259] Rendering the Sanskrit name Nālandā. For the Tibetan spelling see *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo* 2002: 1195. (D2013: 24 has *na len dra'i*.)

[260] In the manuscript this text is inserted in a small script above the line. Its place between *spyan drangs* and *mtho gling* is indicated by three dots.

[261] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 160 suggests reading *sngags* instead of *phyag*.

[262] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 160 has only *yin no*.

[263] The bracket indicating the beginning of the passage is either missing or not visible in the facsimile edition.

ལྷ་རྒྱལ་བྱ་མ་[ཡེ་ཤེས་]འོད། །
[འཇམ་དཔལ་]སྐུལ་བར་རབ་[གྲགས་]པ། །
དེ་ནི་ཙ་རྒྱུད་ཆེན་པོ་ལས། །
ལུང་བསྟན་ཐོབ་ཅིང་མཐོ་གྲིང་གི། །
དཔེ་མེད་[ལྷུན་གྲུབ་]གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་། །
བཞེངས་ནས་བརྒྱ་གང་(རྒྱ་གར་)ཤར་[ཕྱོགས་]ནས། །
མཁས་བཙུན་སྟན་བའི་འབྱུག་སྒྲ་ཅན། །
[གྲགས་]པའི་[རྒྱལ་མཚན་]མཐོན་པོ་ཡིས། །
ཀུན་ལ་གསལ་བར་གྱུར་པ་ཡི། །
རྣམ་པ་ལ་(རྣམ་པྲ་ལ་)ཞེས་བྱ་བ། །
[ཡེ་ཤེས་]འོད་ཀྱི་(ཀྱིས་)[སྐྱེ་བྱེད་]ནས། །
[ཐུགས་]རྗེ་ཉི་མས་བརྒྱད་སྐུལ་[264](བསྐུལ་)ཏེ། །
བསྟན་པ་[རིན་ཆེན་]གནས་བྱའི་

[310/f. 18b:]

ཕྱིར། །
མཁན་པོ་[མཛད་]ནས་[བསྒྲུབ་བརྒྱད་]སྟེལ། །
དེའི་མཁན་པོའི་[གཙོ་པོ་]གསུམ། །
དཀོན་སྐོང་ས་རྒྱ་ལ་[265]དང་། །
[རྗོ་བོ་]གུ་ན་པ་ལ་[266]དང་། །

[264] Not corrected in D2013: 25.

[265] Rendering the Sanskrit name Sādhupāla.

[266] Rendering the Sanskrit name Guṇapāla.

དཀོན་སྐོང་སྤྱང་[267](ཕྱན་)[268]པ་ལའོ། །
ཕྱོགས་པ་ལ[269]འི་མཁན་པོ་ནི། །
ཞང་ཞུང་[ཡུལ་གྱི་]འདུལ་བ་འཛིན། །
[ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་]གཡག་རྫའི་རྩེ་མོ་[འམ]། །
[མིག་གི་]ཁ་[འབྲས་བུ་]བཞིན་བསྡུང་བ། །
[ཡོན་ཏན་]ཁ་[རིན་ཆེན་]ཐམས་ཅད་[ཀྱི]། །
བརྒྱུད་ཀྱར་འདུལ་བའི་བསྟེ་སྟོད་(སྟེ་སྟོད་)ལ། །
མང་དུ་ཐོས་ཤིང་དེས་སྦྱངས་པ། །
སྟན་པ་[ནམ་མཁས་][270]ས་སྟེངས་(ས་སྟེང་)ཁྲབ། །
[ཐུགས་]རྗེའི་[འཕྲིན་ལས་]ཚོས་ཆར་འབབ། །
བཤད་པའི་བརྒྱུད་པ་འདི་ལྟ་སྟེ། །
འཛམ་གླིང་[གྲགས་]པས་ཁྱབ་གྱུར་པ། །
མཁས་པ་མང་ལ་བརྒྱད་པ་ཅན། །
རྣོ་ན་ཏྲེ་[271]ཞེས་[གྲགས་]པ་ལ། །
[སོ་སོ་]ཐར་དང་དེའི་འགྲེལ། །
འདུལ་བ་བསྡུས་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། །
དཀོན་སྐོང་རྒྱལ་བ་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱིས། །
དེ་ལ་ཞུས་ནས་འགྱུར་ཡང་བཅོས། །

[267] In the manuscript in addition to *pra* only fragments of a ligature (alternative possible subscripts *ja* or *nya*?) are preserved.

[268] D2013: 25 *prangi* and suggests correcting this into *pradznya*, thus as rendering the Sanskrit name Prajñāpāla.

[269] Rendering the Sanskrit name Prajñāpāla.

[270] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 161 suggests reading the *skung yig* as *nam mkha'*.

[271] Rendering the Sanskrit name Jñānaśrī.

གཞན་ཡང་དགེ་སློང་དེ་ཡིས་ནི། །
སྡུམ་བརྒྱ་པ་དང་དེའི་འགྲེལ། །
འོད་ལྡན་དེའི་གཞུང་དེ་ནི། །
ལྷ་ཆེའི་མཁས་པ་པཉྩིཏ[272](པཉྩི་ཏ)། །
ཀྱི་སྒྱན་ཏི་ཤེཀྵེ་ལ། །
དགེ་སློང་དགེ་

[311/f. 19a:] བཅུ་དགུ།

༦༥། །བློས་བསྐྱེད་ནས་ནི། །
མ་དག་ཚད་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་བཅོས། །
ཡུལ་དབུས་དེས་དང་བཏུན་(བསྟུན་)བྱས་ནས། །
⟨ཐུགས་⟩རྗེའི་རྒྱུད་སྐན་(བརྟན་)སྐྱེ་སྦས། །
བྱང་ཆུབ་འོད་ཀྱི་[273]ངོར་བཤད་མངའ། །
སློབ་མ་ལ་ཐན་ཞེས་བྱ་ཡི། །
འགྲེལ་པའང་དེས་བསྐྱེད་དེའི་(དེ་ཡིས་)[274]བསན(གསན)། །
དེ་མིང་ལ་ཆེ་པཊ་ཆེན་⟨གཏས⟩། །
དགེ་ཚུལ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཀ་རི་ཀཱ། །
རྒྱ་གར་གྱིས་[275](ཀྱི་)ནི་པཉྩིཏ[276](པཉྩི་ཏ)། །

[272] D2013: 26 has *paṇṭita*.

[273] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 162 has only *kyis*.

[274] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 162 has only *de yi*.

[275] Not corrected in D2013: 26.

[276] D2013: 26 has *paṇṭita*.

ས་མནྟ[277]ཤྲཱི་ཛྙཱ་ན[278]ལ། །
ཞུས་ཤིང་ལུགས་ཡང་⟨ལེགས་⟩བཅོས་ནས། །
རྒྱ་གར་ལ་ཆེ་བཞི་པོ་ཡི། །
རྒྱ་དཔེའ་གསུམ་དང་བསྟུགས་(ཀྱུགས་)བྱས་ནས། །
དགེ་སློང་རྒྱལ་ཤེས་བཟང་པ་མཛད། །
དགེ་ཚུལ་གྱིས[279]ནི་ལོ་ཏྲ་ཡང་། །
རྒྱ་དཔེ་བཞི་པོའི་ཡུལ་ནུས་(ནས་)[280]ནི། །
སྦུན་དྲངས་མཛོ་སྒྲིང་བྱོན་པ་ཡི། །
ཏྲཀྵ་ཝ་ལ[281](ཏྲཀྵ་སྤྲ་ལ)འི་རྒྱ་དཔེ་⟨གཟེགས⟩། །
ལ་ཆེའི་མཁན་པོ་ན་ར་ཡ། །
དེ་བ་ལ་ནི་དེ་ཞུས་ནས། །
བསྐྱེད་ཞིང་[282](ཅིང་)བཤད་པ་དག་ཀྱང་མངའ། །
དགེ་སློང་གིས་ནི་ལོ་ཏྲ་བ། །
དགེ་སློང་བྱང་ཆུབ་འབྱུང་གནས་ཀྱིས། །
ཞུས་ནས་རྒྱ་གར་ཤར་སྨྱོགས་ཀྱི། །
མཁས་བཙུན་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་⟨གྲགས་⟩ཁྱབ་པ། །
⟨མཚན་⟩ནས་ཤེན་

[277] Rendering the spelling in the manuscript (not indicated in D2013: 26 which has *sa man ta*).

[278] Rendering the Sanskrit name Samantaśrījñāna.

[279] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 162 has only *gyi*.

[280] Not indicated as a corrected reading in D2013: 26.

[281] Not corrected in D2013: 26.

[282] Not corrected in D2013: 26.

[312/f. 19b:]

དུ་[283](ཀུ་)བརྩོད་དཀའ་བའི། །
རྡི་ཕོ་ཀ་ར་ཤྲཱི་ཛ་(ཛྙ་)[284]ན[285]། །
དགེ་སློང་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱལ་བས་བསྟུར། །
ཁེ་དགུ་ཁ་ནས་ལ་ཞང་ཞུང་གི། །
འདུལ་ཁའི་ན་ཆེན་པོས་ཞུས་པ་ཡིན། །

ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར། པཎྜི་[286](པཎྜི་ཏ་)ཆོས་སྲུ་ལ་གུ་གེར་ཞེའོ། ཁེ་ཁ་སོགས་ས་[287]བསྟེན་པར། སྨོག་(རྨོག་)པ་དང་། རབ་བྱུང་བསྟུབ་[288](བསྟུབས་)པ་གྲངས་མེད་ཁས་ཀྱི་(གྱིས་)[289]མི་ཁྱབ་པ་འབྱུང་།

ཁེ་དགུ་ལ་བརྟེན་དེ་(ཀེ་)དབུས་གཙང་ཁྱོགས་སུ། ཡང་བསྟོད་འདུལ་(སྟོད་འདུལ་)གྱི་གླ་ས་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བ་བསྒོགས། གཙང་ཆུ་མིག་ཀུ། ཆོས་རྗེ་ས་པཾ་གྱི་གསུང་དང་། ལུང་བསྟན་ལྟར་འགོ་མགོན་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་ཁབས་ས་བསྟོད་འདུལ་(སྟོད་འདུལ་)གྱི་བཤད་གྲ་(ཁྲ་)[290]ཆེས་ཆེ་བ་བཏབ། དེ་རྣམས་ལ་གཞི་རྒྱན་ཚན་[291]ཆེ་བ་བསྒོགས། ཁྲད་པར་ཞང་ཞུང་བ་རྒྱལ་བ་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་དུ་འདུལ་བ་འཛིན་པ་དུ་མ་ཁྱེས་སུ་བཟུང་། དབུས་བཙང་ཁ་ལམས་ཁ་གསུམ་ནས་སྟེན་པར་ཁྱོགས་པ་(བསྟེན་པར་རྫོགས་པ་)

[283] Not corrected in D2013: 26.
[284] Not indicated as a corrected reading in D2013: 26.
[285] Rendering the Sanskrit name Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna.
[286] D2013: 26 has *paṇṭita*.
[287] In 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 163 *pa* is missing.
[288] Not corrected in D2013: 26.
[289] Not indicated as a corrected reading in D2013: 26 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 163.
[290] Not indicated as a corrected reading in D2013: 27.
[291] In 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 163 *tshan* is missing.

དང་། ་རབ་བྱུང་ཞུ་བ་དང་། འདུལ་བའི་སྐོབ་གཉེར་བྱེད་མཁན་གྱངས་མེད་པ་ཁོང་ངོ་(འོངས་སོ)། །ངུས་ཁ་ཅིག་ཁ་གི་ཚེ། རྒྱལ་བ་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་གཏྲེ་གློ་བོ་སྟེངས་ཆེན་དུ་ཞེབས།

[313/f. 20a:] ཁ་ཉེ་ཤུ་ཁ་ཐིམ་(ཐམ་པ)།

ཨཱཿ ཀིར་བསྟོད་འདུལ་(སྟོད་འདུལ་)གྱི་གླ་ས་ཁམ་པར་ཁ་དག་པ་བསྒུགས། ཉེར་རེ་མངའ་བདག་བཙེ་(རྩེ་)ཉེས་བཟུང་བས། འདུལ་འཛིན་ཁམས་ཁ་མཚོད་པའི་བཞེས་(གཞེས་)དང་། རྒྱབ་མང་དུ་ཁསྒུགས་སོ། ཡང་གཏྲེ་དེ་ནས་ཁམ་ཁའ་ལ་འཕུར། འཛིམ་གྱིས་(གྱི་)ཁྲག་གདོང་ཁ་དུ་སྐེབ(སྐེབས)། དེ་(དེར་)ཡང་སྟོད་འདུལ་དང་། ཡོ་གའི་གླ་ས་ཆེན་པོ་བསྒུགས། གཏྲེ་དེ་ད་དུང་ཡང་ཁོད་དོ། ཡའི་ཁམས་ཁ་ཐུན་ཙམ་གྱི་དང་པོ་ཁཡིན་ནོ། །

སྐར་ཡང་གྱད་གྱི་(ཀྱི་)[292]ཡུལ་དུ་རྩོ་འཕངས་པའི་མདོ་ལས།

འོག་ཏུ་འདུལ་བའི་གསེར་གྱི་ཁདཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ཁ་[293]བཟུང་། །
ངོས་སུ་མདོ་སྡེའི་འཁོར་ཡུག་མཇོས་པས་སྐོར་[294](བསྐོར་)། །
སྟེང་ནས་མངོན་པའི་ཀུ་ཆེན་ཆར་ཆུན་འབེབས། །
བསྐོམ་[295](བསྐོམས་)པའི་ཚུས་གང་ང་ཡིས་(ཡི་)[296]བསྟན་པ་རྒྱས། །

[292] Not indicated as a corrected reading in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 163.
[293] D2013: 27 suggests reading *dpal* (and not *dkyil 'khor*) for *dal*.
[294] Not corrected in D2013: 27.
[295] Not corrected in D2013: 27.
[296] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 164 has only *yis*.

ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར།)[297] (ཡེ་ཤེས་)འོད་ཀྱིས། ཚང་(གཙང་)ནས་གནས་བརྟན་(ཡོན་ཏན་)རྣམས་བསྡུས་(སྡུས་)ཤིང་ཐོགས་(ཐོགས་)ཏེ། ཐུབ་ཆུབས་སེང་གེ་(གཉེས་)སྐུན་བྱེད་པ། བསྟེ་སྟོད་(སྟེ་སྟོད་)གསུམ་གྱི་གླ་ས་མང་དུ་(བཙུགས་སོ།) །

(ཡང་)

འགྲོ་ཀུན་(རང་བཞིན་)(གཅིག་)དེ་ལས་ཀྱི་ཁྱད། །
བདེ་བསྟུག་(བདེ་སྡུག་)སྣ་ཚོགས་)སྐྱོང་ཡང་ལས་དེ་ནི། །
(སེམས་)ཀྱི་ཚོས་ཉིད་མི་

[314/f. 20b:]

ཤེས་སེམས་དབྱིངས་དེ། །
ལས་མི་ཤེས་ཏེ་(བརྟེན་འབྲེལ་(རྟེན་འབྲེལ་))ཀྱིས་ཀུན་འགྱུབ། །

ཅེས་མདོ་ལས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར། (བརྟེན་ཅིང་)འབྲེལ་འབྱུང་།[298] རྒྱུ་འབྲས་མི་བསླུ་ཞིང་བདེན་པའི་དབང་གིས། (དམིགས་)[299]པ་མེད་པའི་སྟིང་རྗེ་(ཆེན་པོའི་)[300](ཆེན་པོས་)། (ཀུན་ནས་)སྐངས་(བསྐངས་)ཏེ། རང་གྲོལ་[301](ཐམས་ཅད་)ཐན་བདེའི་དཔལ་ལ་བགོད། སྔོག་པར་སྐྱོད་ཅིང་ལོག་པར་སྐྲ་བ་རྣམས། (དེ་དག་)ལས་བརྟོག་པའི་ཕྱིར། (སྐུགས་)ལོག་སུ་(སུན་)འབྱིན་གྱི་(བསྐྲན་བཅོས་)(རྣམས(བརྣམས))། (གཞན་ཡང་)(རྣམ་སྣང་[302]མངོན་བྱང་གི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་དོན། བསྐན་པ་རྒྱུའི་ཁོག་ཐུབས། མཚོད་རྒྱུན་ཆེན་མོའི་ཡིག་ཆ། (དཀོན་མཆོག་[303]མཆོད་པའི་གཞུང་ཇེན་ཐིག་རྩ་(ལ་སོགས་)པ་(རྣམས་)(མངོད་དོ།)[304]། །)

དེའི་ཚེ་(རིན་ཆེན་)བཟང་པོས་ཀྱང་།

དུས་དེར་ཉིད་ཀྱི་(ཚོགས་)བསགས་(བསགས་)(སྨོན་ལམ་)མཐུས། །
རྩེ་རྒྱལ(་རིན་ཆེན་)མཚོག་ལྟར་(རྣམ་དཀའ་)འཕྲུངས། །
(མཉེན་)རབ་(ཡེ་ཤེས་)འོད་ཀྱི་རྣོངས་རྒྱན་གསལ། །
(ལམ་)ལོག་ལས་བརྟོག་ཕན་བདེའི་(ཚོགས་)རྒྱས་མངོ་དུ། །
བདག་ཀྱང་སྔོན་སྤྱད་(ལེགས་)སྤྱད་འགའ་ཡིས་རྒྱས། །
སྐྱེས་མཚོག་དེའི་འཁོར་གྱུར(་ལམ་མཚོག་)བརྟེན(་རྟེན[305])། །

[315/f. 21a:] ཉར་གཅིག

ཞི། (བསོད་(ནམས་)མཐུས་བཀྲངས་དོན་ཆེན་[306]རྐྱེན་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱལ། །
དེ་ཕྱིར་བདག་ལ་གཞན་ཕན་སྤྱོད་སྐྱེས། །

[297] The bracket indicating the beginning of the passage is either missing or not visible in the facsimile edition.

[298] *shad* (and space) after *'od dang* is missing in D2013: 30.

[299] D2013: 28 suggests reading *dmyigs*.

[300] Not corrected in D2013: 28.

[301] In the facsimile edition a part of the lower margin of a few words in this line seems to be missing here. Therefore the reading of *rang srid* (as also in D2013: 28) is not entirely certain. Alternative readings might be *rang dang srid pa* (in case of a *skung yig*) or *rang gzhan*.

[302] D2013: 28 suggests reading *rnam mang*.

[303] D2013: 28 has *dkon cog*.

[304] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 164 has *mdzad* instead of *mzdad do* (*skung yig*).

[305] Not indicated as a corrected reading in D2013: 28.

[306] *rkyen* is crossed out in the original manuscript and omitted in D2013: 28.

ཅེས་[307](ཞེས་)།སོགས་།སྔོན་དུ་སོང་བས། ཁྱགས་།ལོག་སུན་འབྱིན་གྱི་བསྟན་ཚོས་(བཅོས་)ཆེན་པོ་མངའ་དང་ཅིང་། འདི་ནི་མདོ་དབུས་།ཁམས་།རྣམས་།ཀྱི་མཁས་ཤིང་གྲུབ་པ་བརྙེས་པ་མཐའ་དག་གི་ཡིད་ཀྱི་ཤིང་རྟ་གང་བར་བྱེད་པ། །བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་།ཀྱི་བཀའ་ལྟར་ཚད་མར་གྱུར་ཏོ། །

གཞན་ཡང་[308]རབ་གནས་ཀྱི་སྔོན་དང་། དཔལ་།མངོན་པར་།ཏེགས་།པའི་ཤེ་ཀ་[309]།ལ་སོགས་།པ་གཞུང་མང་དུ་མངའ་བ། རྣམ་[310]པ་ལ་(རྣམ་པྱ་ལ་)[311]ནས་བྱག་ཞན་མང་པོས་ཚོས་ཞུས། ཁྱགས་།སྐོར་གྱི་བསྟོམ་བསྒྲུབ་དང་བཤད་པ་།གཅོ་བོར་།མངའ། ཁོ་ཆེན་གྱིས་ཕྱིས་ཤིང་མན་ཚད་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་ལེན་།ཐམས་ཅད་།སྨོས་པ་ཚུང་། ཡོ་གེ་ལ་ཀུན་དགའ་སྙིང་པོའི་ཕྱག་ལེན་དང་ཡིག་ཆ་ལ་ཤན་བཤད་།གཅོ་བོར་།མངའ་ཅིང་། ལོ་སྟོང་བའི་(ལོ་ཙྭ་བའི་)སྐུ་ཚེའི་སྨད་ཀྱིས་(ཀྱི་)ཕྱག་སྒོལ།ཐམས་ཅད་།ས་ཆསྐོད་དུ་ལུས་པས། ཡོགསྐོད།ལུགས་སུ།གྲགས།། བྷ་མ་ས་()སྐུ་པ་ཡབ་སྲས་ལྷ་དབོན་།ཐམས་ཅད་།

[316/f. 21b:]

།ལུགས་།འདི་ལ་།རྩེགས་(གཅོགས་)སུ་།ཆ་ཤེང་དང་།རྒྱས་སུ་།མངའ་བ་།ཡིན་ནོ།། །ང་ལྟས་ཞལ་།གཤེས་།ཀྱིས་(ཀྱི་)[312]ཡོ་གེ།ཤོགས་།ལོ་ཆེན་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་ལེན་སྐུ་ཆེ་སྟོང་སྨད་ཀྱི་ཆོས་།ལུགས་།།ཐམས་ཅད་།གཅོ་བོར་།སྟོན་དེ་དང་བར་མངའ་བས། དུ་དྲང་ཡང་།ལེགས་།པར་།ཡོད་དོ།། །)

[307] Not corrected in D2013: 28.

[308] D2013: 28 has (that is, adds) *shad* (and space) after *gzhan yang* and before *rab gnas*.

[309] D2013: 29 has *ṭi ka* without a *tsheg* in between.

[310] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 165 has only *rma*.

[311] Not indicated as corrected reading in D2013: 29.

[312] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 165 has only *kyis*.

།ཡི་ཤེས་།འོད་འདོས་ཞི་བ་སྙིང་པོའི་།མཆོད་རྟེན་།བསྟབ་[313](བསྟབས་)པ་ལྟར། དྲག་ཞན་འབྲིང་།གསུམ་།མོན་བྱ་ཚུ་ཚུན་།ཡན་ཚད་།ཤེ་བའི་རྣམ་པ་ཚ་ཚར་བཏུབ། ངན་སོང་སྡུག་བ་ཀུན་།རིག་གམ་།གཙུག་དགུའི་།དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་[314]བཞེངས་ནས། ཚ་ཚ་དེ་།རྣམས་།ལྟ་།རྣམས་།ལ་བགོད་ལ། དགེ་སློང་འབའ་ཞིག་བསྟབ་[315](སྒྲུབ་)པ་ལ་བཞག། །ཁྱིན་པོ་ངན་སོང་།གསུམ་།དུ་སྐྱེས་པ་མཐོ་།རིས་སུ་།ཐོན་།པའམ། ཡང་ན་མ་སྐྱེས་པའི་།རྟགས་།རྒྱུད་དང་།བསྟན་ཚོས་(བཅོས་)ལས་ཇི་ལྟར་གསུངས་པ་།བཞིན།། །དངོས་སམ་།རྡེ་།ལམ་།དུ་མ་བྱང་གི་བར་དུ་བསྟབ། དེ་ནས་།མཆོད་རྟེན་།བཞེངས་སྟེ་(ཏེ་)།བཞུགས་སུ་གསོལ་།བའི་སྒོལ་ཚུགས། ཚུལ་འདི་བཞིན་གསོན་པའི་སྐུ་སེན་ལ་ཡང་བྱ་བར་བཤད་པ་།བཞིན་།།མངའ་དེ།[316]། ལུགས་འདི་ཕྱོགས་ཀུན་དུ་[317](ཏུ་)[318]ཡང་གྲགས་པས། གཤེན་བསོན་(གསོན་)།ཐམས་ཅད་།ལ་ཡང་།ཡེ་ཤེས་།འོད་བཀའ་དྲིན་

[317/f. 22a:] ཉེར་གཉིས།

ཞི། ।ཆེ་བ་།ཡིན་ནོ།། ।ཁོ་རེ་།བཞིན་།།སེམས་ཅན་།གྱི་རྒྱས་པ་མང་པོ་བསྟུས། །བསྟེགས་།སྟེ་(ཏེ་)[319]སྤྱང་དཀྱུས་(བཀྱུས་)[320]བྱས་ནས།[321] དགེ་བའི་ཚ་ཚ་བཏབ་པ་དང་། ཚ་བརྒྱད་མང་པོ་བཞེངས་པ་དང་། འཛོན་(མཛོན་)པོའི་

[313] Not corrected in D2013: 29.

[314] D2013: 29 suggests reading *dal* (and not as a *skung yig* for *dkyil 'khor*).

[315] Not corrected in D2013: 29.

[316] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 166 reads the *skung yig* as *mdzad do*.

[317] Not corrected in D2013: 29.

[318] Not indicated as a corrected reading in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 166.

[319] Not indicated as a corrected reading in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 166.

[320] D2013: 30 suggests reading *dkrum* (and not *bkrus*) for *dkrus*.

[321] *shad* (and space) after *byas nas* is missing in D2013: 30.

ཐུག་[ཆམས་སུ་]བཞུགས་པའི་[ཐུག་ལེན་][གཙུགས(བཙུགས)]། ཡུལ་[སོ་སོར་]ཡང་བཀའ་བཅུལ[322](བསྡུལ)ཏེ་བསྒྲབ་པ་[ཡིན་ནོ།] །དེ་ནས་སྐུ་ཚེའི་བཞུག་(གཞུག)རིལཝོ་མཛོ་གྲིང་དུ་བཞུགས། [ཏྲང་ཚུབ་][སེམས་པའི་][ཆམ་པར་]ཐར་པ་[བསམ་]ཀྱིས་[མི་ཁྱབ་]པས། [ཐུགས་][དམ་]མཐར་ཕྱིན་པ་མངོད་ལ། [ཆམས་(ཆམ་)]ཐར་[གཅིག་]ཏུ་སྐྱེ་ཝོ་མཐའ་དག་ལ[323][འཇིག་རྟེན་][ལུགས་]ཀྱི་མཐུན་པའི་བཀའ་ལུང་། [ཁྱད་པར་]ཡུལ་དུས་དང་[འཚམས་][ཞིང་][བསྟུབ་པར་][ནུས་པའི་]དགེ་[སྦྱོག་]ཚུལ་[ཤེས་]བཞིན་[ཡོད་]ཅིང་[ཡང་]ལྷ་རྒྱུད་[ཀྱང་]ལས་ལྷག་པ་[ཡིན་ནོ།] །ཞེས་འཆྱང་། [ཡང་]

ལྷ་རྒྱལ་བྱ་མ་[ཡི་ཤེས་]འོད། །
[སངས་རྒྱས་][མངོད་]པ་ཅིང་པར་འགྱུར། །

ཞེས་དང་།

[རྒྱལ་པོ་]འོད་ཀྱི་མཐའ་ཅན་དང་། །
[དགེ་སློང་][བྱའི་གདོང་ཅན་ཀྱི(ཀྱིས)]། །
ངའི་སྐྱབ་པ(ལསྐྱབ་པ་)[རྒྱས་པར་]ཅིང་། །

[322] Not corrected in D2013: 30.

[323] In ‘Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 166 *la* is missing.

[324] ‘Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 166 has only *gzhag*.

ཅེས་པ་དང་། ལྷ་བྱ་མ་[ཡི་ཤེས་][འོད་དང་]།[325] [རིན་ཆེན་]བཟང་པོ་ལྔང་བསྐྱབ་པ་[ཡིན་ནོ།] །འགའ་ཞིག་ཏུ། བྱ་མ་[ཡི་ཤེས་]འོད་འདི་[326][ཡང་དག་]པར་[སྨོས་གས(རྗོགས[327])]པའི་[སངས་རྒྱས་]

[318/f. 22b:]

ཐུབ་པ་[ཆེན་པོའི་]ཞལ་མཐོང་། ཚོས་ཐོག [མཐའ་འཁོབ་]ཀྱི་སའི་ཚར་བསྐྱབ་པ་དར་[རྒྱས་སུ་]ཁྱེད་པར་]སྨོན་ལམ་]བཏབ། མོས་པ་སྨོད་པའི་སྐལ་གཏན་པ་[ཡིན་ཏེ[328]། སྐུ་གསུམ་བསྐྱབ་པའི་མདོའ་ལས། [མཆོག་གི་]སྐུལ་པའི་[329]སྐུ་ནི་མོས་སྨོད་ཀྱི་ས་ལ་གནས་པ་[ཆམས་]ལ་སྐང་ཞིང་ཆོས་སྟོན། [དེ་དག་གིས་]ཀྱང་ངའི་ཚོས་འཇོམ། ཅེས་པའི་དོན་[ཐམས་ཅད་]འདི་ལ་ལྟན་པས་མདོའ་ལུང་དང་ཡང་[330]མཐུན་ཟེར།) [ཐུགས་]དམ་]གྱི་བར་[སྐབས་སུ།] འོ་ཆེན་[ལ་སོགས་པའི་]ཆེན་པོ་]ཆམས་]དང་] [རྒྱལ་པོ་]བློན་པོ་]ལ་སོགས་པའི་]འབངས་གྱ་མ་(ངྲ་མ་)[331]ཆམས་]དང་] དམན་པ་]ཡན་ཆད་]ལ་རང་རང་གི་[བསམ་]པ་དང་[འཐུན་(མཐུན་)པར་]གང་ལ་གང་[འདུལ་གྱི་]ཚོས་[བསྐྱན་ནས་]སྨིན་ཅིང་གྲོལ་བར་མངོད་པ་[ཡིན་ནོ།] །སྔ་ཕྱི་[ཐམས་ཅད་]ངུ་ཡང་། ཡབ་མེས་ཀྱི་གསྡུག་ལག་ལང་[ཆམས་]ལ་མཆོད་པ་དང་] [ཞིག་གསོས་]དང་] དར་རྒྱས་[ལ་སོགས་]པའི་[ཐུགས་]ཤུར་བསྟམས་དེ་(ཏེ་)རྒྱ་

[325] *shad* (and space) after *‘od dang* is missing in D2013: 30.

[326] ‘Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 166 has *ni* instead of *‘di*.

[327] Not indicated as a corrected reading in D2013: 30 and in ‘Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 166.

[328] ‘Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 166 has *yin no* instead of *yin te* (*skung yig*).

[329] ‘Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 166 has *ba’i*.

[330] In ‘Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 166 *yang* is missing.

[331] D2013: 31 suggests reading *dra ma* for *grwa ma*.

གང་[རོ་རྗེ་]གདན་དང་། ཤྲི་ན་ལེནྡྲེའི་(ཤྲི་ན་ལེནྡྲེའི་)[332]གསུང་ལག་ལང་དང་། རྒྱ་གར་ཁ་ཆེའི་[དགོན་ནས]། གསུག་ལག་ལང་། [མཚོད་རྟེན་]རྣམས་ལ་མཚོད་རྒྱུན་གྱི་གསེར་མང་པོ་སྐུར་[333](བསྐུར་)། [དགེའ་འདུན་(དགེ་འདུན་)]
[རྣམས་]

[319/f. 23a:] ཞེར་[གསུམ]།

ཞེས། །ལ་བཀའ་ལུང་སྐུར་བར་མཛད་ཅིང་། དབོན་རབས་[རྣམས་]ལ་ཡང་དེ་ལྟར་གྱི་བཀའ་ལུང་ནན་ཏན་[མཛད་དོ]། །
སྐུ་ནས་(ན་)ཤིན་དུ་(ཏུ་)[334]སྐྱེས་པ(བཟློས་པ)འི་ཚེ་ན་ཡང་། མཐོ་སྨིང་ལ་སྡུག་མ(ཁར་)(འཁར་)[བསྣམས]ནས་སྐོར་བ་མང་དུ་[མཛད་]ཅིང་། [གཞན་ཡང་]མཆོད་པའི་ལས་ལ་མི་[ཐབས་ཅད་]ཀུང་སྐུལ་ཞིང་། [རང་གཞན་][ཀུན་གྱིས་]བསྐྲུབ་[335](བསྐྲབས)པ་[ཡིན་ནོ]། །
དེའི་ཚེ་མཐོ་སྨིང་དུ་ཉེ་གནས་[གཅིག་]མ་[རྟོགས་(གཏོགས་)]པ་སྙད་ཡང་[336]མི་འཇལ་(མཇལ་)བར་བཀའ་བཅལ་[337](བཀའ་བསྩལ་)ཏེ་ཁོ་[གསུམ་]གྱི་བར་དུ་སྐུ་[འཚམས(མཚམས)]བཅད་ནས་[ཐུགས་]དམ་[འཚམས(མཚམས)]ལ་འཐོན་(ཐོན་)པ་དང་རེས་[གཅིག་]བདུལ་བ་(གདུལ་བ་)[རྣམས་]ལ་ཞལ་བསྟན་པ་དང་། ཚོས་[རྩིགས(གཅིགས)]ཀྱི་བཀའ་ལུང་མཐའ་མ་ཙལ(བསྩལ་)[338]བའི་ཕྱིར། མང་རྒྱང་དུ་[བཤེགས་(གཤེགས་)][339]པ་ལ་འབངས་[ཐམས་ཅད་]ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་། སྤྱི་དགོས་[སོ་སོ་]ནས། རང་རང་གི་དད་གུས་དང་། སྤྱོ་བས་[ཕྱག་འཚལ་]བདད། [ཞལ་ལྟ་(ཀ)]ཞུ་ཞིང་[བཀའ་ལུང་ཟབ་པའི་ཕྱིར་བསྡུ་བ་བརྒྱ་[340](རྒྱ་)ཚེན་པོ་]བྱས་སྟེ(ཏེ)། དེ་ཡང་ཐོག་མར་རབ་[341]ཏུ་བྱུང་བ་[རྣམས]ཀྱིས། རང་རང་གི་ཚ་[ལུགས་]ཚང་བའི་སེར་ཁྱེང་(ཁྱེང་)དང་། རོལ་མོའི་[ཚོགས་]མཐའ་དག་དང་།[342]

[320/f. 23b:]

ཤེས་བརྗོད་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པའི་བསྟུ་བ་དང་། མཐའ་ན་ཟན་པོ་དང་། ཟན་མོ་[རྣམས་]ཀྱི་ཡང་[343](ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་)དང་གུས་ཅིད་པ་[དེ་དག་]དང་འཕྲན་པ(མཕྲན་པ)འི་སྐྱེ་བོའི་[ཚོགས་]དང་བཅས་པས།[344] ཞག་ལྔའི་བར་དུ་སྐྱེངས(སྐྱེང་)[345]མ་ཚད་པའི་བསྟུ་བ་[བྱས་སོ]། །སོ་སོ་ནས་སྡུག་དང་མཚོད་པ་དང་། བསྐོར་[346](སྐོར་)བདད། [སྨོན་ལམ་]འདེབས་པ[ལས་གས་]པ་སྐྱེ་བོའི་[ཚོགས་]དང་[347] བཅས་པ་[348]གཟིགས་ནས། [349]ལྷ་ལ་[ཞབས་སུ་]ཐོག་པའི་ཚ་རྒྱུན་མང་དུ་སྐྲས་(མངོད་)[350]དེ། སྨོན་ལམ་འདེབས་པ་མངོད། དབུས་གཙང་གི་གསུག་ལག་ལང་དང་། [དགོན་གནས་]སོ་སོར་]མཚོད་རྒྱུན་དང་། འབུལ་བ་ཞབས་

[332] Rendering the Sanskrit name Śrī-Nālandā.
[333] Not corrected in D2013: 31.
[334] Not indicated as corrected reading in D2013: 31.
[335] Not corrected in D2013: 31.
[336] *yang* is missing in D2013: 31!
[337] Not corrected in D2013: 31.
[338] D2013: 31 suggests reading *brtsal* (and not *bstsal*) for *rtsal*.
[339] Not indicated as a corrected reading in D2013: 31.
[340] Not corrected in D2013: 31.
[341] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 168 has *rang*.
[342] *shad* (and space) after *dang* is missing in D2013: 32.
[343] Not corrected in D2013: 32.
[344] *shad* (and space) after *bcas pas* is missing in D2013: 32.
[345] D2013: 32 suggests reading *bgrang* for *sgrengs*.
[346] Not corrected in D2013: 32.
[347] In 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 168 *dang* is missing.
[348] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 168 has *pas*.
[349] Before *lha* there is an unclear sign or ligature which seems to be crossed out.
[350] D2013: 32 suggests reading *rdzas* (which is not even indicated as corrected reading) for *sdzas*. 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 168 has *rdzas* and suggests reading instead of this "*mdzad*?".

ཏོག་ཡང་ཡང་དུ་བསྒྲབ[351](སྒྲུབ་)པ་མཛད་དེ། གཞན་ཡང་ལྷ་བྱ་མའི་ཞལ་ནས་མངའ་རིས་དར་ཞིང་ཆོས་རྩེགས་(གཙོགས་)ཀྱང་བསྡུན་པ་ཁེགས་གསུང་[352](གསུངས་)།། ཁྱགས་ཀ་དགེས་(དགྱེས་)པ་ཡིན་ནོ།། །

དེ་ལྟར་ལྷ་སྲས་ཁྲི་སྡེ་(ཁྲི་ལྡེ་)[353]བསོང་བསྡུག་བཙན་(གསྡུག་བཙན་[354])གྱིས་མེ་ཞོ་ཉི་ལོ་ལ་གཙང་གི་ཁཀམ་ཝེ་དྲག་དུ་(ཏུ་)ཤུ་ཁུག་གི་འབངས་སྣ་མ་(ཏྲ་མ་)[355] རྣམས་ཆོགས། བསྟོད་(སྟོད་)མངའ་རིས་འདིར་དམ་པའི་ཆོས་ཅི་དར་དུ་བྱས་པའི་ཚུལ་བཀའ་ཡོས་སུ་ཁེའེད་དེ[356](ཞབ་ཏེ)།། ལུགས་ཁགེས་ཀྱི་ཁིག་གེར་། མངྒ། ས་མོ་སྤྲང་གི་ལོ་ལ་རབ[357]ཏུ་བཞེགས[358](གཤེགས་)ཏེ་ཡེ་ཤེས་འོད་དུ་མཚན་གསོལ། མེ་ཞོ་ཁྱེའུའི་ལོ་ལ་མཐོ་སྤྱིང་ལྷ་ཚེན་མོའི་རྩངས་ཐེལ(རྩང་ཐེས)[359]། མེ་ཞོ་འབྲུགཀྱི་ལོ་ལ་རབ་གནས་དང་། ཞལ་སྒོ་བསྒྲབས། དེ་ལྟར་

[321/f. 24a:] ཉེར་བཞི།

༦༥། ཁབ་ཏུ་བྱང་ཞིང་སྐེན་པར་བསྟོགས[360](བསྐེན་པར་རྫོགས་)ནས་ལོ་སུམ་བཅུ་(ཅུ་)སོ་ཁགེཀ་།གི་བར་དུ་ཁསངས་རྒྱས་།ཀྱི་བསྟན་པའི་བདག་པོར་གྱུར་ནས། དར་རྒྱས[361]མངའ་པ་དང་། སྟོན་པ་ཤཱཀྱ་ཐེང་གེ་།ཉིད་ཚོ་ན་ལྟར་གྱུར་ཏོ། །དེ་ནས་ས་མོ་ཁུག་གི་།ལོ་ལ་མཐོ་སྤྱིང་གཟིམ[362](གཟེམས་)ལང་དུ་ཞི་བར་གཤེགས་པའི་ཚུལ་བསྟན་མོད། ཁྱབ་བསྟན་།དར་ཁྲས་སུ་།བྱེད་པའི་ཕྱིན་(འཕྱིན་)ལས་ནི། ཁནམ་མཁའི་།ཚོན་དུ་ལྟས[363](བརྟས་)པ་དེ། འཚོར་བའི་མཐའ་དང་ལྡན་ཁགེག་།ཏུ། འབྱོགས་པ་(འགྱོགས་པ་)ཡིན་ནོ།། །

ལྟ་ལས་ཟུལ་བྱང་ལྟ་སྲས་སྡོང་བསྡུག་(གསྡུག་)ལྷེ། །
རབ་བྱང་ལྟ་ཆུས་(ཆུལ་)ཁྲ་མ་ཡི་ཤེས་།འོད། །
མདོ་ཆུད་ཀྱམ་(ཆམས་)ནས་ཆུལ་བས་ལུང་བསྟན་བཀྱེས། །
ས་གནས་ཁེམས་དཔའ་།དེའི་ཁམས་(ཆམ་)།ཐར་ནི། །
མངའ་རིས་ཁསྟོད་(སྟོད་)དང་།དབུས་གཙང་ཁམས་།ཆམས་།སུ། །
ཚ་རྩམ་(ཙམ་)གསུངས་པ་མང་ཡང་ནོར་འཁྲུལ་མང་། །
ཆམས་དགེ་(ཆམ་དགེ་)ཚུལ་།འཁིན་།བཅོད་ལ་མཁས་པ་ཅན། །
ས(་)སྐྱ་པར་ཁགས་།མངའ་(ཕྱ་)རིགེ[364]པཉ་ཆེན་ཡིན། །

ཁྲི་སོང་ལྡེ་གཙན་(བཙན་)འདི་ལ་སྲས་ཞི་ཁྲོ་གཉིས། སྲས་མོ་ལྟའི་ཁམེ་།ཀྱོག་།དང་ཁགས་མ་།འཁྲུངས་པའི་ཅེན་(གཅེན་)

[351] Not corrected in D2013: 32.

[352] Not corrected in D2013: 32. 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 168 suggest reading an additional *su* after *legs*.

[353] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 168 has only *sde*.

[354] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 168 has only *btsan*.

[355] D2013: 32 suggests reading *dra ma* for *grwa ma*. 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 168 has "*grwa* [*dra?*]".

[356] Not corrected in D2013: 32. 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 168 has only *'bod*.

[357] The following passage (from *tu bshegs … lo la rab*) is added in smaller script on the same page below line 7. The addition is indicated by three dots between *rab* and *gnas*.

[358] Not corrected in D2013: 32.

[359] D2013: 32–33 reads *rmangs bres* (and not *rmangs brel*) and suggests correcting this into *rmang bris*. A more appropriate word seems to be *rmang gting*.

[360] D2013: 33 suggests reading *brdzogs* and not *bsdzogs*.

[361] D2013: 33 has (that is, adds) *su* after *dar rgyas*. The foundation for this is unclear.

[362] Not corrected in D2013: 33.

[363] Not corrected in D2013: 33.

[364] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 169 has *rig* and instead of this raises a possible reading as "*ris*?".

[322/f. 24b:]

སྐུ་འཕྲུངས་པའི་གཅེན་[365]ལྟ་ལྡེ་མགོོན་མེ་ཕོ་[368]ཁྲེའུའི་[367]ལོ་ལ་ཀ་ཏུ་[366]ཁམས་[369]དུ། པཉྩིཀ་(པཉྩི་ཀ་)ཆུམ་པ་ལ་(ཆུམ་པུ་པ་)དང་། ལོ་ཚ་བ་(ལོ་ཙྪ་བ་)ཞེན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་རྣམས་ལ་རབ་ཏུ་བཤེགས(ཁྱེགས)། དེ་བ་ནུ་ཕྱེ(དེ་བ་ནུ་ཧ)ར་མཚན་གསོལ། དེ་དུས་འབངས་བསྐྱབ་པ་ལ་དང་པ་ཡང་བརྒྱ་དང་བདུན་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་ནས་རྗེས་(རྗེ་)འབངས་རྒྱ་(བརྒྱ་)དང་བརྒྱད་[370]ཚོས་ལ་(ཞུགས་སོ)། །

དེ་ལྟར་རབ་ཏུ་བཤེགས་(ཁྱེགས་)ནས་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་ཙམ་བརྒྱད་སོང་བ[371]། ཆུ་མོ་(ཐག་གི་)ལོ་ལ། ཡབ་ལྟ་བུ་མ་(ཡི་ཤེས་)འོད་གྲོངས། དེ་ནས་ཀྱང་ལོ་ལྟའི་བར་དུ་ཡང་ཡབ་ཀྱི་སྲོལ་ལྟར་བསྐྱབ་པ་སྐྱངས་[372](བསྐྱངས་)ནས། ཡོས་ཀྱི་ལོ་ལ་གྲོངས་པ་(ཡིན་ནོ)། ཉེའི་བཙུང་(ཁ་ཆུང་)པོ་ལྟ་སྲས་ལྟ་འཁོར་བཅད། ཅི་བའི་ལོ་ལ་འཕྲུངས། བཙུ་གཅིག་པ་ཙམ་ཚོའི་ཁྱིའི་ལོ་ལ་དགེ་སྦྱིན་(དགེ་བསྙེན་)མཚོ། ནུ་གུ་རྣ་ཆོད་(ནུ་གུ་རྣ་ངོད་)[373](མཚན་)གསོལ་ལོ། །ཉི་ཤུ་ཆ་དགུ་

[365] The passage *'khrungs pa'i gcen* repeats the final words at the end of the preceding page in a revised (this is, corrected) form, by adding *sku* at the beginning and with the correct form of *gcen* at the end. Therefore, *'khrungs pa'i cen* at the end of page 321/f. 24a seems to represent an example of a scribal error that was not corrected at the time of writing or after the work was finished. Evidence for the latter can be found on a number of pages of the manuscript, for example, in the form of small textual additions, ranging from single letters and ligatures to full words or longer passages. These additions are usually found immediately above or under the respective line where they belong or sometimes—as on this page (322, f. 24b)—at the top of the page (with a sign in the text, in this case an x, to indicate the place it belongs to).

[366] D2013: 33 suggests reading (*ka*) *tu* (*rgam*) and not (*ka*) *ru* (*rgam*).

[367] D2013: 33 has *paṇṭita*.

[368] Not corrected in D2013: 33.

[369] See also *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo* 2002: 1973.

[370] In the manuscript this text is inserted in a small script above line 1. Its place between *byung nas* and *chos la* is indicated by an x below the line and an x before the addition.

[371] It is not clear why D2013: 34 suggests reading *pa* and not *ba*.

[372] Not corrected in D2013: 34.

[373] D2013: 34 has *na ga ra' dza'* (*rā dzā*) which does not correspond to the spelling in the manuscript nor does it render a correct Tibetanised spelling of the Sanskrit name.

ཡ་[374]འབྲུག་གི་[375]ལོ་ལ་[376]བསྟེན་པར་[377]སྨོན་གས(རྗེས་གས་)[378]ནས། ལོ་ངོ་(ལོ་ངོ་)[377]བཙུ་གཅིག། ཀེ་ནས་གཅེན་གོང་ནས་ལོ་ངོ་བཞིར་[378]སྐྱངས་(བསྐྱངས)། ང་ལྟ་བ་ལ་རིའི་[379]གནས་སུ་ཞེ་བར་གཤེགས་སོ། །

[379] From *yab sras gsum* … to … *bgyid 'tshal ste* (f. 24b7–f. 30b1) the text corresponds to Fragment Ka (see Ra se dKon mchog rgya mtsho 2004: 117–120). Karmay (2015: 479f.) identified four parts within this fragment, each part being dedicated to a different topic. From *yab sras gsum* … to … *gzhung du bris pa'i gzhi* (f. 24b7–f. 26b5) the text corresponds to Fragment Ka, part 1 (*ibid.*: 479–480).

[323/f. 25a:] ཞེར་ལྟ།

ཨཻ། ཟླ་ཐ་ཚུངས་གོས་(ཀྱི)ངོ་ལ། དཔལ་ལྟ་བཅོན་པོ་(ཡི་(ཡེ་)[380]ཤེས་)ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་[381](ཀྱི་ས)ཞོ་བྱང་(དབེན་གནས་)བྱམས་སྟོམ[382](བྱམས་སྟོམས)སྒྲིང་ན་བཞུགས། ཞལ་བྱང་ཉེར་གནས་ཀྱི་(དགེ་འདུན་(དགེ་འདུན་))དང་། དགེ་སྦྱེན་(བསྙེན་)པ་ཡོ་ཚོགས(ཡོངས་ཚོགས)། དུ་སྐན་ཆད་ཆོས་འཁོར་འདིར། ཁངས་ཆུས་(ཆུས་)། བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་། ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་ཇི་སྲིད་གནས་ཀྱི་བར་ནི་(སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་)བཙུགས་ཤིག་ཅེས་(ཅེས་)བཀའ་སྩལ་པ་ཡིན་པས། བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་(སེམས་)ཤིང་རྟེ་(ཆེན་པོ་)(གཙོ་བོར་)བྱས་སྟེ(ཏེ)། སྐུ་ཚེ་ཐཱ་ཚེ་ཆེའི་དོན་ལ་བསམ་ནས། ཡུལ་(ཁམས་)འདིའི་འགྲོ་བ་(དགེ་གི་)ཕན་པ་དང་། བདེ་བ་བྱ་

[374] D2013: 34 has *nyi shu rtsa gu* [sic] *pa*. The foundation for this is unclear.

[375] In 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 309 *la* is missing.

[376] Not indicated as a corrected reading in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 309.

[377] It is unclear whether *ngo'o* represents a *skung yig* or not. 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 309 (and n. 4 on p. 342) suggests reading (*lo*) *ngo bo* instead of (*lo*) *ngo*.

[378] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 168 has *ba* and reads *pa*. (The text clearly has *pa*.)

[380] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 168 has *ye* with double *'greng bu*.

[381] Not corrected in D2013: 34 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 309.

[382] Not corrected in D2013: 34.

ནོ་མེད་པ་བསྒྲུབ་པའི་སྣང་བྱ། ཁདོག་མཚོག་ཁ་གསུམ་གྱི་བརྟེན་(རྟེན་)བཙུག་(གཙུག་)ལག་ཁང་ཁ་ཕྱེར་མི་ཆུང་བ་ནི། གྲངས་ཀྱིས་བསིས་ཚགས་ཁོག་གི་ འབངས་ནས། མཛོ་སྦྱིང་དུ་སྡེ་ཁ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་(ཀྱི་)ཁ་དང་འདུན་(དགེ་འདུན་)ཁ་མི་ཉུང་བ་ཞེག་ཅི་ཐུབ་པར་སྐྱེ། མངའ་རིས་རྩིང་[383]ཚེམས་བསྡེ་[384]གསུམ་ལྟ་ཁིགས་སུ་བསྟོས་ཏེ། དེ་ལྟར་ཆེས་ཆེ་བར་བསྒྲུབས་པ་འདི། རྗེ་སྲིད་གནས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་ནི་ཁྱོགས་འདི་པའི་མི་གཡོ། མཚོག་[385]ཀྱང་བདེ་བར་འགྱུར་ཞིང་། གསུང་རབ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་[386]ཡང་

[324/f. 25b:]

དེ་སྲིད་མི་རྟག་པར་འགྱུར་བའི་ཁིགས་པས། དེ་ལྟ་བས་ན་བསྟན་པ་འཛིན་པ་ལྟར་དང་། རིམས་ཀྱིས་(རིམ་གྱིས་[387])འབྱུང་བའི་ཁང་ཟབ་རྒྱ་འབྱུང་(བྱུང་)བ་ཆམས་ཀྱིས། ཚོས་ཀྱི་ཁི་གེ་དང་། བོད་ཁམས་སུ་མངའ་(སྡུ་)ཐྱིར་མཛད་པའི། བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་རྣིང་པ་དང་། གསར་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་ཁྲིམས་བུ་ཆུང་འདི་དག་མི་འགལ་ཞིང་། དེ་དག་མཐུན་པར་གཅོ་བོར་བྱོས་ཤིག །ཨངོན་པར་ཅི་ཐུབ་[388]ཁྲིམས་ཡིན་པས། འདུལ་བའི་བསྟབ་པ་ཁམས་ཀྱི་དང་པོ་ནི་ཚུལ་

[325/f. 26a:] ཉེར་བྱག

ཞི། །དང་ཁའབྱན་པར་(མཐུན་པར་)རྒྱལ་ཁམས་སྐྱོང་བར་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་རག་ལས་པས། མངའ་མངོད་ཆམས་ཀྱི་(ཀྱིས་)བཅོ་བ་མཚོག་ཏུ་བཅས་(གཅེས་)[391]ཏེ་ཁདོག་མཚོག་གསུམ་ཁ་ཤུན་པར་བསྐུར་ཞིང་། ཡོ་བྱད་ཅི་འབྱོར་བ་ལ་བརྟེན་པའི་འབངས་དང་། ཞིང་དང་། སྐོར་དང་། ཤུང་འགྲོས་ཁ་ལ་སོགས་ཁ་པ་[392]སྐར་(པ་སྐར་)བསྟོས་པ་ཆམས་དྲྭི། མི་སྐྱང་བ་དང་། དམ་པའི་ཚོས་ནམ་དུ་ཡང་མི་བཞིག་(གཞིག་)[393]ཅིང་། ཆེད་དུ་ཁ་བསྐྱེས་ཏེ་དར་བར་སྒེལ་བ་དང་། མངའ་རིས་བདེ་བར་བྱ་ཞིང་། མཐའ་དག་སྟོམ་པར་མཆིས་ཀྱི་ཤུང་(ཀྱིས་སྐྱོང་)བ་དང་། མངའ་མངོད་ཀྱི་[394](ཀྱིས་)མ་མཉེན་ན། རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་དང་སྦྱར་བ་ཁ་ལས་གས་[395]པ་ནི། ཁཐག་པ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་གདམས་པའི་མདོ་ལས། ཚར་ཅིང་

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[383] D2013: 35 suggests reading *snying*.

[384] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 310 has *rnying tshems bsde* and suggests reading instead *snying tshoms sde*.

[385] *shad* (and space) after *g.yo* is missing in D2013: 35. Furthermore D2013: 35 suggests reading *yod cog* for *g.yo mchog*.

[386] D2013: 35 suggests reading *rin chen* which, however, does not include the *na ro* in the *skung yig*.

[387] D2013: 35 suggests reading *rim*, however, without correcting *kyis*.

[388] In the manuscript *tshul* is inserted in a small script above line 3. The addition is indicated by three dots between *ni* and *khrims*.

[389] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 310 has only *bar*.

[390] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 310 has དཟིསག་ (?).

[391] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 311 has only *bzhig*.

[392] *shad* is not necessary here.

[393] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 311 suggests reading "*bcas*(?)" instead of *bces*.

[394] Not corrected in D2013: 36.

[395] The facsimile of the original MS has *lo* with subscribed *wa zur*.

ཀྱི་གདན་ས་དིང་[396]། མེས་ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྡེ་རྩན་(བཙན་)ལ་སོགས་།གདུང་རབས་རིམ་པར་མཛད་པའི་ཚོས་ཞིགས་(གཅིགས་)ཀྱི་མདོ་རྣམས་དང་། ངའི་རིང་ལ་མཛད་པ། ཕི་ཕུག་གསར་ཁྲིམས་ལས་འབྱུང་བ་།བཞིན་།བྱའོ། །ཚོས་འཁོར་གྱི་དགེ་འདུན་།རྣམས་།ནི། བདག་དང་གཞན་གྱི་དོན། དེ་།བཞིན་།བཤེགས་[397](གཤེགས་)།པའི་བསྟན་པ་འཛིན་ཅིང་།[398] སྲེལ་བ་

[326/f. 26b:]

།ལགས་།པས། ཕྱལ་(འཕྱལ་)བགྱི་བོ་[399]ཚལ་(འཚལ་)།ལྷགས་།སྐུ་འཆང་པ་འཆིས་(མཆིས་)སྐེ(ཏེ)[400]། དགེ་འདུན་བགྱི་བོ་ཚལ་(འཚལ་)གྱི་ཡན་ལག །ཚོས་ཀྱི་།ཡི་གེ་།འདུལ་བའི་གཞུང་དང་། སྡ་རབས་ཀྱི་ཡབ་མེས། བྱང་ཆུབ་།སེམས་དཔའ་།།རྣམས་།ཀྱིས་མཛད་པའི། ཚོས་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་གཞི་དག་ལས་ཀྱང་[401] ཞིབ་ཏུ་འབྱུང་མོད་ཀྱི། དཔལ་འཕྱལ་དུ་བགྱི་བར་འོས་པ་ཆ་ཕྲ་བ་།རྣམས།། བྷ་ནས་ཀྱང་རྣམ་གྲངས་སུ་ཕྱེ་སྟེ་བཀའ་སྩལ། འོག་ཏུ་གནས་བརྟན་།ལ་སོགས་།པ་།དགེ་འདུན་(དགེ་འདུན་)།སྟེ་མཐུན་པར་ཕྱི་།གོས་སུ་།བསྟུས་དེ་[402]ཏེ།། གཉེར་འགྲམས་ཀྱང་གསོལ།།[403] རྗེ་འབངས་རྣྀ་།མོལ་ཀྱི་[404] (ཀྱིས་)།བཅད་ནས། ནང་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་།ཡི་གེ་།གཞུང་དུ་བྱིས་པའི་གཞི། [405]དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་།།དགྲ་བཅོམ་།པ་།ཡང་དག་པར་།།སྨོན་གསོལ་པའི་།།སངས་རྒྱས་།ཀླུས་[406]ཀླུབ་པ་སྟོན་འདས་པའི་དུས་སྐལ་པ་ (བསྐལ་པ་)གྲངས་མེད་པ་གང་གི་རྒྱུང་(གཙུབ་ཀྱི་)[407]གི་རྒྱ་མ་བརྒྱད་(སྟེང་)འདས་ནས། །སངས་རྒྱས་།ཀྱི་ཞིང་འདིར་སྐལ་པ་[408](བསྐལ་པ་)།ཆེན་པོ་།འཛིན་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ལ། ।འཁོར་ལོ་(ལོས་)[409]བསྒྱུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ། རྩེབས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ཁྱུད་ཀྱི་མདུན་བདོན་(མདུན་ན་འདོན་)[410]།བྱམ་།ཟའི་(བྱམ་ཟེ་)།རྒྱ་མཚོའི་།བརྟུལ་[411](རྟུལ་)ཅེས་བྱ་བར་

[327/f. 27a:] ཞེར་བདུན།

ཞི། །ཐུབ་པའི་ཚེ། །དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་།།རིན་ཆེན་།སྐྱིང་པོའི་སྒྲུབ་སྡར་།སློབ་ལམ་།ལྟ་བརྒྱ་བཏུབ་པ་དང་། ཁྱེས་སུ་།མཐུན་པར་བསྐལ་པ་བཟང་པོ་མི་འཛེད་(མཛེད་)།འཇིག་རྟེན་།གྱི་།ཁམས།། གྲིང་།བཞི་།པ་།བཅོམ་།པ་དང་ལྡན་པ། རབ་ཏུ་།སྐྱེགས་།ལ་(མ་)[412]ལྟ་དང་བཅས་པའི་གནས། བརྩོད་པ(རྩོད་པ)འི་དུས་།ཞེས་རྩན་།།ཞེས་[413]པས་སྣང་

[405] From *de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom* … to … *smos pa ltar gyis shig* (f. 26b5–f. 28a2) the text corresponds to Fragment Ka, part 2 (Karmay 2015: 480).

[406] Despite the fact that the *'a chung* below *sha* is clearly readible D2013: 36 reads *shakya* and has *sh'akya* (*shākya*) only as a corrected reading.

[407] In Sanskrit Gaṅgā (river). D2013: 36 reads *gang gi rlung* and corrects this into *gang ga'i klung*.

[408] Not corrected in D2013: 37.

[409] See *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo* 2002: 462 for the Tibetan spelling. D2013: 37 reads the *skung yig* as *'khor lo bsgyur ba'i rgyal po*.

[410] Not indicated as a corrected reading in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 312.

[411] Not corrected in D2013: 37.

[412] The facsimile reproduction appears to have a minor flaw in this place. Therefore *ma* is an equally possible reading. 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 312 has *ma*.

[413] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 312 suggests reading *rnyog* instead of *snyog*.

[396] D2013: 36 suggests reading *'di* instead of *ding*.

[397] Not corrected in D2013: 36.

[398] *shad* (and space) after *cing* is missing in D2013: 36.

[399] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 311 has *'o* instead of *bo*.

[400] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 311 has only *te*.

[401] *shad* is not necessary here.

[402] Not corrected in D2013: 36.

[403] In the manuscript *gsol* (without *tsheg* or *shad*) is inserted in a small script above line 4. The addition is indicated by three dots after *kyang*. After *kyang* one syllable, most probably *gsol* (plus *shad*) of which only the prefix *ga* remained visible) is covered by a black spot. 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 311 has *gsol go*.

[404] Not corrected in D2013: 36 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 311.

བ[414](བསླངས་པ)། འདིར་[མངོན་པར་]སྟོགས(རྫོགས་)པར་[སངས་རྒྱས་]ཏེ། འགྲོ་བ་[རྣམས་]གདུལ་བྱའི་]ཆུན་དང་འཕྲན་(མཕྲན་)པར[རྣམ་པར་]ཕར་པའི་སྒོ་མང་པོ་སྐྱེ་སྟེ། [སེམས་ཅན་]གྲངས་མེད་པ་ཞིག་ཕར་པ་རྒྱུན་ལས་འདས་པ་དང་། བླ་ན་མེད་པའི་གོ་འཕངས་(ཁོ་འཕང་)ལ་བགོད་པར་[མངོ་དོ]། ।

དེ་[ལྟ་བུའི་]འཕགས་པའི་[ལམ]ཕན་པ་དང་། བདེ་བའི་དོན་དུ་གསུངས་པས་བླ་ན་མེད་པའི་ཚོས་[བདུད་རྩི་]དང་མཚུངས་པ། མདོ་སྡེ་[བཅུ་གཉིས་]སྡེ་སྣོད་[གསུམ་]གྱིས་བསྟུས་པ་དག། །བསྟུད་(སྟུད་)པ་པོའི་[འཕགས་]པ་[དགྲ་བཅོམ་]པ་དང་། བྱང་ཆུབ་[སེམས་དཔའ་]སེམས་[ཆེན་པོ་]རྣམས་[ཡོངས་སུ་]བསྟུད་(གཏུད་)ནས། [དེ་དག་གིས་]ཀྱང་ཡང་པར་བཟུང་བ་འདི། དུ་ལྟུ་ལྟུ་བཙུ་པ་ཐ་མ་དང་ཉེ་ཏེ(སྟེ)། [གཟུགས་]བཟང་ཐམས་བའི་དུས་ལ་བབ་པས། ཡོངས་མིས་

[328/f. 27b:]

མཆོག་(མི་ཡོད་ཅོག་)གཞུང་[ལུགས་]དམ་པ་དང་ནི་བླ། ཡོན་པའི་[ལམ་]འབའ་ཞིག་ནི་རྣེན(བསྟེན)། [ཡོངས་སུ་]ཕན་པའི་ཆེད་ནི་མི་བསླུབ། བདག་ཕྱོགས་ཉེ་ཆེ་ནི་བྱེད། འདི་ལ་ཕན་པའི་ཐབས་ནི་སྨངས། ཕྱི་མཐ་བདེ་བའི་[ལམ་]ནི་མི་ཚོལ་[415](འཚོལ)། [སངས་རྒྱས་]ཀྱི་ཚོས་ནི་སྐོལ(དཀོན)[416]

[414] D2013: 37 suggests readings*lang pa* and suggests correcting this into *bslangs pa*.

[415] Not corrected in D2013: 37.

[416] Also a corrected reading *gol* is possible (see 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 344, n. 11).

ཕྱིན་ཅི་[ལོག་གི་]ཞེ(ཅོ་དུ་)[417]ནི་ལྷུང་[418]། འགྲོ་བ་ཐར་པའི་གནས་དང་ནི་བླ། ངན་འགྲོའི་[ཕྱོགས་སུ་]ནི་འབབ་པ་ནི་ཤས་རྟག་[419](ཤ་སྟག་)སྟེ། [དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པའི་]བཀའ་ཚུལ་[བཞིན་]དུ་བསྒྲུབ་པ་དབུས་ཐ(མཐའ་)གང་ནའང་ཉང་ལ། ཁྱད་པར་དུ། ས་ཕྱོགས་འདི་ཐང་ཁོན(མཐའ་འཁོབ)ལྟ་བུར་འདུག་སྟེ། གསུང་རབ་སྟིང་པོའི་སྟོད་དུ་གྱུར་པ་དགོོན་ཞིང་། བདག་བཅག་(ཅག་)[420][ལྟ་བུ་]བསོད་[ནམས་]ཁུང་དུ་]ཆམས་ཀྱིས་འདུལ་བར་དཀའ་བས་ཀྱང་ཐེག་པ་[ཆེན་པོ་]ལ་བཞོལ་(གཞོལ་)བའི་[གང་ཟག་]དག་སྟོང་[བསམ་]སྟན་(གཏན་)པ་དང་། ཚོས་སྐྱ་བ་དང་། ཀློག་པ་དང་། གནས་རྟན་(བརྟན་)པ་དང་། དག་སྐོས་དང་། [ལག་གིས་]བླ་དང་། དམ་བཞག[421][ལ་སོགས་]པ་དང་། ལས་ཀྱི་རིམ་པ་ནི། [འཕགས་]པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་]ཆུང་པོ[422](ཕུང་པོ)འི་མདོ་དང་།

[329/f. 28a:] ཉེར་བརྒྱད།

ཞི། [423]འདུལ་བའི་[ཡི་གེ་]དང་། ཀྱི་ཡ་ཀ་ར་[ལ་སོགས་]པ་དང་། གདུང་སྦ་མ་[ལ་སོགས་]པས་མཛད་པའི་གཞུང་དག་ལས་སྟོས་པ་ལྟུར་ཀྱིས་

[417] In this case the manuscript shows an inaccurate *skung yig* (mix-up of *na ro* and *zhabs rkyu* vowel signs, which is not indicated in D2013: 38). The intended expression in full is certainly *dong du*. 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 312 suggests reading the *skyung yig* as *dud 'gro*.

[418] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 312 has only *ltung*.

[419] D2013: 38 and 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 312 read *shas drag* (and not *shas rtag*).

[420] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 313 suggests reading *bdag can* instead of *bdag bcag* (*cag*).

[421] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 313 suggests reading *dam bca'* instead of *dam bzhag*.

[422] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 313 has only *cung po*.

[423] After dang a few characters are hardly visible. Perhaps *'dul* was written here, then erased and written on the following page? 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 313 has *bal* in this place.

ཤེག། [424]།དགེའ་འདུན་(དགེ་འདུན་)གྱི་(གྱིས་)ཆོས་ལོག་།ནམས་།མི་སྡུད་[425]པའི་ཁྱིམས་ལ། ཁངས་རྒྱས་།བཙོམ་ལྡན་འདས་།ཀྱིས། བསྟན་པ་དང་།ཁེམས་ཅན་།ལ་ཕན་པ་དང་། བདེ་བར་འགྱུར་བའི་།ལམ།། དམ་།པ་འཕྲོ་བསྒྲུབ་པ་ལས། གཞན་དམ་པའི་ཆོས་ལྟར་བཙོས་པ་ཕྱིན་ཅི་།ལོག་གི་།སྡུད་པ་དག་ནི། སྐང་བར་འོས་པ་ཡིན་པས། །སྟགས་།ལོག་པ་དང་། ལུང་དང་མན་ངག་ཏུ་གསོལ་བའི་ཆོས་ནོར་པ་དང་། ཕྱི་རོལ་པའི་ལྟ་བ་དང་། གཞུང་དང་། ཞ་ཏེ་པ་དང་། བོན་དང་། མོ་དང་། ཞང་ཞུང་།གི་གཙུག་།ལག། །རྒྱར་སྐད་(དཔྱད་)ཀྱི་(ཀྱི་)རྩིས་ལོག་པ། ལུང་དང་།མི་མཐུན་།ཞིང་། ཚད་མ་དང་འགལ་བའི་མ་དག་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་མི་སློབ། གཞན་ལ་ཡང་མི་སྐྱད(བསྐྱད)། །ཡི་གེ་།ཡང་མི་བཅང་། །གལ་ཏེ་།སློབ་།པའམ།།[426] འཆང་བ་བྱུང་ན། ཆོས་།བཞིན་དུ་ཆད་པས་བཏབ་པ། ཆུང་བ་ལ། ལྟ་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་(བརྒྱ་)ཡན་ཆད་བགྱིད་དུ་འཚལ། མ་འཆིས་(མཆིས་)ན། །གལ་ཏེ་།སློབ་

[330/f. 28b:]

པའམ། འཆང་བ་བྱུང་བ་བྱུང་ན། ཆོས་།བཞིན་།དུ་ཆད་པས་བཏབ་པས། ཆུང་བ་ལ་ལྟ་།ཕྱག་བརྒྱ་།།ཡན་ཆད་།བགྱིད་དུ་འཚལ། མ་འཆིས་(མཆིས་)ན། ཕལ་(འཕལ་)མེར་བསྟེག་[427]ཕྱིས་འདི་ལྟ་བུ་མ་སྡུད་ཅེས་ལན་གསུམ་བཀའ་བསྩོ། སྐྱེད་མ་[428]མཆིས་ཞིང་།[429] །བློ་ངན་།མ་(ལ་)[430]ཞེན་ན། ལོག་པར་སྡུད་པ་འདི་ལྟ་བུ་ལགས། ཅེས་(ཞེས་)།ཡི་གེར་།བྲིས་ཏེ་རྒྱལ་།ཁམས་།གཞན་དུ་།དབྱུག་(སྐྱུག་)གོ།།(།) ། ।

[431]།དགེའ་འདུན་(དགེ་འདུན་)།གྱི་ཁྱིམས། ।འཕགས་།པའི་ལམ་།བདུལ་(གདུལ་)བྱའི་།རྒྱུན་དུ་གསུངས་པ་འདི་ཡང་དབང་པོའི་རིམ་པ་དང་སྦྱར་ནས། བདག་དང་གཞན་ཆུད་མི་ཟ་བར་བསྐྱབས་པ་ལས། སྐབ་སྐྱལ་དང་། རང་དབང་དུ་ཕྱིན་ཅི་།ལོག་གི་།ཐེག་པ་གཞན་སྡུད་པ་ནི། དོན་དུ་མི་འགྱུར་བར་རིས་པས། ཕོག་མར་སྐབ་པ་(བསྐབ་པ་)ཆུང་ཁྱིམས་ཀྱི་ ।ཐོག་།འདུལ་བ་ལས་འབྱུང་བ་ལྟར། རིམས་ཀྱིས་(རིམ་གྱིས་)[432]མནོས་ནས་।དམ་དུ་।བསྡུད། གསུང་རབ་མདོ་སྡེ། བསྟན་བཅོས་དག་མ་ཁས་པ་ལ། རྟག་དུ་(ཏུ་)ཉན་ཅིང་། ཤེས་པའི་རྒྱུད་གོལ་བར་བྱ། ཐོས་པ་སྟེལ་

[331/f. 29a:] ཉེར་དགུ།

།།ཞེས་རྡོད་སྐོམ་པ་ཅེས་(ཀཅེས་)ཀྱེ་।བསམ་བཀྲན་།ལ་।འཇུག་གོ། ཀུང་བྱང་ཆུབ་।སེམས་དཔའི་।དེ་གས་।དང་ལྡན་པ་བྱང་ན་བྱང་ཆུབ་མཆོག་ཏུ་।སེམས་।བསྐྱེད་ལ། བྱང་ཆུབ་।སེམས་དཔའི་।སྡོམ་།པ་འཇོན་དུ་བཞུག་(ཀཞུག་)ཅེང་། བསྐབ་པར་བྱ་བ་ནམས་སྐོབ་པ་དང་། ཉམས་ལེན་ལ་।འབད་དེ་[433]།། ।

ཡང་ལ་ལ་དག་ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཚུལ་ཟབ་ཅིང་། ।གསང་སྔགས་।ཀྱི་སྐོད་དུ་གྱུར་པ། རྒྱུན་སྡེ་ནས་གནང་བའི་।ཡོན་ཏན་।རྣམས་དང་ལྡན་ལ། བློ་ཆེས་[434]མཆོག་དུ་བཞེལ་(ཀཞེལ་)བ་དག་ཡོད་ན། སྐོབ་དཔོན་ཀྱིས་।ལེགས་།

[424] From *dge 'dun gyi (gyis) chos* … to … *khams gzhan du dbyug go* (f. 28a2–f. 28b3) the text corresponds to Fragment Ka, part 3 (Karmay 2015: 480).

[425] Between *spyad* and *pa'i* there is an empty space (as that following after *shad*).

[426] *shad* (and space) after *pa'am* is missing in D2013: 39.

[427] D2013: 39 has (that is, adds) *shad* (and space) after *bsreg* and before *phyis*.

[428] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 313 has only *mi*.

[429] *shad* (and space) after *zhing* is missing in D2013: 39.

[430] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 313 has only *la*.

[431] From *dge' 'dun (dge 'dun) gyi khrims* … to … *bgyid 'tshal ste* (f. 28b3–f. 30b1) the text corresponds to Fragment Ka, part 4 (Karmay 2015: 480).

[432] D2013: 39 suggests reading *rim*, however, without correcting *kyis*.

[433] D2013: 39–40 reads *'bod* (and not as a *skung yig*, that is, *'bod do*) and corrects this to *'bad*.

[434] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 314 has only *chos*.

པར་རྟགས་དེ(བརྟགས་ཏེ)། ཅི་སྐད་བཤད་ལ་ཚུལ་ཁཞིན་དུ་ཆོ་གའ་དག་པས་ཁ་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་དུ་བཞུག་(གཞུག་)ཅིང་། སྒོགས་ཀྱི་སྐོ་གསུམ་གྱི་ཁམ་ཚིགྱ་ཁའོགས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ[435]། ཐེག་པ་ལ་རིམས་ཀྱིས་(རིམ་གྱིས་)[436] གཞོལ་བ། སྒོགས་གཞུང་ཚད་མ་རྣམས་གཅོ་འོར་བྱས་སྟེ་(ཏེ་)ཁྱིད་ཅིང་ཁབཞུག་(གཞུག་)[437]གོ། །ཚོས་འཆད་ཀྱི་ཁསྐོར་དའོན་[438]། རང་རང་བཀའ་དང་གཞུང་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་ཡོན་ཏན་དག་དང་ཡང་ཆ་ཤས་ཀྱིས་ལྡན་ལ། ཚོས་སྐོན་པ་ཁམས་ཁདག་གིས་ཀྱང་། ཁོང་དུ་ཁྲོགས་ཅིང་[439](ཤིང་)ཆུད་ལ།

[332/f. 29b:]

གཞན་དུ་ཡང་ཚིག་དང་ཁཡིག་(ཡི་)གེའི་ཁསྐོ་ནས་མ་ནོར་བར་སྐོན་ཐུབ་པ། ཁི་བཞིན་ཁམས་པ་བཞན་(གཞན་)གྱིས་ཀྱང་། མཁྱེན་ཅིང་ཡིད་བསེལ་པར་བྱེད་པ། ཁམ་ཁསང་(འཕྲང་)མ་ནོར་བར་ཁྱིད་པ་དག་བསྐོས་ཏེ། རང་དགར་གང་ཐད་གྱིས་(འཐད་ཀྱིས་) ཁཐུགས་ཁཐུམས་སུ་[440]མི་བསྐོ། ཚོས་འཆད་ཉན་ཡང་ལུང་དང་མཐུན་པའི་སྐོད་དུ་རྩང་བ་བྱུང་ན། ཚོས་ལ་སེར་སྐ་དང་དུས་འཕྱུད་(མཐུད་)ཀྱང་མི་བྱ། དབང་པོ་དང་མི་འཚམ་ན། མཛའ་སྟེ་དང་། ཁོགས་ཀོར་གྱི་ངོ་དགར་ཡང་མི་བཏང་། ཚོས་ལོག་པར་བཤད་པ་བྱེད་ན། ཤས་ཆེ་ཐ་དད་སྐུར་ཏེ།[441] འཁོད་ཚངས་སུ་བཀྱིད་འཚལ། དུས་ཚ་སྐྱིན་བཞེས། ཕྱི་ཚད་དེ་ལྟར་མ་སྐྱོད་ཅེས་ལན་གསུམ་བསྐོ། སྐྱེད་མ་འཆིས་(མཆིས་)[442]ནོ།[443] རྒྱལ་བའི་བཀའ་ལྟུང་དུ་བསོད་(གསོད་)པ་པོ་ལགས་ཅེས་(ཞེས་)དཔྱལ་བར་ཁཡིག་(ཡི་)གེ་ཐེས་ཏེ་ཕྱོགས་གཞན་དུ་ཁབྱུང་ངོ་།། ། ཡང་། དགེ་འདུན་རྣམས་ཐར་པའི་ཁམམ་ཅད་ཁཕགས་ཅད་ཀྱང་འདྲུག་པ་དོན་ཁགཅིག་ཁསུ། དམ་པའི་ཆོས་ཉོ་ན་ཁགཅོ་བོར་ཁབསྐྱབ་ཅིང་། ཕན་ཚུན་ཁགཅིག་ལ་ཁགཅིག་

[333/f. 30a:] ཁསུམ་ཁབཅུ(ཅུ)།

ཞི། །དད་ཅིང་[444] ཁཐུགས་ཁཐུན་པ། རྣེང་(སྣེང་)[445]བརྩེ་བ་དང་། ཕན་པར་བསྒྲུབ་པ་ནི། བྱ་བའི་ཚ་ཉོ་ན་ཡིན་ཞིང་། ཁཉད་པར་ཁཚམས་(མཚམས་)ཁགཅིག་ན་གནས་པའི་རབ་བྱུང་དང་། དགེ་བསྟེན་ཡན་ཁཚ་དང་།[446] ཁྱིམ་སྦྱངས་གང་ཡང་རུང་། ཁཐམས་ཅད་ཁཡིད་འཐུན་(མཐུན་)ཞིང་། ཞེ་འབྲས་པ་(ཞེ་འགྲས་པ་)དང་།[447] ངན་དུ་བྱ་བ། འཁོན་དང་རྩོད་གླེང་(རྩོད་གླེང་)མེད་དེ། ཕན་ཚུན་ཁཕྱོགས་སུ་ཚད་པ་དང་ཉེ་རིང་མེད་དེ། ཁམཉམ་ཁསྐོམས་པར་བྱས། ཚོས་འཁོར་དང་དགེ་འདུན་གྱི་ཕྱེད་(ཆེད་)དུ་ཐུར་པ་འབའ་ཞིག་བྱེད་པ་ལས། བང་ཁཐད་(འཐད་)དང་། དགོས་དོན་ཉེ་ཆེ་མི་བགྱི། འཇིག་རྟེན་ཕྱི་མའི་ཕྱེད་(ཆེད་)ཆེར་བྱ་བ་ལས། ཆེ་འདིའི་སྐྱིད་པ་(རྟེད་པ་)དང་ཁགྲས་ཁ་བཀུར་ཏེ་(བཀུར་བསྟི་)མི་རུལ(བཙལ)། ཉེ་དུ་དང་མཇའ་ཁསྐོས་ཁཁྱིམ་པར་

[435] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 314 adds *dang* after *pa*.

[436] D2013: 39 suggests reading *rim*, however, without correcting *kyis*.

[437] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 314 has only *gzhug*.

[438] The manuscript seems to feature two *tsheg* after *dang* and before the *shad*.

[439] Not corrected in D2013: 40.

[440] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 315 has only "*thums*[?]", *su* is missing.

[441] *shad* (and space) after *te* and before *'gyod* is missing in D2013: 40.

[442] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 315 has *'ches ni* and suggests reading instead *mchis pa ni*.

[443] *shad* (and space) after *na* and before *rgyal* is missing in D2013: 40.

[444] *shad* (and space) after *cing* and before *thugs* is missing in D2013: 41.

[445] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 315 has only *snying*.

[446] *shad* (and space) after *dang* and before *khyim* is missing in D2013: 41.

[447] *shad* (and space) after *dang* and before *ngan* is missing in D2013: 41.

གྱུར་པ་ལ་སྐག་པ(ལྷག་པ)ར་ ཆགས་ པ་དང་ཞེན་དུ་མི་བགྱི། སྐབ་པ་(བསྐབ་པ་)ལ་གནས་པ་ རྣམས་ ཉོན་མོངས་པས་མི་གཡེང་ཞིང་། དགེ་བའི་བྱ་བ་ཁོ་ནར་འགྱུར་དགོས་ཏེ། སྒོ་ གསུམ་ དམ་བའི་ཚོས་དང་འཚུན་(མཚུན་)ཞིང་ རྣམས་ལམ་ མ་ནོར་བ་སྟོན་པ་ རྣམས་ལས། ཚོས་ཉན་པ་དང་། བསམ་པ་དང་། སྒོམ་པ་དང་། བྱི་(འབྱི་)བ་དང་། ཟློག་པ་དང་།

[334/f. 30b:]

འདོན་པ་དང་། དགེ་མཚོག་ འཚོང་པ་(མཚོང་པ་) ལ་སོགས་ པས་དུས་མདའ་(འདའ་)བར་བགྱིད་འཚལ་སྟེ[448](ཏེ)། ཞེས་ སོགས་ བཅའ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་ ཡིག་(ཡི་)གེ་ མང་དུ་མཛད་དེ། བྱི་[449](འབྱི་)བར་མ་ལང་། ཚུལ་ཁྲིམ་(ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་)དཔག་ བསམ་ ཚ་བ་རབ་བརྟན་ཞིང་། མིག་འབྱས་གཡག་སྐྱ་(ཅ་)[450]སོག་ལྟར་འཕང་སེམས་ཀྱིས། ། གཅེས་སྐྱས་མ་འདེས་མ་ཉམས་བསྡུད་བསྟོམ་[451](སྟོམ་)བཙོན། ། དེ་སྐད་སྨྲན་(བསྨྲན་)དང་བསྨྲན་འདོན་ཚོད་ ཁྱོད་ གཅིག་ ལགས། །

དེ་ལྟར་ཡབ་སྲས་ གསུམ་ ཅར་རབ་དུ་(ཀུ་)[452]བྱུང་བ་མང་དུ། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ ཐམས་ཅད་ ཆོས་ལ་བསྟིམ་(བསྟིམས་)[453]ནས། ཐུབ་(འཐུབ་)སྲུགས་སུ་ཏེ་ ལྟར་བྱུང་བའི་ ཚུལ་བཀའ་རྟགས་སུ་མངོད་པ་ནི། སྐུ་སོར་རྒྱང་(གཅོང་)གི་ཀ་ པེ་[454]རྟག་ཏུ་འདི་ཀ་རྟེན་གྱི་ ཁྲིམས་ ལུགས་ ཆོས་ཅིར་(གཅོ་ཆེར་)[455] མངོད་པ། ཐུ་རྟངས་ཀྱི་ཤི་ཐུགས་མོར་[456]མངོད་པ། ཆོས་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་གཞི་ཆེ་བ་དེ་བ་ར་ངོ་[457](དེ་བ་རྣ་ངོ)། རྗེ་འབངས་བརྒྱ་རྩ་བརྒྱད་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་། དེ་དུས་ལྷ་ རིས་སུ་ ཆད། གུ་གེའི་ཡུལ་ཀ་རུ་རྩོགས་[458]ནང་དུ་སློས་ཆེན་པོ་མངོད་པ་(མངོད་པ། )་བྱམས་ སྟོམས་གླིང་དུ་བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་གཞི་བཀྲིད་པ། སོ་སོའི་མངོད་པ་བསྟན་པའི་སྐབས་ཡིན།

[335/f. 31a:] སོ་གཅིག

ཞེས། །ལྷབས་[459](ལྷབ་)པ་མ་ ཡིན་ནོ། ། དེ་རྗེས་ནུ་གཉིས་ རྣ་ཏོ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་ནས། གུ་གེ། མཁ་ཡུལ། ཞུ་རྩངས། པེ་ཏེ་ རྣམས་ནས་གཞོན་ནུ་བློ་གསལ་ཞིང་ཡིད་གཞུངས་པ་ཉེས་བརྩུ་ཐམ་པ་རབ་ཏུ་ བྱུང་བར་ མངོད་པ་ནི། དེའི་སྟོན་ རྣམ་མཁའ་ ལས། [460]ཆོས་འཁོར་ བསྟན་(བརྟན་)པར་ བཟུང་བའི་ ཁྲིམས་ལ། མངའ་རིས་ནས་སྐྱིང་ཆོམ་སྟེ་ གསུམ། ཆོས་འཁོར་བཟང་བར་ ཐུབ་སྟེ། སྐུ་ བོ་རྗེ་ འབངས་ཀྱི་ དམག་ ཁྲལ་ བྱ་འཐབ་མི་ དབབ། རྒྱིས་བཀྱི་ ཚལ་[461](འཚལ་)ཞིང་ དབབ་ བའི་ དམག་ ཁྲལ་

[448] Not corrected in D2013: 40 and in ‘Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 316.

[449] Not corrected in ‘Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 316.

[450] Not indicated as a corrected reading in ‘Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 316.

[451] Not corrected in D2013: 40.

[452] Not corrected in ‘Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 316.

[453] D2013: 42 and ‘Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 316 have *bstims* without indicating this as a corrected reading.

[454] ‘Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 316 has *se* and suggests correcting this to *pe*.

[455] ‘Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 316 suggests the *skung yig* as *gtso bor cher*. This is problematic as there is only one *na ro* and one *‘greng bu*.

[456] Also a reading as *mdor* (*skung yig*) may be possible. In this case the meaning of *phug mdor* would be equal to *phug dang mdor*.

[457] D2013: 42 has *de ba ra’ dza’* (*rā dzā*), which is not supported by the spelling in the manuscript nor does it correspond to *ra’ dza* (*rā dza*) in order to render the Sanskrit *rāja*.

[458] D2013: 42 has *ka tu hrogs*.

[459] Not corrected in D2013: 42.

[460] From *chos ‘khor bstan (brtan) par …* to *… bcas pa la ‘gal ba bgyis na* (f. 31a3–f. 35b2) the text corresponds to Fragment Kha (see Ra se dKon mchog rgya mtsho 2004: 120–123).

[461] Not corrected in ‘Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 316.

བགྱིད། རྗེ་བློས་ཐང་མ་ཡོ་ལྷ་རིས་སུ་ཕུལ་བ་ལས་གཞན་གྱི་དཀའ་(བཀའ་)མི་སྣུ། ཚོས་འཁོར་གྱི་རྟེན་རྙམ་[462]ཡུལ་གྱི་གཞིས་བཟུང་བའི་ཞིང་ནས་ལལ་སྟོང་གི་ས། ⌈དགེའ་འདུན་(དགེ་འདུན་)⌋གང་འཐད་པ་ལས་[463]སྤྱི་ནས་ལྷ་རིས་ཀྱི་ཞིང་ལས་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམ་(ཁྲིམས་)མངའ་བཙུ་ཞིག་བགོ་འ(བསྐོ)། ⌈ཕྱག་⌋ཉེར་(གཉེར་)བའི་ཡོང་ཁྲིམ་བཙུ་འཛོག་པ་ཕྱག་དང་བཅས་པ་འབྱུང་། གཞེར་པ་ཡོང་ཁྲིམ་བཙུའི་

[464]འབངས་ཉེས་ཙུ་ཐམ་པ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བའི་ཚུལ་འདི་ནི་ལྷག་(ལྷགས་)འདུག་གོ།

[336/f. 31b:]

ལང་སོ་⌈གཟུགས(བསྒུགས)⌋། ⌈གསྒུག་ལག་⌋ལང་གུ་གེ་ཡུལ་ནང་དུ། ལག་ཁྱེར་[465]ཆེ་བ་ཞིག་དང་། གཉེ་གོང་ཙུབ་དུ་[466](ཏུ་)ཚམ་(འཚམ་)པ་ཞིག་སྤྱི་དགོས་རྩིག[467](བརྩེགས)། ⌈དགེའ་འདུན་(དགེ་འདུན་)⌋གྱི་གྲངས་དང་། དབེན་པའི་ཕུག་གང་གི་མ(ཁར་ཀྱང་[468](ཡང་)ཚན་ཆེ་བ་ཅིག[469](ཞིག་)བགྱི། སྐ་ཐབས་ལ་མཆེད་ཁུ་དགོན་རབ་ཏུ་⌈གཤེགས་⌋པའི་སྐུ་ཤྱེན། འབངས་ལས་དང་པ་ཅན་དང་། ཚུ་གང་གི་སྟོང་(རྩོངས)པ་དང་། འཕྲལ་དུ་བགྱིས་པ་དང་། ཕུ་ཏྲངས་ལས་གཞི་(བཞི་)བཙུ། གུ་གེ་གོང་[470]གཞུང་ལས་བཙུ་ཐམ་པ། པི་སྟོག་

[462] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 316 has "*tum*[?].

[463] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 316 has *la* instead of *las*.

[464] The following sentence which is not contained in D2013 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 317 is added in smaller script on the same page below line 7.

[465] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 317 has *khyed* and suggests correcting this to *khyad*.

[466] Not corrected in D2013: 43 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 317.

[467] Not corrected in D2013: 43.

[468] Not corrected in D2013: 43.

[469] Not corrected in D2013: 43.

[470] The main editor of this text does not entirely exclude the possibility that instead of *bod* one should read *bdo*.

[471] Not corrected in D2013: 43.

[472] Not corrected in D2013: 43.

[473] D2013: 43 has the Tibetan numeral 4 and does not suggest a corrected reading.

[474] Not corrected in D2013: 43.

[475] Not corrected in D2013: 43.

[476] *shad* (and space) after *bzang ba* and before *khyim* is missing in D2013: 44.

སྟེ་⌈གཉེས་⌋ལས་སུམ་བཙུ[471](ཙུ)། མར་ཡུལ་བ་ལས་སུམ་བཙུ་(ཙུ་)སྟེ། སྟོམ་པས་ཉེས་བཙུ་པོ་འདི་ཆམས་ཀྱང་། ཤེས་རབ་གསལ་བ། བང་⌈བཞིན་⌋བཟང་བ་བཏུས་ཏེ་ཐར་པར་བཏང་། དབུས་⌈མ(ཁམས་(ཁམས་)⌋ནས་དགེ་བའི་⌈བཤེས་གཉེན་⌋མ(ཁས་པ་གསུམ་ཞིག་⌈སྨན་བྱེད།⌋ བསྟོད་(སྟོད་)རིས་འདི་ན་མི་བཞུགས་པའི་གསུང་རབ་མཐའ་དག་⌈ཐོས་⌋ཀུན་དུ་(ཏུ་)བཙལ(བཙལ)། ⌈གསྒུག་ལག་⌋ལང་གི་ཅུན། མཚོད་བྱ་⌈ལ་སོགས་⌋པ་དང་། ⌈དགེའ་འདུན་(དགེ་འདུན་)⌋གིས་[472](གྱི་)ཡོ་བྱད་⌈རྣམས་⌋ཆེས་འབྱོར་བ་བཤམ། སྐྱེ་བོ་མངའ་⌈མཛོད་⌋བའི་མངའ་རིས་ཀྱི་

[337/f. 32a:] སོ་གཉེས།

ཞི། །ནང་ནས། ⌈དགེའ་འདུན་(དགེ་འདུན་)⌋གྱི་མཆོ་ག(འཆོ་ག)འི་ཅུན་བཅས་འཕྲལ་གྱི་ནས་མང་དུ་བཏང་། རོ་མོ་དང་⌈ལྷམ་⌋⌈ལ་སོགས་⌋པ་ལ་དགེ་སློང་མའི་⌈བཞི་[473](གཞི་)⌋⌈འཕྲོན་⌋སྟོ་(རྩོ་)ཐོག[474](ཐོགས་)⌈གཅིག་⌋བྱང་ན་མི་དགའ་ཅིང་[475](ཞིང་)། ⌈བུད་མེད་⌋ལས་གཞན་ཡང་ཐར་པར་བཏང་། གནས་དང་གསྒུག་ལག་ལང་བསྟན་པ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་། དུས་དེའི་ཚེ་ན་⌈རྩིགས་(གཅིགས་)⌋དེ་ཁོལ་བུར་བཞག། ⌈མངའ་རིས་ཀྱི་འབངས་ན་གཞོན་པ་⌈ཤེས་རབ་⌋བཟང་བ། ⌈མཚན་ཉིད་⌋བཟང་བ[476] ཁྲིམ་མེད་པ་⌈ཉེ་ཤུ་⌋ཞིག་བཏུས་

ཏེ། ལོ་ཁྱི་ཟླ་གསུམ་ཁོགས་སྐབས་བཙུ་[477](ཏུ་)རྩལ(བརྩལ)། སྐན་གྱི་ཁོ་འོ(ངོ་བོ་)བསྟོད་(སྟོད་) ཁིས་སུ་ནུབ་པ། སྐན་དགོན་པ་རྣམས་ཁ་ཆེ་དང་། ~~ཁ་ཆེ་དང་~~[478] བལ་ཡུལ་ཁྱི་འོག་ཁོགས་སུ་ཆོལ་[479](འཆོལ་)བའི་མི་ཆོང་དང་བཅས་པ་སྡོང་[480](བརྡངས)། ཁུག་གུ་ལག་ལག་ཁང་གིས་(གི་)མཆོད་ཀྱི། རོལ་མོའི་ཅེ་ཏྲ་རྒྱུད་འབུད་ཁ་སོགས་ཁ་ཁོར་ན་གནས་པས་སྒོམ[481]། མངའ་མཐ་[482](མཐའ་)མི་འཁོང་བ་(མི་འགོང་བ་)བསྡུང་བའི་ཕྱིར། སྟོང་། སོང་ཆུང་པ་རྣམས་མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་གྱིས་[483](གྱི་)[484]བན་སྐུ་ཕྱིས་སྟོག། །སྟོད་རིས་ནས་ཆོས་འཁོར་ལ་བརྩམ་ཤིང་(ཚུམ་ཞིང་)

[338/f. 32b:]

ཕྱོགས་རིས་སྡུད་པ་བྱུང་ནུ། མངའ་རིས་ཀྱི་བན་སྐུ་ཏན་ཆོས་མ་མཆིས་པར། གཞན་གྱི་ཡུལ་དུ་དམག་མི་དྲང་(འདྲེན་)[485]། བཀས་མ་ཡོངས་ན་མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་སྐོར་ཁགེས་ཀྱི་ཁམག་གིས་གདབ(བདའ)། བྱད་པ་[486]ཆེན་པོ་ཁྱུང་སྟེ་སྐད་ཕོས་ན་ཡུ་གུ[487]འི་སྐྱེའོ་[488](སྐྱེ་བོ་)རྣིས་ཏུལ[489] བྱག་(ཌག་)པ་ཐོ་གང་བྱུང་ནའང་། མངའ་རིས་ས་སར་སྣ་ལྷབ། ཁྲལ་འབབ་[490]བྱག་(ཌག་)པ་ཀུན་ལ་ཁོག་ཏུ་ཆུད་པའི་བཙོན་མི་ཀུམ(བཀུམ)། དམག་ཁྲལ་དོན་དང་། ས་མཁན་དུ་ཟེན་ཀྱང་སྒས་ཡུལ་ཤར་ས་[491]འོག་གི་ི མི་དུ་ཁགམ་ཡང་མི་ཁག་ལ་སྒང་ཁེ་ཁྲལ་ཁོ་ཤ་ཐུག་ཁེ་ཁྲལ་དེ། དགེ་འདུན་གྱི་སྲིག་སྒོང་དང་དགེ་བ་བགྱི[492] ལ་ཁོག་དུ་[493](ཏུ་)ཆུད་པ་ལས་མི་ཤ་བ་བསོད་པ་(གསོད་པ་)བྱུང་ན་མི་བཟང་ངན་གང་ཀུམ(བཀུམ)ཡང་འདུ་སྟེ། རྟ་དབ་འབྲིང་ཐ་མ་[494]རེ་རེ་འབབ། མི་ཤ་ནི་འདེམས་ཤིང་། བྱུད་[495]འབེབས་སུ་གནང་། མངའ་རིས་ཀྱི་འབངས་སྐུ་བོ་[496](སྐྱེས། )དབྱར་ལོ་ལོར་དཔའ་སྟར་[497](དར་)གྱི་[ངོ་བོ་]བྱལ་དུ་ཟེད་ཅིང་མི་བགྱིད། ས་ལ་[ཁྲད་པར་]དམིགས་སུ་བགྱི། གཡར་(དབྱར་)

[477] Not corrected in D2013: 44 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 317.

[478] Crossed out in the original manuscript (not contained in D2013: 44). In 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 317 it is contained but not indicated as being crossed out.

[479] Not corrected in D2013: 44.

[480] D2013: 44 has reads *rdzong*, without indicating that this is a corrected reading of *sdzong*.

[481] It is also possible to read this as *slob bo* (by assuming a *skung yig*). D2013: 44 suggests reading *slab* (*bslab*) *bo*. 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 318 has *slabo* (*skung yig*) and suggests a corrected reading as *bslab bo*.

[482] Not corrected in D2013: 44.

[483] Not corrected in D2013: 44.

[484] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 318 has only *gyi*.

[485] D2013: 44 suggests reading *drangs* (and not *'dren*) instead of *drang*.

[486] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 318 suggests a corrected reading of *byad pa* as *jag pa*.

[487] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 318 has *yu nu* and in n. 25 (p. 348) explains this as an expression of mNga' ris dialect for *gzhon nu*.

[488] Not corrected in D2013: 44.

[489] *shad* (and space) after *rgal* and before *byag* is missing in D2013: 44.

[490] D2013: 44 has (that is, adds) *shad* (and space) after *'bab* and before *byag*.

[491] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 318 has *pa* instead of *sa*.

[492] *shad* (and space) after *bgyi* and before *la* is missing in D2013: 44.

[493] Not corrected in D2013: 44 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 318.

[494] In 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 318 *ma* after *tha* is missing. Instead of *gsum* he has *gsum gsum*.

[495] Read *gos* instead of *bdos* (as in D2013: 44)? 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 318 has *gso rta* and suggests correcting this to *so lta*.

[496] The manuscript has no *shad* and *space* after *sbyangs* which, however, seems appropriate.

[497] Not corrected in D2013: 44.

[339/f. 33a:] སོ་ཐག་སུམ།།

༦༥། ཁོ་ལོར་བྱང་ཁྱས་བཀྱི་ཞིང་རྣམས་གླན[498](བརླན)། དགུན་པུ[499]ཐུག་གི་ཕྱག་མའི་ཁད་བསྡུར་ཞིས[500]ཅན་སྐོང་ཞིག་ཁྱུང་ལུང་དུ་བཞག་ལ། ཡ་ཡོད་ཀྱི་མཁར་ཆམས་སྦྱངས། ཇེ་འཚོང་གི་འབྲོག་ཡོངས་པར་བསྡུངས། པུ་རྩངས་པས་བྱ་དཀར་པ་མན་ཚད་ཁ་བསྐོད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་བརྟན་(ཁ་ཉན)པོ་བཟུང་། ཐུག་གེ་(ཁུ་གེ་)ོ། བོད[501]གཞུང་གིས་གཉེ་གོང་དང་ཁན་ལེ་བཟུང་། ཟུ་ཞོག་མར་ཡུལ་བས་བཟུང་།

མིས་[ཚོས་ཐུག་]མ་ནོར་བར་སྦྱད་པ་ལ། [རྣལ་འབྱོར་]ཆེན་པོའི་ཁམ་]སྐར་ཞོས་ཤིང་ཡིད་ཆེས་སྐེ་(ཉེ་)དེ་ལ་མོས་པ་[རྣམས་]ཀྱིས་ཕྱིས་དཔང་(སྒང་)དུ་གཱ་ལ་ཟུང་། གཞུང་དང་[མཐུན་པར་]བསྒོམ་པ་ལ་ནན་ཏན་བཀྱིད་འཚལ། [སྒོབ་དཔོན་]ཁོན་ཏན་]ཚད་ལྡན་དང་། སྒོབ་མ་[ཁོན་ཏན་]ལྡན་པས་སྒིར་བཤེར་ཞིང་བཏུགས་(བརྟགས་)ནས་ཆོས་ཉན་[པའམ]། [ཚོགས་]ནས་བསྒྲུབ་པ་བཀྱིད་དུ་གནང། གང་ཟུང་ཟུང་བཀྱིད་དུ་མི་གནང་། ཟུང་ཟུང་དུ་བཀྱིས་ན་[སྒོབ་དཔོན་]ལ་ལྟ་ཞིང་སྒོབ་མ་ལ་དུ་བཀྱིས་ཀྱང་སྦང་[རེ་རེ]། [ཚོགས་]དཔོན་བབ་ཆོལ་དུ་བཀྱིས་ན་སྦང་[གཉིས]། སྒོབ་མ་དང་[ཚོགས་]སུ་མཆིས་པ་ལ་སྦང་ཕྱེད་ཕྱེད་སྦྱད།

[340/f. 33b:]

ཡུལ་དང་[ཕྱོགས་]གཞན་ཀྱི་ལྟམ་པོ་བ་ལ་ལྟམ་ཙན་སྦང་རེ་བཙུལ[502](བསྟུལ)། སྐྱེག་མ་ལབ་དང་[སྟག་]སྒོ་[ཐུག་]ཀྱི་ཆོ་གུ་དག་ཅིང་ཐན་བསོད་དུ་བཀྱི་བ་ལས་ལྟང་སྐང་གི་འདེ་མཆོག་(ཆོག་)[ལྟ་བུ]བཀྱིད་དུ་མི་གནང། བཀྱིད་པ་བྱུང་ན་[སྒོབ་དཔོན་]ལ་སྦང་[གཅིག]ཡོན་བདག་ལ་སྦང་[གཅིག]བཅད[ལྟམ]ཟན་སྦང་ཕྱེད་ཙོལ[503](བསྟུལ)། འབངས་ཐ་མ་ལ་སྲིད་(སྲི་)ཞུང་སྐེ་བཇེག་པ་[ལ་སོགས་]མི་འོས་པ་བཀྱིད་པ་དང་། ཡུལ་ཞིང་དང་[ཕྱོགས་]ནས་མི་ཆོས་བྱ་མའི་སྐུན་(རྫུན་)[504]ཡོན་ཏན་]ཆེན་པོ་]དང་[སྐུ་(རྫུ་)འཕྲུལ[505]མེད་[བཞིན་]དུ་ཐོབ་པོ་ཞེས་བྱེད་པ་(གྲུབ་པ་)དང་། བྱ་བ[506]དང་ཅི་བ་མན་ཆད་བསོད་པ་(ཁོསོད་པ་)[ལྟག་པར་]རེ་[དགས་(དྲུགས་)]ཀྱི་ཤས་(ཤའི་)ཆེད་སྲོག་བཅོད་(ཁཆོད་)པ་རྣམས་ནི། འཕྲལ་དུ་སྦྱད་ཅིང་ཆད་པ་དབབ་ལ་[ཁཞན[507]བཅུག་ཕྱུག(སྦྱུགས)། །ཡུལ་[སོ་སོ་]ནས་ལྟ་ཁང་དང་[མཆོད་རྟེན་]ཞིག་རལ་དུ་སོང་ན་བསོད[508](ཁསོ)། [ཡུལ་གྱི་]་[དགེའ་འདུན་(དཀེ་འདུན་)]དུ་མཆིས་པ་[རྣམས་ཀྱི་(ཀྱིས་)]མ་ཞིག་བར་བསྡུད། བཙན་པོ་[མངའ་མངོད་]རིམ་པས་ཀྱང་[ཁཆོ་ཐོར་]་[མངོད་]དེ་བཀའ་ལུང་ཆེར་ཁནད[509](ཁནད་ )བཙན་པོ་[རྣམས་ཀྱི་]ཆོས་[རྫོགས་(ཁཆོགས་)སུ་]བཀྱི་བ་ལ་རབ་ཏུ་[བཞེགས་(ཁཞེགས་)]པ་དང་། སྐུ་ཐོར་[བཞུགས་]ཀྱང་རུང་སྐེ། [དཀོན་མཆོག་]་[ཐུགས་ཀྱི་]་[སངས་རྒྱས་]དང་།[510]

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498 Not corrected in D2013: 45.

499 Read *su* instead of *pu*?

500 D2013: 45 reads *zhing ba* instead of *zhib*, perhaps understanding this a *skung yig*.

501 The main editor of this text does not entirely exclude the possibility that instead of *bod* one should read *bdo*.

502 Not corrected in D2013: 45.

503 Not corrected in D2013: 45.

504 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 319 has only *rdzun*.

505 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 318 has *rdzul* as *skung yig* for *rdzu 'phrul*.

506 *ba* is missing in D2013: 46.

507 Obviously not understanding this as a *skung yig* D2013: 46 reads *gan* instead of *gzhan*.

508 Not corrected in D2013: 46.

509 The manuscript has no *shad* and *space* after *gnang* which, however, seems appropriate.

510 *shad* (and space) after *dang* and before *chos* is missing in D2013: 46.

།།ཚོས་དང་ཁཏེའ་འདུན་(དཏེ་འདུན་)། དང་རིང་ཁཐུགས་བརྟན་། ཀྱི་སྐུ་ཁཆས་། དང་། ཁེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པའི་། བསྟན་པ་ཞིག་རེ་[511]ཁསྡུག་(གཙུག་)ལག་། ཁང་དང་། ཁཚོད་རྟེན་། ཁྲིགས་བཅ། ཁདེའ་འདུན་(དཏེ་འདུན་)། དགེ་བ་ཁཆས་། རྟེན་(གཅེན་)པར་རྡོ་ཞིང་བསྒྲུབ་པ་མི་བཀུར་རེ། འབངས་ལ་ཁདགོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་། ལ་གནོད་ཅིང་བཞིག་(གཞིག་)ཅེས་གསོལ་ཞིང་མཆིས་ནའང་། བསན་(གསན་)རེ་ཁཚད་། རེ། བཙན་པོ་མངའ་མཚད་མན་ཆད་དབོན་སྲས་ཁཆང་དུར་། བཞུགས་། པ་ཡན་ཆད་། ཀྱིས་ཆོས་ཁཐུགས་། སུ་ཅི་ཆུད་མི་མཚད་རེ། འབངས་ཁསོ་སོས་། ཀྱང་ཁཆོས་སློབ་། ཅིང་སྐྱོད་པའི་སྒོ་དགག་རེ།

དུས་དེ་རིང་མན་ཆད་འབངས་ཆོས་ལ་དད་པའི་མི་ཁཆས་། མི་ཁཐག་པར་། ཐར་པར་ཁམི་མཚད་། རེ། དཅོ་(རྫོ་)ཁཐོགས་། པ་ལ་ཁཐེའ་འདུན་(དཏེ་འདུན་)། ཀྱི་ལས་རིམ་ཁབཞིན་། དུ་བགོས་(བསྒོས་)ཀེ། ཁདམ་པའི་། ཆོས་དང་ཞིང་ཁཆས་པ་ཞིག་ཁམི་མཚད་། རེ། རབ་ཏུ་བྱང་བ་ཁཆས་། ནན་གྱི་(ཀྱིས་[512])དབབ་རེ། ཕྱིམ་པའི་རྟེན་ཕྱིན་(སྐྱེན་ཐྲ་)ལ་བཏགས་[513](བཅུགས་)ནས་གྱོད་སྣུ་རེ། ཆོས་འཚོར་ལ་ཁརྟོགས་(ཁཏུགས་)། པ་དང་ལྷ་རིས་ཀྱི་མིའི་བན་ཁཐུགས་། སྤྱི་སྲོ་(བསྲོ་)ཞིང་ཐུལ་བ་ཁཆས་། ཁནམ་། ཁནམ་ཞོད་དུ་དཀྱི་[514]ཞིང་ཀྱང་(སྐྱང་[515]) རེ། དང་ལྷ་འདིར་སྤྲོལ་(སྲོལ་)ཏི་ལྷར་བསྟོད་(བཏོད་)པ་ལས་ཁཐུན་། དུ་མ་ཁལེགས་།

[511] D2013: 46 has (that is, adds) *shad* (and space) after *re* and before *btsug* (*gtsug*).

[512] Not indicated as corrected reading in D2013: 46.

[513] Not corrected in D2013: 46.

[514] D2013: 47 reads also *dkri* but suggests correcting this to *dbri*.

[515] Not indicated as corrected reading in D2013: 47.

པ་བཅོས་རེ། ཁདགེའ་འདུན་(དཏེ་འདུན་)། ལས་དང་བཙན་ཁཡིམ་། འབངས་ཁདགོན་མཆོག་[516]། ཁགསུམ་། བཞིག་(གཞིག་)ཅིང་ཁུ་(འཁུ་)བའི་ཁབཞམ་། པ་ཅན་ཞིག་བྱུང་ན་ཁཕྱོགས་། རིས་ཁགཞན་། དུ་མི་བཅུག་(སྐྱུག་)རེ། སྐྱེ་བོ་མངའ་མཛད་ཁརོན་བསྒྲས་[517](སྒས་)མང་དུ་འཕེལ་ན་ཁཏུང་མི་འཆད་[518]པ(ཆད་པ)འི་ཕྱིར་ཁེ་རེ་ཞིག་བཞག་པ་ལས་སྐད་མ་ཡོ་(ཡོངས་)རབ་ཏུ་མི་བྱུང་རེ། ཁཡལ་ཀྱི་། སྐད་(སྐད་)ཀྱི་མི་ཁབཞུགས་སུ་། མི་རུང་བའི་སྐྱེ་བོ་ཁགཉིས་། ཁགསུམ་། བགོའ་(བསྐོ་)བ་ལས་མངའ་ཁམཛད་ཁདེ་གྲངས་ཅི་ཁཡོད་གི་ཁཐབས་སུ་། ཁམི་མཛད་། རེ། བཙན་ཁཡིམ།། འབངས་སྐྱེ་བོ་ནས་ཆོས་འཚོར་འཇིག་པའི་ལས་མངའ་ཁརིས་སུ་། ཁབཅོམ་[519](ཅོམ་)། པ་བྱུང་ན་ཁྲིམས་ཁཆེན་པོ་། ལ་སྐྱར་ཞིང་བཅུག་(སྐྱུག་)པ་མན་ཆད་ཉེ་རིང་ལ་ཐུག་ཀྱང་ཁཚོད་པར་[520]མི་བགྱིད་རེ། མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་ཁགསུམ་། ཀྱི་འབངས་ཆོགས་[521](ཚོགས་)རིས་ཁམེད་པར་། ཅིས་(གཅིས་)ཀྱི་(ཀྱིས་)རུང་(བསྐྱང་)ཞིང་ཅི་བདེར་འགྱུར་བའི་ཐབས་ཁམི་མཛད་། རེ། སྐྱིས་ཀྱི་བློ་དང་ཡ་རབས་ཀྱི་ཁསོག་པ་ཉེ་ཆེ་ལ་དགོངས་པ་ལས། རྒྱན་ཐུ་མོས་འབངས་སྐྱི་སྐོར་གནོད་པ་ཁཆེན་པོ་། མཛད་རེ། ཐྲོ་(ཁྲོ་)བ་ཉེ་རིང་དང་། འཛངས་ངན་དང་། དཔའ་རུར་(སྐར་[522])དང་། ཁྲིམས་

[516] D2013: 47 has *dkon cog*.

[517] The prescript *ba* is entirely black in the original manuscript (not contained in D2013: 47).

[518] Not corrected in ‘Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 320.

[519] Not corrected in D2013: 47.

[520] In the manuscript *phod par* is inserted in a slightly smaller size above the line. Its place between *kyang* and *mi* is also indicated by two dots. ‘Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 320 has only *phod* (not identifying the *skung yig*).

[521] D2013: 47 and ‘Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 320 have *tshogs* and also suggest correcting this to *phyogs*.

[522] D2013: 47 has *sdar*, without indicating that this is a corrected reading of *rdar*. ‘Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 321 has *dhar* and suggests correcting this into *sdar*.

[343/f. 35a:] སོ་ལྷ།

ཅི། །འགལ་དང་། མི་འགལ་བ་ཁོགས་ཀྱི་ཁྱེ་བྱག་ཡང་དག་པར་བརྟགས་ཤིང་དཔྱད་དེ་ཁེད་པར་(འཁེད་པར་)། བྱས་ནས། བྱ་དགའ་དང་འཚང་པ་(ཚད་པ་)ཁམིགས་སུ་འབེབས་པ་ཁི་མཛད་དེ། ཅི་འགྱུབ་ཀྱིས་རང་གི་འབངས་ཡོངས་དགེ་བ་ལ་འཇུག་ཅིང་། མི་དགེ་བ་ལས་བཟློག་ནས་དགག་པའི་[523]ཁབས་སུ། ཁི་མཛད་ཅ། བཙན་པོ་མངའ་མཛད་ཁམས་བཀའ་བློས་(བཀའ་གློས་)མི་བལ་ཞིང་ཚབ་སྲིད་ཁགཅིག་པ་ཅིག་ཁི་མཛད་ཅེ། མདོར་ན་བསྟོད་(སྟོད་)མངའ་རིས་འདིར་ཁེགས་ཤིང་མ་རྟོར་བ་ནི་སྨིན་ཞེས་ཤིང་ཆོར་པ་སྨོང་བའི་ཐབས་ཁྱིམས་ཡིག་ཆེན་མོ་ལས་ཁྱི་ལྟར་ཁབྱང་བ་ཁཞིན་ཁི་མཛད་ཅེའི། བློན་སྐས་ཏོ་མོ་བློན་པོ་ཡུལ་གྱི་དབང་བཀྱིད་པ་ཁམས་ཀྱང་གདུང་རབ(གདུང་རབས་)རེ་རེ་ལ་ཆོས་ཁྱིམས་འདི་བཙན་པ་བཀྱི་བའི་བྱོས་(གྲོས་[524])མི་འཚལ་ཅེ། ཁྱུང་ལུང་དང་ཤེ་བེ་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཡུལ་གཞན་ན་ཁཞུགས་པའི་ཁགྲུལ་ལག་ལྟང་མི་བཞིག་(གཞིག་)ཅིང་གཅོད་པ་ཙམ་དུ་ཡང་མི་ཅེད་ལ། ལྷ་རིས་ཀྱི་མི་ཞིང་ཆེ་ཕྱ་ཅི་མཆིས་ཀྱང་ཞལ་མི་བཟུང་རེ། དེ་ཁམས་སུ་འབྱི་ཐྲིག་ཁཡན་ཚད་།

[344/f. 35b:]

དགེ་བའི་ཁོགས་ཅི་དང་དུ་མི་བཀྱིད་རེ། རྩེ་འབངས་དབང་ཆེ་བ་དག་ལས་འདིར་གྲོ(སྲོ)མ་ཚལ་(འཚལ་)བ་ཁམས་ལ་ཕྱིས་གྲོ(སྲོ)མི་དགག་རེ། འདི་ལྷར་ཁབ་ཅ་ལ་འགལ་བ་བཀྱིས་ན་ཞེས་ཁོགས་ཤང་དུ་འབྱང་སྟེ། ཤིན་དུ་(ཏུ་)ཁའི་གས་ཚ་ཐྲིས་སོ། །

[523] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 321 has *dga' pa'i*.

[524] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 321 suggests reading*bro* instead of *bros*.

ཡང་[525] [526]ཡེ་ཤེས་ཁེད་ཀྱི་(ཀྱིས་)འབངས་ཁྱིམ་པ་དང་བན་སྐྱའི་ཁཆོགས་ལ་གྲོ(སྲོ)འཚལ་བའི་མདོ། ཁདགོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་[527]བཞིག་[528](གཞིག་) ཅིང་སྐོང་[529] ཏེ(སྟེ)། དེ་ལྷར་སྐྱ་བ་ཞིག་བྱུང་ན་མཐུའ་ཅི་མཆིས་པས་དབང་དུ་བཏང་དེ(སྟེ)། བཙན་པོ་འབངས་དགེ་བ་ལ་དང་ཅིང་བསྐྱབ་པ་ཞིག་མཆིས་ནི་དགག་རེ། ཆོས་འཁོར་དང་ལྷའི་ཁིས་སུ། སྐོས་(བསྐོས་)པ་ཐབས་ཀྱི་[530](ཀྱིས་)དབྱི་སྟེ། རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བ་ཁམས་ལ་བྱང་(ཀྱང་)ཁབམ(པའམ)། ཁེམས་ལ་བསྐྱབ་དེ་དབབ་པའི་ཐབས་བཀྱིད་རེ། མངའ་འབངས་སྐྱེ་བོ་ཁཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་ཁདགོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་[531]སྐན་(གཅན་)ཞིང་ཁཙུན་པར་ལ་མི་སྐྱར་(བཀྱར་)ཅེ། ཁདགོན་མཆོག་[532]ཁགསུམ་གྱི་ཁྱེན་རིས་འབྱོག་ཁསྐྱག་ལ་དང་ཏུང་འགྱོས་ཁལ་སོགས་ལ་སྐོར་(དགོར་)དུ་ཚལ་(འཚལ་)[533]ཁཐམས་ཅད་ཁལ་ཐོད་དུ་ཏང་(བཏང་)རེ། མཆོད་བཇེན་(མཆོད་རྟེན་)དང་བཅོ་ཁྱེ་དང་།[534]

[345/f. 36a:] སོ་བྱག

ཅི། །སྐྱ་ཁགཟུགས་ལ་བཀའ་ནན་གྱི་(ཀྱིས་)ཚུམས་ཤིང་[535]གང་ལ་འོས་པའི་

[525] In D2013: 48 *yang* is missing.

[526] From *ye shes 'od kyi (kyis) 'bangs* … to … *bcod pa (gcod pa) mi mdzad re'i* (f. 35b2–f. 36a1] the text corresponds to Fragment Ga which ends with *red* (see Ra se dKon mchog rgya mtsho 2004: 123–124) while the *rnam thar* has *re'i* [*zhes sogs kyang 'byung*].

[527] D2013: 48 has *dkon chog* [sic!] *gsum*.

[528] Not corrected in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 321.

[529] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 321 wrongly suggests correcting *spong* to *spongs*.

[530] Not corrected in D2013: 48.

[531] D2013: 48 has *dkon cog gsum*.

[532] D2013: 49 has *'tshal* (obviously suggesting this as a corrected reading of *tshal*).

[533] D2013: 48 has *dkon cog*.

[534] *shad* (and space) after *dang* and before *sku* is missing in D2013: 49.

[535] D2013: 49 also reads *chums shing* but suggests correcting this into *chun zhing*.

ཚད་པ་བཅོད་པ་(གཅོད་པ་)།ཨི་མཛད་།རེའི་།ཞེས་སོགས་།ཀྱང་འབྱུང་།

།རྟོ་རྗེའི་།གདུང་ལས་མཐུ་ཆེན་ཁྲོ་བོར་སྣུལ། ।
ཀླུ་དབྱིངས་(དབང་)།འཇམ་།དབྱངས་ཆོས་དབྱིངས་གསུང་གི་དབང་། ।
།འཇམ་།གྲིང་འདིར་ནི་ཤྲཱ་[536](ཤྲཱུ་)།རིགས་།མིའི་རྗེ། ।
ནུ་གུ་རྣ་ངོ་ཐུབ་དབང་བསྟན་པའི་བདག། ।

།འཁོར་ལོ་(ལོས་)[537]།བསྐྱེད་རྫོལ་དེའི་།མངོད་།ཚུལ་ནི། (།)
ཆོས་རྒྱལ་ཁ་ཤོ་ཀ་ཡི་རྗེས་།འཛིན་།ཅིང་། ।
།དཔལ་ལྡན་།ཀླུའི་སྒེད་བསྐྱབ་དང་མཚུངས་པས། (།)
གང་གི་།རྣམ་།ཐར་།བདུད་བརྩིའི་།ཐེགས་།པ་བྱ། (།)

དེ་ཡང་ལྷ་ནུ་གུ་རྣ་ངོ་ཆེས[538](ནུ་གུ་རྣ་ངོ་ས)།[539] ཁ་ཆེའི་ཡུལ་པ་དག་ཤ་དུང་གི་སྐོ་མོ་ནས་བཟོ་རིགས་(རིག་)པ་མཁས་པ་མང་པོ་བོས་སྟེ[540](ཏེ)། ཐུབ་པ་དག་ཤ་ནས་ཐོག་བྱངས་ལི་སྐུ་ཆེ་བ་།རྣམས་།དང་། མདོ་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་པ་ལས་གསུངས་པའི་བདེ་།བཤེགས་(གཤེགས་)།བརྒྱད་ཆ་ལྔ་དང་། ཡོ་གཱ་།རྟོ་རྗེ་།དབྱིངས་ཀྱི་།དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་[541]།ལྷ་ཆོགས་།ཚང་མ་དབྱལ་གཱ་ར་།ལྟགས་།རྒྱང་པ་ལས་བཞེངས་པ། །གཞན་ཡང་།དབྱལ་སྐུ་དང་། །འཁོར་ལོ་།བདེ་མཆོག་གི་།

[536] Not corrected in D2013: 49.

[537] D2013: 49 has also *'khor lo* for the *skung yig*, however, without suggesting a corrected reading.

[538] Not corrected in D2013: 49.

[539] *shad* (and space) after *dzas* and before *kha che'i yul* is missing in D2013: 49.

[540] Not corrected in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 322.

[541] D2013: 49 has *dal gyi*.



།ལྷ་ཆོགས་།ཚང་མ། ཆོས་དབྱིངས་གསུང་དབང་གི་

[346/f. 36b:]

།དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་[542]།ལྷ་ཆོགས་།ལ་སོགས་།པ་།སྟག་།སྐུ་མང་དུ་བཞེངས་པ་ནི་གྲངས་ཀྱི་(ཀྱིས་)མི་ལང་བ་ཡིན་ལ། །ཕྱད་པར་།པ་(དཔེ་)བར་[543]དབུ་སྟེ་།ཆེན་པོ་།འཇུགས་པ་།མངོད་།དེ། ལྷ་ཁང་གི་དཀར་ཚག་ལས་(།[544] )ལྷ་[545]ནུ་གུ་རྣ་ངོ་[546](ནུ་གུ་རྣ་ངོ་ས)བཞེངས་པ་རེ་།ཆོ་འཕྲུལ་།ཆད་བྱུང་གི་།གཙུག་ལག་།ཁང་གི་།གཙོ་བོ། །འཇམ་པའི་།དབྱངས་དབྱུལ་གཱ་ར་།ལྟགས་།ཀྱི་སྐུ་ཀྱང་པལ་(པ་ལ་)ཕྲུ་ཚད་།བཞི་།བཅུ་ཙམ་གང་ཡོད་གསེར་ཀྱང་(ཀྱང་)གི་[547](གིས་)བསྐྲུངས་པ། དབུ་ཙམ་།ཐྲོག་གསུམ་[548]།ཟླ་ཚེས་།གསུམ་།སེང་མགོ་།བཞི་།ཀ་ལ་གསེར་ཀྱི་ལན་གནོ། གཡུའི་(ལན་གནོ་གཡུའི་)[549]།མེ་ཏོག་། འཕྲང་བ་ལ་གཡུ་ཐུ་ཚད་ཆེ་འབྱིང་ལྟ་བཙུ་བཙུ་ཚ་།བཙུ་གསུམ།། སོག་ཤིང་གི་།དབུས་སུ་།གཟི་རིངས་།གསུམ།། །རིན་ཆེན་།ཀོར་ཀེ་ན་[550]།བཞི་།བཙུ་ཚ་།གསུམ།། དབུབ་

[542] D2013: 49 has *dal gyi*.

[543] D2013: 49 has *pe par*, without indicating that this is a corrected reading of *pa par* appearing in the MS. By referring to *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* (1996: 60; see also Vitali 1996: 114), D2013: 124 (n. 253) explains *pe par* and *dpe pa* as variants of the same name.

[544] The manuscript has *las* followed by a *tsheg*. *Shad* (and space) after *las* (without *tsheg*) and before *lha* are suggested as corrected reading (see also D2013: 50 where this is, however, not indicated as such).

[545] *lha* is inserted in a slightly smaller size above the line. Its place between *las* and *na'* (*nā*) is also indicated by two dots.

[546] Not corrected in D2013:50.

[547] Not corrected in D2013: 50.

[548] D2013: 50 reads *srog dum*, obviously understanding also the *skung yig* in a fully different way. In particular a reading of *dum* seems to be entirely unfounded. 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 323 suggests reading the *skung yig* as *srog gsum*.

[549] The manuscript has *kan* followed by a *shad*. *Tsheg* after *kan* and no space before *g.yu'i me tog* are suggested as a corrected reading (see also D2013: 50 where this is, however, not indicated as such).

[550] Read *ke ta ka* or *ke ke ru* (precious stone)? 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 323

(དབུ)ཙོད་ལ་གཡུ་གྱུ་[བཞི་]པ་འཛེབ་(ཨཛེབ)ཆེན་ཚད་[བཞི]། གཟི་ཙོང་བྱག་སྒེལ་རེ། གཞོར་ཀྱི་སེང་མགོ་ལྟ་ལ་ཆུ་ཏིག་ཟེང་[གཉིས་][གཉིས་] ཀྱི་དོ་ཤལ་འཕྱང་བ། སྐེང་དུ་གནོ་ཆའི་ཁུ་ཏིག་སྒེན་ཚད་ཙམ་ཟེང་[གཅིག་] ལ་བདུན་བཅུ་རྩ་བརྒྱད། སྐྱེན་གོང་གཡས་གཡོན་ན་གཞོར་ཀྱི་བརླ་ཁ་ཆེས་ཆེ་བ། གཡུའི་ཕྲ་དགུ་དགུ་པ་རེ། གཞོར་ཀྱི་སྐྱེན་ཆ་གོང་མ་གཉིས་ལ་གཡུའི་འཕྲ་[551](ཕྲ་) གཉིས་][གཉིས]། [རྩོ་རྩེ་]ཁ་[ལམ་]

[347/f. 37a:] སོ་བདུན།

ཞེཐ །[གཉིས་][གཉིས]། གཞོར་ཀྱི་སྐྱེན་ཆ་གཡས་གཡོན་ལ་བཅི་དུར་རྒྱ་[སྟོན་ཡོ་]ལོང་མོའི་ཚད་རེ། [རྩོ་རྩེ་]ཁ་[ལམ་][བཅུ་གསུམ]། ཕུག་(སྒུག་)[ལེགས་]པ་འཛེབ་(ཨཛེབ)ཚད་[གཅིག] །གཡུ་འཕྲ་[552](ཕྲ་)བཅུ་དྲུག[553] ཀེཀཾ་ན་[554][བཞི]འི་ཁུ་བཅལ་བ་(ཕྲ་བསྡུལ་བ)། ཤེནྡྲེ་ནི་[555](ཤེནྡྲ་ནྡྲི་)ལ་[གཉིས]། [རྩོ་རྩེ་]ཁ་[ལམ་][བཅུ་གསུམ]། གཡུ་འཕྲ་(ཕྲ་)ཆེ་འབྲིང་[བཅུ་གཅིག] །པན་རེ་ག་ལྟའི་ཕྲ་བཆུལ་[556](བསྡུལ་)བ། གཞོར་ཀྱི་དབུ་ཆིངས་གཡས་གཡོན་དུ། [རེ་རེ་]ལ་མན་ཉེལ་དང་། ནོར་བུ་སྟོང་མར་བཞི་བཅུ་རྩ་[གསུམ་]ཀྱི་ཕྲ་བཙལ(བསྡུལ)། [སྐུ་ཏིག་]སྒན་ཚད་ཟེང་གཉིས་ལ་གཞོར་ཀྱི་ཕྲ་སྐྱུར[557]། མཏུ་ནེ་[558]ལ་ཏེ་ལོང་མོ་ཚད་[559][གཅིག] །ཤེནྡྲེ་ནེ་[560](ཤེནྡྲ་ནྡྲི་)ལ་[བཞི]། [རྩོ་རྩེ་]ཁ་[ལམ་][བཅུ་བཞི་]རྩལ་(བསྡུལ་)[561]བའི་མཐུ་ར་ཆུང་[གཅིག] །ཡང་གཞོར་ཀྱི་མཐུ་མཆུ་ལ་གཡུ་དཀར་ལེབ་ལྟག་ལོང་ཚད་[གཅིག] །གཡུ་ཕྲ་[562]ལྟ་བཅུ་ཀེཀཾ་[563]ན་[564][སྟམ་]བཅུ(ཆུ་)འི་ཕྲ་བཙལ(བསྡུལ)། གཞོར་ཀྱི་ཏུ་དྲི་[565]ཟེང་[གཅིག] །ཁར་དུ་[བམ་]ཤ་རྐྱ་ཏིག་སྒན་མ་ཆེ་ཚད་ཟེང་[གཉིས་] ལ། དགུ་བཅུ་རྩ་བདུན། ཡང་གཞོར་ཀྱི་ཏུ་དྲི་[566]དང་། [རྐྱ་ཏིག་[567]]ཟེང་[གཉིས་]ཀྱི་སེ་མོ་དོ་འཛོ་ཚད་(ཙོ་ཚད་)ལྟ་ལྟ་པ་ལ་བར་བར་དུ་གཞོར་ཀྱི་བྱང་ཚང་གཡུའི་ཕྲ་ཅན་[བཞི་]བཏང་པ། གཞོར་ཀྱི་

[348/f. 37b:]

དཔུང་བརྒྱན་(རྒྱན་[568])སེང་གེའི་ཁ་ནས་ཏུ་དྲི་[569]ལ་གཡུའི་མེ་ཏོག་འཕྱང་བ། སྐེང་འོག་ནས་གཡུའི་ཕྲ་བཙོ་[570]བརྒྱད། གཡུ་ཆེ་བ་[བཞི་]པ་རེ། ཀེཀཾ་[571]ན་བཅུ་

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has *kod ko na*.

551 Not corrected in D2013: 50.

552 Not corrected in D2013: 50.

553 D2013: 50 has an inaccurate reading of the *skung yig* as *bcu gcig*.

554 Read *ke ta ka* or *ke ke ru* (precious stone)?

555 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 324 has *indra ni*.

556 Not corrected in D2013: 50.

557 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 324 has *sgyur*.

558 D2013: 50 has *ma ha'* (*hā*). As there is no *tsheg* after *ma*, this should be clearly read as *maha'* (*mahā*).

559 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 323 has *tshar*.

560 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 324 has *indra ni*.

561 D2013: 50 has *stsal* (instead of *rtsal*) and does not indicate this as a corrected reading.

562 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 324 has *phra* and suggests to correct this to *'phra*.

563 D2013: 50 and 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 324 have *karke*.

564 Read *ke ta ka* or *ke ke ru* (precious stone)?

565 Read *spu gri* instead of *pu dri*? 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 324 has *pu tri*.

566 Read *spu gri* instead of *pu dri*? 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 324 has *bu dhi* and suggests correcting this to *pu ti*.

567 D2013: 51 reads *mu tig gi* for the *skung yig*.

568 Not indicated as corrected reading in D2013: 51.

569 Read *spu gri* instead of *pu dri*?

570 D2013: 51 has *bco*.

571 D2013: 51 and 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 324 have *karke*.

བཙུའི་ཐྲ་བཙ་ལ་(བསྡུ་ལ་)[572]བ་ཁེ་རེའ[573](རེ)། གཞེར་གྱི་གདུབ་བུ་ལ་གཡུ་ཆེ་བ་ཁ་བཙུ་བཞི་ཁ་བཙུ་བཞི། ནོར་བུ་ཁམར་ཐོ་ཁ་བཙུ་གཉིས་ཁ་བཙུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཐྲ་བཙུ་ལ་(བསྡུ་ལ་)[574]བ་གཡས་གཡོན་ན་ཁེ་རེ། གཞེར་གྱི་སོར་བདུབ[575] (གདུབ་)ལ་གཡུ་འཐྲ་[576](ཐྲ་)ཁ་གཉིས་ཁ་གཉིས། རྩོ་རྩེ་ཁ་ལམ་ཁ་གཉིས་[577]གཉིས་ བཟླ་རེ་གུ་བྱག་ཁ་བྱག་གི་[578]འཐྲ་[579](ཐྲ་)བཙུ་ལ་(བསྡུ་ལ་)[580]བ་གཡོན་པ་གཅིག ཁཡས་པ་ལ་གཉིས་ གཞེར་གྱི་སྐུ་རགས་སྟེང་འོག་དུ་[581](ཏུ་)ཐུ་དྲི་[582](སྐུ་གྲི་)མཐོ་[583] དོ་ཁོར་མོ་ཁ་བཞི་པ་ཁ་གཉིས་ཁ་གཉིས་ བཏང་པ་ལ། གཞེར་གྱི་ལན་གན་ལས་ གཞེར་གྱི་དབྱེར་(གཡེར་)ཁ་འཐྲང་བ། ཁདུས་སུ་ཁ་ཡུ་བཟླུམ་[584]། ལོང་མོ་ཆེ་བ་ཚད་ཁ་གཅིག ཁཡས་གཡོན་དུ་ཁ་ཡུ་གྲུ་ཁ་བཞི་པ་ཁ་གཉིས་[585]། ནར་མོ་ཁ་སུམ། གཟེ་ཐོང་ཁ་བཞི་བཏང་སྣེལ་བ། ཁ་ཡུ་ཆུང་བ་ཁ་ཞེས་ཁ་ཐྲ་ཙལ་(བསྡུ་ལ་)བ་གཅིག ཁགཞེར་གྱི་སོར་ཁ་དུབ། གཡས་པ་ལ་ཁ་ཡུ་ཐྲ་ཡུ། གཡོན་པ་ལ་ཁ་བཞི། བཟླ་རེ་ག་ཁེ་ཤུ་ཁ་ཚ་ཁ་བཞི།(བཞི་)[586]ཚ་ཁ་བཞི། གཡེར་ཁ་ཁ་བཞི་ཁ་བཞི་འཐྲང་[587]

[349/f. 38a:] སོ་བཆུད།

ཞི། འཐྲང་བ། གཡས་གཡོན་ཁེ་རེ། སྐུ་ཏེག་ཐར་(ཐལ་)ཆེར་སྐན་མ་(མའི་)[588]ཆེ་ཚ་ད་ཁ་སྦྱིགས་(བསྦྱིགས་)ཁའི་དོ་ཤལ་སྟེང་བཆུད། ཟླ་བདུན་པ་ལ་བར་བབ་[589]དུ་གཞེར་གྱི་ ཁོར་ཁེ་ཁ་ཡུའི་ཐྲ་ཁེ་རེ་ཁ་བཞི་དང་། གཡུའི་མེ་ཏོག་གཞེར་གྱི་ཐྲ་སྐུད་ཚལ་[590](བསྡུ་ལ་)བ་བདུན་ལ། གཡུ་ཆེ་ཐྲ་བཞི་བཙུ་རྩ་བཆུད། ཀེཀ་[591]ཀ་[592]དང་།[593] ཞེན་ནི་[594](ཞེན་ནྲི་)ལ་བྱག་བཙུ་རྩ་གསུམ་གྱིས་ ཙལ་[595](བསྡུ་ལ་)ཐ་ཟུངས་སུ་ཁ་བཅུ་པ་ཁ་གཅིག ཁཡས་གཡོན་དུ་ཁདུལ་གྱི་ཤུ་ཏྲི་[596](སྐུ་གྲི་)ཁ་བཞི། འབྲོང་མིག་དང་བཅས་པ། བཆུན་[597](ཆུན་)གྱི་སྐྱི་སྡོམ་རགས་པ་བརྩལ[598](བསྡུ་ལ་)། བེ་དུར་ཡ་ཁ་གཉིས། ཞེན་ནི་[599](ཞེན་ནྲི་)ལ་ཉེར་གསུམ། བཟླ་རེ་ག་ཆེ་འབྲིང་ཁ་སུམ་ཁ་བཅུ(ཆུ)། རྩོ་རྩེ་ཁ་ཁ་ཆེ་

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572 D2013: 51 has *bcal* instead of *btsal* and corrects this into *bstsal*.

573 Not corrected in D2013: 51.

574 D2013: 51 has *bcal* instead of *brtsal* and corrects this to *bstsal*.

575 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 324 has *mub* and suggests correcting this to *gdub*.

576 Not corrected in D2013: 51.

577 The number 2 in Tibetan is inserted in a slightly smaller size below the line. Its place between *lam* and *gnyis* is also indicated by two dots.

578 D2013: 51 reads *bcu drug bcu drug gi*.

579 Not corrected in D2013: 51.

580 D2013: 51 has *bstsal* and does not indicate this as a corrected reading. 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 324 has *brtsil* and suggests correcting this to "*'phra tshal*?".

581 Not corrected in D2013: 51 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 324.

582 Not corrected in D2013: 51.

583 Not corrected in D2013: 51.

584 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 324 has *bzlums*.

585 D2013: 51 has the number 2 in Tibetan twice, that is *gnyis gnyis*. This may be possible but cannot be ascertained as not much of the ligature or number remains visible, at least not in the manuscript facsimile edition.

586 In the manuscript facsimile edition after *rtsa 4* (*bzhi*), instead of a *tsheg* a *shad* appears (however without the usual space after it) which is followed by another *rtsa 4* (*bzhi*).

587 One of the two *'phyang* at the end of this and beginning of next page is superfluous. The repetition may represent a scribal mistake. (In D2013: 51 the two *'phyang* appear without comment.)

588 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 324 has only *ma'i*.

589 In the manuscript the second *bar* is inserted in a smaller script above line 1. Its place between *bar* and *du* is also indicated by three dots.

590 Not corrected in D2013: 51.

591 D2013: 51 and 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 324 have *karke*.

592 *ketaka ta*: perhaps identical with *ketaka*.

593 *shad* (and space) after *dang* and before *intra ni* is missing in D2013: 51.

594 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 324 has *indra ni*.

595 Not corrected in D2013: 51.

596 Not corrected in D2013: 51.

597 Not corrected in D2013: 52.

598 Not corrected in D2013: 52. 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 325 has *btsam*.

599 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 325 has *indra ni*.

འབྲིང་བཞི་བཅུ་རྩ་ལྔ། གཡུ་ཆེ་བ་ཁ་བཅུ་བཞི། གཡུ་འབྲིང་རྩལ་[600](བསྟལ་)[601]བ་ཁ་སྐམ། བཅུ་བདུན་བཅུ་རྩ་ལྔ། གཟེ་རིངས་ཁ་གསུམ། གཟེ་ཐོང་ཁ་དེ་ཙམ་ཞེས་གསུམ། སྐ་ཏིགา་སྟོང་གསུམ་ལྡ་ཆེ་འབྲིང་གསུམ་གྱིས་མ་ཚང་བའི། སྟེང་ཁྱི་ཤུ། རྩ་ཁ་གཉིས། ཀེརྐ་[602]ན་ཉིས་བཅུ། རྩ་བཅུ་གསུམ་ནོར་བུ་སྟོན་དམར་མན་ཅེལ་འདེས་པ་བཙུ་བཅུ་རྩ་བདུན། ཁ་སེར་གྱི་ཡུ་དྲི་(སྦུ་གྲི་)ཁ་ཞི། གཡེར་ཁ་བཅུ། སེང་མགོ་དང་། རྨ་ཆེས་ཁ་ལ་སོགས་ཀ་ལ་གསེར(་)

[350/f. 38b:]

སྟོལ་ལོ་ཉིས་བཅུ་ལྔ་བཅུ་ལས་གཉིས་པ(འཇུངས་པ)ས་བཅུན་པའི་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཁེམས་ཀ་དཔའ་ཐུག་གཡས་ཀ་རལ་གྲི།། གསེར་གྱི་ཡུ་བ་ཁྲ་ཅན་ལ་གསེར་གྱི་ཇོ་རྡེའི་ཆ་མོ་ཅན། གཡོན་ན་གསེར་གྱི་ཞུབྱལ་[603]བསྣམས་ལ། ར་གན་གྱི་འོད་འཕོར་རྩོར་ར་དང་གདན་ཁྲི་དང་བཅས་པ་བཞེངས་པ་དང་ཁྲུ་གང་པ་གཅིག། ཡང་དབུལ་གྱི་ཁ་ཐད་དཔལ་ཀ་གསེར་གྱི་བཙོད་པན་(ཙོད་པན་)གཡུའི་ཁུ་(ཁྲ་)ཅན། ར་གན་གྱི་འོད་གདན་ཁྲི་དང་བཅས་པ། ཡང་དབུལ་གྱི་ཁ་ཐད་དཔལ་ཀ་ཐོ་(མཐོ་)གང་བ། དབུལ་གྱི་རྒྱན་རས་ཁ་གཟེགས་ཀ་ཐོ་(མཐོ་)གང་བ། གསེར་གྱི་བཙོད་དཔན་[604](ཙོད་པན་)དང་ཆུན་ཅན། ར་གན་གྱི་འོད་གདན་ཁྲི་དང་བཅས་པ་ཁ་སྐས་ཀ་ལྟ། རྩོར་དབྱིངས་ཀྱི་ཁ་དཀྱིལ་འཕོར་གྱི་[605]ཁ་གཙོ་བོ་[606]ཁ་དབུལ་གྱི་ཁ་ཟེགས་ལྟ། གསེར་(གྱི་)བཙོད་པན་(ཙོད་པན་)དང་ཆུན་ཅན་འཇུག་(མཇུག་)གང་བ་ར་གན་གྱི་གདན་ཁྲི་དང་བཅས་པ་ལྟ། ཡུམ་ཁཉེ་ཁེ་རྐུང་བཞེངས་ཀེ། ག་[607] དབུལ་གསེར་གྱི་བཆུན་(ཆུན་)ཅན་ལྷུང་གང་བ་བཞི། དབུལ་གྱི་ཁ་སེམས་དཔའ་ལྷུང་གང་བ་ཁ་བཙུ་བྱུག ।ཁ་དབུལ་གྱི་ཁ་མཆད་(མཆོད་)[608]པའི་ལྷ་མོ་བཆུད། དབུལ་གྱི་སྐོ་བ་ཁ་ཞི། ཁོར་[609](བསྐོར་མས་)ཁ་སོ་བཏུད་

[351/f. 39a:] སོ་དགུ།

ཅཅ། ཡོ་ཁ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀ་གསེར་གྱི་ཁ་གཙོད་དཔན་(ཙོད་པན་)ཁ་དང་། བཆུན་[610](ཆུན་)། ར་གན་གྱི་གདན་ཁྲི་[611]དང་བཅས་པའི་ཁ་དབུལ་གྱི་ཁ་མཆོད་རྟེན་གསེར་གྱི་ཆུན་ཅན་འཕོ(མཕོ)གང་པ་གཅིག། ཀདབུལ་སྐུ་ཞབ་ཁ་ཞི། བཙུ་ཚ་བྱུག། ཁ་གསེར་གྱི་ཁ་མཆོད་རྟེན་ཁ་རིན་པ་ཆེ་[612]ཁ་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཀ་ཀྱི་ཟླའི་[613](ཟླས་)སྒས་པ་འཕྱོད་(མཕྱོད་)གང་བ་ཁ་གཅིག་ཀ་ཐོག་དྲངས་གསེར་ག་ར་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་ཞབ། ར་གན་གྱི་ཤྲཱིབྲུབ་པ། སྒུན་རས་ཁ་གཟེགས།། ཡུམ་རྩོར། གཞན་དེ་ཁ་ཞེགས་པ་ཁ་བཆུད་[614] ཆེ་ལྷུ་དོ་ཡོད་པ། ཁཞགས་ཀ་ཤ་ཞལ་

[600] Not corrected in D2013: 52.

[601] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 325 corrects *rtsal* into *tshal*.

[602] D2013: 52 and 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 325 have *karke*.

[603] D2013: 52 has an inaccurate reading *atpala*.

[604] D2013: 52 has an inaccurate reading *bcod pan* (instead of *bcod dpan*) and corrects this to *cod pan*.

[605] D2013: 52 has *dpal gyi* (seemingly based on an inaccurate understanding of the *skung yig*).

[606] D2013: 52 has *gtso bor*. The foundation for this is unclear as there is no *ra* at the end of the *skung yig*.

[607] In the manuscript there are three horizontally arranged dots above the letter *ga* the meaning of which is unclear. (The letter etc. is not rendered or mentioned in D2013: 52).

[608] D2013: 52 and 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 326 have *mchod pa'i* which is, however, not indicated as a corrected reading.

[609] Not corrected in D2013: 52.

[610] Not corrected in D2013: 53.

[611] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 326 has *gser khri*.

[612] D2013: 53 has *rin chen* (without indicating this as a corrected reading of the expression in the *skung yig*). The foundation for this is unclear as it does not account for the *na ro* vowel sign.

[613] Not corrected in D2013: 53.

[614] *shad* (and space) after *brgyad* and before *rtse* is missing in D2013: 53.

[352/f. 39b:]

(མཛྲ་)རེ་པ་ཁྲི་བརྒྱ་[623](རྒྱ་)དང་བཅས་པ། བ་སོའི་སྐུན་རས། གཟིགས། ཤོག་ཤས་ལ་མ། སོགས། ཤེན་དུ་(ཀུ་)འཚར་བ་(མཚར་བ་)བདུན། གཞན་ཕན་ཚོགས་

[623] Not corrected in D2013: 53.

[622] Not corrected in D2013: 53.

[621] The manuscript has *bdun* (with *tsheg*) which is followed (without *shad* and space) by *skal bzang* etc. The corrected reading (as given here in parentheses) is also contained in D2013: 53 (however, without indicating it as such).

[620] The manuscript has *lnga* (with *tsheg*) which is followed (without *shad* and space) by *rdo rje* etc. The corrected reading (as given here in parentheses) is not contained in D2013: 53.

[619] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 326 has only *tu*.

[618] Not corrected in D2013: 53.

[617] Not corrected in D2013: 53 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 326.

[616] The manuscript has *pa* (with *tsheg*) which is followed (without *shad* and space) by *shakya thub pa* (again with *tsheg*), again followed (without *shad* and space) by *rigs gsum mgon po*. The corrected readings (as given here in parentheses) is also contained in D2013: 53 (however, without indicating it as such).

[615] D2013: 51 and 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 326 have *tu* (without indicating this as a corrected reading).



ཆེན་ཐོག་ཏུ་ཡོད། གསུང་རབ་དང་རྒྱ་དཔེའི་གྲངས། བྱ་རྒྱུན་ཟབ་གཏེར་གྱི་ཤིང་ལོ་རིས་ཤམ་བུ་ཉེས་བཅོས། བཅུ་[624]ཙམ་ཡོས།) ཐོག་དྲངས་ཚེ་བ་བཟང་བ་བྱའེ་[625]བརྒྱད་སྐྱིང་པ་[626]གསུམ་ཟ་འོག་དང་གོས་ཆེན་གྱི་རྒྱན་ཅན། གཤེར་གྱི་རྐོག་(ཀོག་)ཅན་བཙོ་[627] བརྒྱ། ཟ་འོག་སྡོ་ཕྱའི་གདུགས་གཤེར་གྱི་རྐོག་(ཀོག་)དང་ཤམ་བུ་ཆོམས་ཅན་[628](ཙུ།) ཐང་བ་སྐ་ཆོགས་ཀྱི་འཕན་རིངས། དབུས་སུ། དབུལ་གྱི་[629](གིས་)། རིགས་གསུམ། མགོན་པོ། བཞུགས་པ་ལྟ། བཞི། བཅུ་རྩ་ལྔ་པ། གཅིག། ཡང་ཟ་འོག་གཤེར། མའི་འཕན། དབུལ་གྱི་གཤེར་ཀ་དང་། སུ་ཏིག་གི་[630](གིས་)། སྒས་པ་འདོམ་དོ་པ། བརྒྱ་ལྔ་བཅུ་རྩ་བདུན། ཟ་འོག་སྡོ་ཕྱའི་ཁ་ཆོར་བཅུ་རྩ་པ། བའི་ཡོལ་བ། བཅུ་གཅིག། ཚོན་ཁ་རྣམ། གཡུ་ཏིག་ཆ་ཤས་ཙམ་[631]མོ། གཞི། དབུལ་གྱི། ཏིང་ཕོར་ལྟུ་ཚད་མ་

[624] Not corrected in D2013: 53.

[625] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 326 has only *ba*.

[626] Read *rnying pa* instead of *snying pa*?

[627] D2013: 53 has *bco*.

[628] Not corrected in D2013: 53.

[629] Not corrected in D2013: 54 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 327.

[630] Not corrected in D2013: 54.

[631] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 327 has *ldang*.

[632] Not corrected in D2013: 54.

[633] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 327 has only *skong*.

[353/f. 40a:] བཞི་བཅུ།

ཞེས། དབུན་ཚར་ཅིག[632](གཅིག) ཀདུལ་སྐོང་[633](ཀོང་)གཟེ་ཕོར་ཆེ་བ་ལྟ། མན་ཉེལ་གྱི་ཕོར་པ། བཅུ་གཅིག) ། ཤ་ཕྱིས། ལེགས། པ་བཅུ། བརྒྱ་ཕོར་

གསུམ། དུང་ཚོས་བཅེག་མ་མ་ཅན་བཙུ། དུང་ཚོས་རྒྱང་པ་ཁཞི་ཁ་བཙུ་རྩ་བྱག ཁོ་ཏེ་ཅོ་སྟོམ་པ་ལྟ་བརྒྱ་ཉག་མ་ཁགེས། ར་གན་ཀྱི་གཏིང་སྐྱོང་ཏིང་ཀྱོང་)རྒྱ་གར་མ་ཁཞི། མཚན་ཐུབ་ལྟ་བཙུ། ཆེ་བ་ཁེ་ཤུ། རག་ཁབྱམ་སྐོས་[634](ཏོས་)མ་ཁེགས་པ་ལྟ། ཟངས་ཁབྱམ་ཁསུམ་བཙུ[635](ཙུ)སྤྱི་ཁབྲགས་ཆེ་བ་དྲུག ཁ་གན་ཀྱིས་[636](ཀྱི་)སྟོས་ཏང་ལྟ། ངང་པ་ཁགེས། ལྟོན་དམར་ཀྱི་བྱ་ཁཞི། ར་གན་ཀྱི་སྐུ་ཁྲུས་ཀྱི་སྟོད་བཟའ་[637](ཁབཟའ་)ཆེན་~~ཆེན~~[638]བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་[639](ཀྱིས་)སྟེགས་པ་(བཀེགས་པ་)ཁགེགས། ཁཏང་ཁྲུས་ཀྱི་སྟོད་ཁགེས། ཙོར་ཆོགས་སྟོད་ཁགེགས། ཁམཁར་(འཁར་)སྐྱོགས་ཁེ་ཤུ། དུ་དུང་ཆ་བརྒྱད། ཆ་ལང་བཟང་བ་ཆ་བདུན། མཁར་(འཁར་)ཇ་ལྟ། དྲིལ་ཆེན་གསུམ། སྐ་(ཇ་)[640]ཇ་ཁགེག། ཁ་ཙོ་ཆེ་ཁགེས། ཆོང་ཁགེས། དུང་དཀར་ཆེ་བ་བཟང་བ་བདུན། བགོར་(དགོར་)དབྱིག་ལ་གཡུ་ཆེ་ཞིང་ཁེགས་པ་སྐ་འདྲ་བ་ཁགེས[641]། གསེར་སྐྱོ་ཤས་ལྟ། དབྱལ་ཚོར་དགུ། གཡུ་ཁ་ལྟ་དབྱལ་གལ་[642](སྐལ་)གསེར་གྱི་ཚར་

[354/f. 40b:]

ཚར་[643]ཅན་བདུན། གཞན་གསུང་རབ་གསེར་གྱི་(གྱིས་)བྱིས་པ་ཙོ་ཏེ་[644] ཁསུམ་ཁབཙུ། གཞན་བཀའ་དང་བསྐུན་ཆོས་(བཅོས་)ཀྱི་ཙོ་ཏེ་བརྒྱ་(རྒྱ་)དཔེ་ཆམས་མང་དུ་འདུག་སྟེ། ཁཡག་(ཡི་)ཀེ་[645]མངས་པས་མ་བྱིས། རྒྱས་པར་སྦྱོ་ན། དྲིལ་ཉིད་དུ་ཤེས་པར་བྱའོ། །

〔དེ་ལྟར་བློ་མ་ཁཡི་ཤེས་ངོད་ཡབ་སྲས་གསུམ་གྱིས་(གྱི་)རྟོགས་པ་བརྗོད་པ་ཚ་(ཚ་)[646]ཙམ་སྨྲས་པ་ཁཡིན་ནོ།།( །།)〕

[647]སྙིང་རྗེ་ཨ་མོ་ལི་ཀའི་གཞིར། །

ཁཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་བའི་ངོད་དཀར་ཅན། །

ཁཕུལ་ཁྱིམས་ཏུ་གུ་ཁལ་སོགས་ལཌྜོ་ན། །

བསྐུན་པའི་ཁརིན་ཆེན་ཁོད་འཚང་ཐ(བ)[648]། །

དེ་འདྲ་ཕྱོགས་ཐུལ་བྱུང་བའི། །

བྱ་ཆེན་མ་ལུས་འགྲོ་བའི་མགོན། །

མིའི་རྟེ་རྣ་སྐུ་འཕྲུངས་པ། །

གང་གི་ཁརྒྱས་(རྒྱས་)ཁབ་བཙམ[649](བཙམས་)པ་ལས། །

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[634] Not corrected in D2013: 54.

[635] Not corrected in D2013: 54.

[636] Not corrected in D2013: 54.

[637] Not corrected in D2013: 54.

[638] The second *chen* (at the beginning of line 5), seemingly a scribal mistake, is crossed out in the original manuscript. This is not present in D2013: 54. 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 327 has *chen chen* (not indicating that the second *chen* is crossed out).

[639] Not corrected in D2013: 54 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 327.

[640] D2013: 54 and 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 327 have only *rdza*, which is, however, not indicated as a corrected reading.

[641] D2013: 54 has the Tibetan number 1, which is an inaccurate reading. The manuscript facsimile clearly shows the Tibetan number 2, with the characteristic horizontal line in the lower part (as usual throughout the manuscript).

[642] Not corrected in D2013: 54.

[643] One of the two *tshar* at the beginning of this or at the end of the previous page is superfluous. The repetition may represent a scribal mistake. (In D2013: 54 the two *tshar* appear without comment.)

[644] After *ti* and before *sum* not much of the ligature or number remains visible, at least not in the manuscript facsimile edition. D2013: 54 has *brgya* which represents a possible reading. 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 327 has *ba* and suggests "*brgya*?" as a possible reading.

[645] D2013: 54 has *yi ge* which is, however, not indicated as a corrected reading.

[646] Not indicated as corrected reading in D2013: 55 and in 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 327.

[647] D2013: 55 has a *dpung shad* before *snying rje*, which is, however, not contained in the manuscript.

[648] 'Dar tsha Khyung bdag 2015: 327 has only *ba*.

[649] Not corrected in D2013: 55.

བྱང་བའི་བསོད་ཁམས་ལོངས་ཟེར་གྱིས། །
ཁངས་རྒྱས་དག་པའི་ཞིང་ཁམས་ཆོག །
ཀུན་བཟང་མཆོད་སྤྲིན་གྱིས་གང་ཞིང་། །
ཟིན་ལས་ཁམས་རྣམ་ཀུན་ཁྱབ་བདར་ཤོག །
རྒྱལ་བ་ཀུན་གྱི་ཐུགས་རྗེའི་མཐུས། །
མར་གྱུར་མཁའ་སྟམ་(མཉམ་)སེམས་ཅན་ཁམས། །
འཁོར་བ་འཇིག་ཁྲིའི་(འཁྲིའི་)

[355/f. 41a:] ཞེ་གཅིག་བོྱན།

ཨཱི། །གནས་དག་ལས། །
བསྒལ་ནས་ཁངས་རྒྱས་ཐོབ་(འཐོབ་)པར་ཤོག །
[རྒྱལ་བའང་དགེས་(དཀྱེས་)བྱེད་ཁམས་(ཀྱམ་)ཐར་ནི། །
གནས་ལྟ་རིག་པའི་པཎྜི་ཏ[650]། །
ཁྱགས་ཤ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོས[651](པོའི)། །
ཡིད་མཆོ་ལས་བྱང་ཉེ་མ་ཡིན། །

མཁས་བཙུན་ལོ་སྟྲ་(ཚྭ་)རིན་ཆེན་ཅན་པོའི་གནས། །
མཐོ་གླིང་གསེར་གྱི་ལྷ་ལང་མཇོས་པའི་གནང་(ནང་)། །
ཀུན་ལྡན་ཞེས་བྱ་ལྷགས་མོ་(ཕོ་)བྱི་བའི་ལོ། །

[650] D2013: 55 has *paṇ di ta*, which is not supported by the spelling in the manuscript nor does it correspond to the Tibetan rendering of the Sanskrit *paṇḍita*.

[651] Not corrected in D2013: 55.

གནས་ལྟ་རིག་པ་དེ་ཡིས་བསྒྲབ[652](བསྒྲུབས)པ་ལགས། །

[གཅིག་]ཞུས། ཚིགས་མཐའ་(མཇུག་)། ཞེས།

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[652] Not corrected in D2013: 55.

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Christian Jahoda

# Joseph Thsertan Gergan's Report on Nyarma, 1917

Founded most probably in 996 CE, the monastery of Nyarma[1] in Ladakh was seemingly one of the earliest and also one of the most important Buddhist monuments in historical Western Tibet at the time, on account of its function, size and the rank of its founders,[2] whom some Tibetan sources, such as *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* ("Royal Genealogies of Western Tibet") (Vitali 1996: 110, 148) and *Rin chen bzang po rnam thar 'bring po* ("Middle-length Biography of the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po"), record or allow the interpretation as the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od (947–1019/1024) and the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po (958–1055). Other sources, such as *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs* ("Royal Genealogy of the Solar Lineage") mention the ruler Khri bKra shis 'Od lde btsan, more commonly known als 'Od lde, as having founded a *gtsug lag khang* at Nyarma.[3]

The first published reference to Nyarma in a modern scientific study was made by August Hermann Francke in his preface to H. Lee Shuttleworth's monograph on the Buddhist temple of Lalung in Spiti. There he names Joseph Gergan as the one who "discovered, copied and translated the biography of this famous lama". And he also says that "*Ñar-ma* was discovered a few years ago by Joseph Gergan as a ruined site near *Khri-rtse*[4] in Ladakh." (Francke 1929: i).[5]

Joseph Gergan (1878–1946) was born into a family of Central Tibetan descent living in the Nubra valley of Ladakh and received the Tibetan name bSod nams Tshe brtan. He was baptised in 1890 by Moravian missionaries and took the name Joseph. He then stayed for fourteen years in Srinagar where he visited the Church Mission Society and learned English and Urdu (see Guyon Le Bouffy 2012: 20; Bass and Burroughs 2018: 19, 45). Upon his return to Leh, he became a teacher at the Moravian Mission School in Leh. By 1913, he is already mentioned as the headmaster of this school. In 1920 he was ordained as a minister of the Moravian Church. Gergan, who is referred to as a disciple and colleague of Francke's, must have known the Moravian missionary and scholar since at least around 1906. They collaborated not only in the translation of the Old Testament into Ladakhi (begun by Gergan in 1909) but also in the field of historical studies of Western Tibet (Walravens and Taube 1992: 198; Guyon Le Bouffy 2012: 21).

Over a long period of time, Gergan collected and copied a large number of historical texts, documents, treaties, song books and inscriptions. He did this mostly in the form of brief excursions or longer

[1] Throughout the text, the popular modern spelling Nyarma is used. In Tibetan sources, various spellings are found, such as Myar ma (*Rin chen bzang po rnam thar* 4, f.29b2), Nyar ma (*Nyang ral chos 'byung B*: 463.13; Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od* by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan: The Tibetan text", this volume, p. 140; see also Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011: 305 and Do rgya dBang drag rdo rje 2013: 22), Nya mar (*Nyang ral chos 'byung A*: 336.1.2) and Nyer ma (*gDung rabs zam 'phreng*, cited in Yo seb dge rgan 1976: 338.16).

[2] See also Jahoda, "On the foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, Ladakh", this volume, pp. 279ff.

[3] See Jahoda, "Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's chapter on the history of mNga' ris in *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs*: Notes on the author and the content", this volume, p. 82, and Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, "Relating the history of mNga' ris as set down in writing in Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes*: The Tibetan text (with variant readings by Tsering Drongshar and Christian Jahoda)", this volume, p. 111.

[4] Also known as Thikse and Thiksay. Variant Tibetan spellings are Khrig rtse and Khrig se.

[5] See also the MS version among the Shuttleworth Papers, BL, p. 2.

field trips, at the beginning perhaps directly inspired or motivated by Francke, later also by H. Lee Shuttleworth. These trips seem to have been at least partly (co-)financed by Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology in India, on whose "strong recommendation" August Hermann Francke had already been employed in 1909/1910 to carry out an archeological survey of Kinnaur, Spiti and areas of Ladakh[6] in order to record the archaeological and artistic remains of the ancient Buddhist culture of these areas. Some of the materials and information collected were published by Gergan himself, such as an essay on the cult of the dead and funeral rites in Ladakh (Gergan 1940), a collection of Tibetan proverbs and sayings (Gergan 1942), and a work on the history of Ladakh which was published posthumously (dGe rgan 1976). Further material he collected has been published in recent decades, for example by Dieter Schuh (2008). Nevertheless, a considerable number of papers and documents seem to have remained unpublished or may have even been lost.

The report published here is held among the August Hermann Francke papers in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Manuscript Department. It is contained in a notebook entitled on the cover (see Fig. 1):

> Nyarma temples
> Ladakh
> by Joseph Thse-brtan

The title may well have been written by Gergan while the small addition in line 2 on the cover stating "Lhasa Inschrift" is certainly in Francke's handwriting.

The report is entirely handwritten, most probably by Gergan himself. It starts on the top of a right-hand page numbered 2—"Note: (near Khri-rtse) Nyarma, April 10th 1917"—and extends over 14 pages (all lined), the last two pages being dedicated to a to-scale survey of the main temple and not-to-scale sketch of other temples. Like the beginning, the ending on the last page of the narrative description is in the form of a report: "May be more temples of him [the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po] in Ladak than the above, Joseph Thsertan." Joseph Thsertan can be clearly read and understood as a signature. The spelling is unusual and seems to reflect the writer's individual preference for how to write his personal (Christian/Tibetan) name, in contrast to the rules of transliterating its spelling in Tibetan with which he was entirely familiar (as is manifest from the report).

This report seems to be one of the earliest examples of this kind reports from Gergan's pen until the late 1920s which were most probably produced deliberately for and sent to Francke (identical copies perhaps at the same time to Sir John Marshall).[7] From the early 1920s onward also H. Lee Shuttleworth was part of this "collaborative network" (see Jahoda 2007: 362–363).

**Annotated Edition**

The text of the report given here has kept the spellings and formatting used by its writer. The only exception is first-line indentation of paragraphs for better readability. Uncertain and revised readings, also corrections appearing in the notebook, explanations and other comments have been added in footnotes. Minor additions, such as a missing apostrophe, have been added in square brackets. Unless absolutely necessary for understanding Gergan's text the English has not been corrected. All pages of the original report in the notebook are reproduced individually in facsimile in order to enable future researchers to make full use of the visual and textual information without (having to) access the original hard copy. The format of the notebook is 14 x 17,7 cm. The first right-hand page is paginated 2 in the top right-hand corner but is otherwise blank (Fig. 2). The report starts at the top of the reverse side of page 1 (which is a left-hand page and has no pagination. The right-hand page opposite this is paginated 2. Therefore I tend to assume that the author/writer used a kind of system which is used in Tibetan-style loose-leaf books (*dpe cha*) where recto folios are numbered 1, 2, 3, etc. while the reverse side of the leaves is left unnumbered. This is also followed in the edition where recto pages are therefore identified as [1a], [2a], etc. while verso pages are referred to as [1b], [2b], etc. The editorial sequence of pages is numbered in Roman numerals, starting with I for the cover, II for the reverse of the cover etc.

The transliteration of Tibetan names and words in the footnotes follows the principles of the Wylie transliteration system, as described by Turrell Wylie (1959). Similar to the system used by the Library of Congress, diacritical marks are used for those letters representing an Indic language.

[6] The route of his expedition did not lead him to Nyarma as the location (and perhaps also importance) of this site was not known at the time.

[7] The existence of further reports is evident from correspondence which the author was able to study briefly in the archive of the Archaeological Survey of India in Delhi in 2009.

*I. Cover* (see Fig. 1)

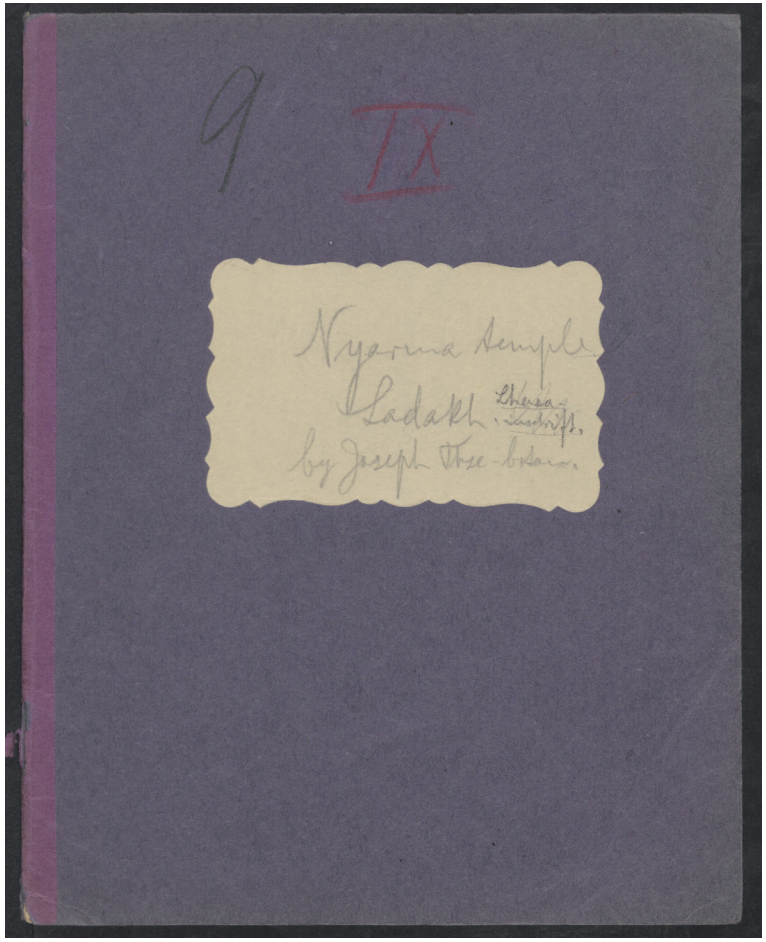
Nyarma temples
Ladakh. Lhasa
Inschrift.
By Joseph Thse-brtan[8]

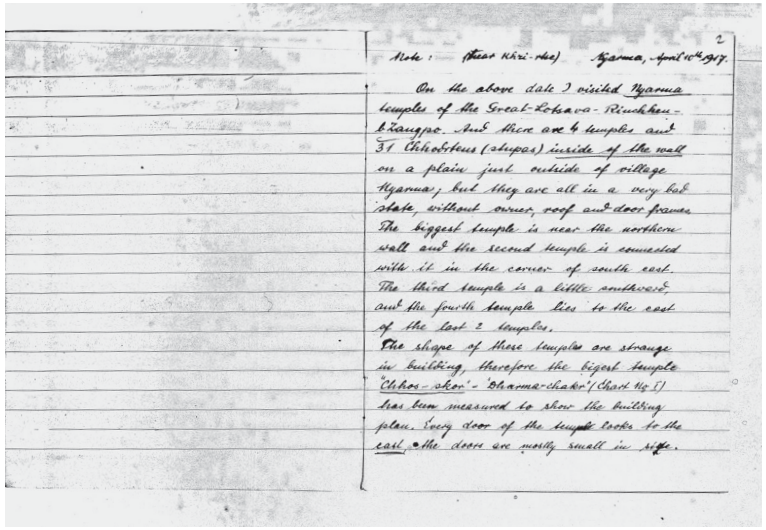
*II. Cover reverse* (see Fig. 2, left)
[without writing]

*III. Page [1a]* (see Fig. 2, right)

1[9]

*IV. Page [1b]* (see Fig. 3, left)
[without writing]



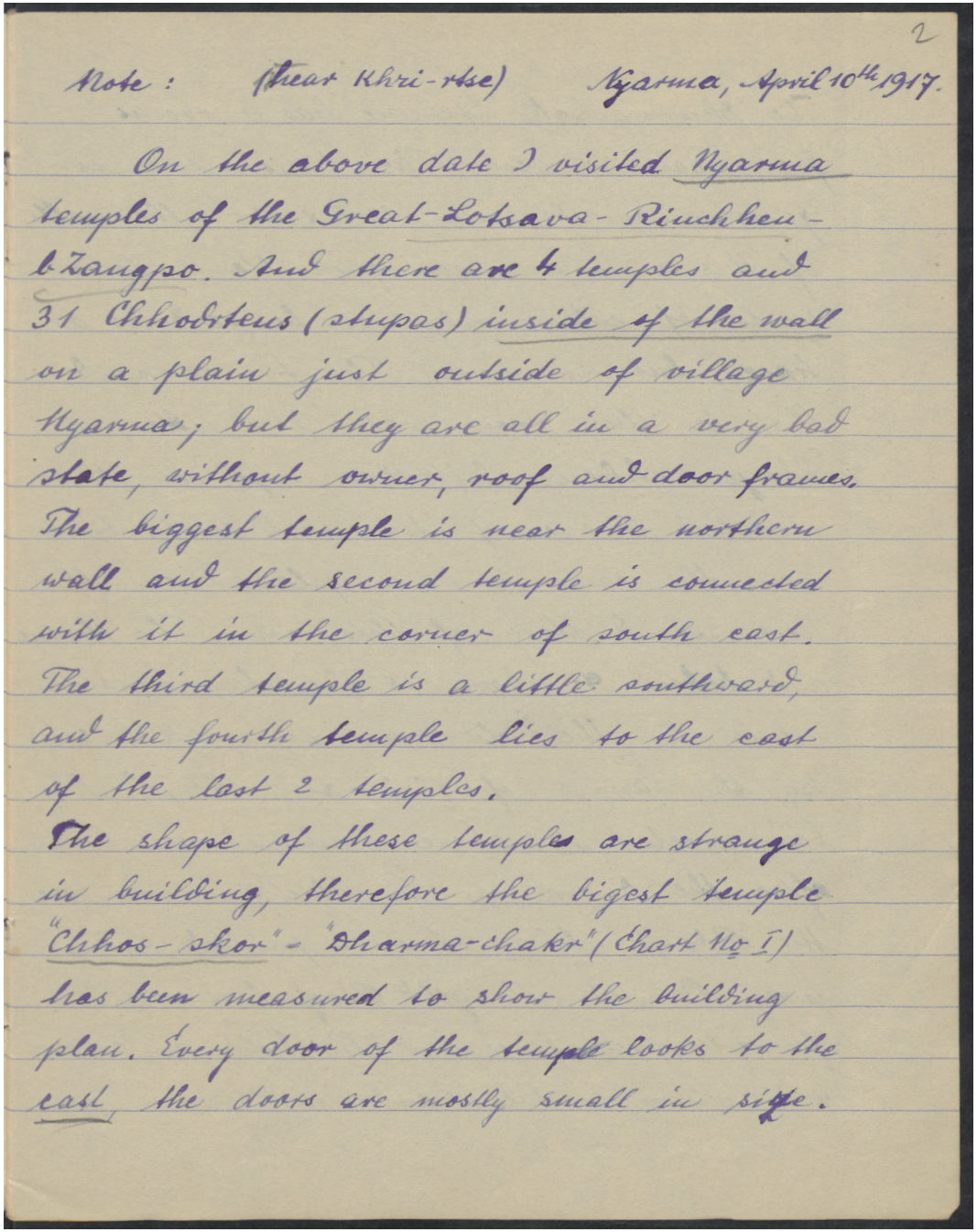

1. Cover, front side, notebook, August Hermann Francke papers, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

2. Cover, reverse side and page [1a], notebook, August Hermann Francke papers, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

3. Page [1b] and Page [2a], notebook, August Hermann Francke papers, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

[8] Tshe brtan. The spelling follows the transliteration of the letter ཚ (*tsha*) as *thsa*.

[9] Pagina, Arabic numeral, top right-hand corner.


2

Note : (near Khri-rtse) Nyarma, April 10th 1917.

On the above date I visited Nyarma temples of the Great-Lotsava-Rinchhen-bZangpo. And there are 4 temples and 31 Chhodrtens (stupas) inside of the wall on a plain just outside of village Nyarma; but they are all in a very bad state, without owner, roof and door frames. The biggest temple is near the northern wall and the second temple is connected with it in the corner of south east. The third temple is a little southward, and the fourth temple lies to the east of the last 2 temples.

The shape of these temples are strange in building, therefore the bigest temple "Chhos-skor" = "Dharma-chakr" (Chart No. I) has been measured to show the building plan. Every door of the temple looks to the east, the doors are mostly small in size.

4. Page [2a], notebook, August Hermann Francke papers, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz.



*V. Page [2a]* (Fig. 4)

2[10]

Note: (near Khri-rtse) Nyarma, April 10th 1917

On the above date I visited Nyarma[11] temples of the Great-Lotsava-Rinchhen-bZangpo.[12] And there are 4 temples and 31 Chhodrtens[13] (stupas) inside of the wall on a plain just outside of village Nyarma; but they are all in a very bad state, without owner, roof and door frames. The biggest temple is near the northern wall and the second temple is connected with it in the corner of south east. The third temple is a little southward, and the fourth temple lies to the east of the last 2 temples.

The shape of these temples are strange in building, therefore the big[g]est temple "Chhos-skor"[14] = "Dharma-chakr" (Chart No. I)[15] has been measured to show the building plan. Every door of the temple looks to the east,[16] the doors are mostly small in size.

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[10] Pagina, Arabic numeral (see also page [3a] through [8a].

[11] Formatted underlined (here as elsewhere) as in the notebook. Judging from the pencil used for underlining this may well have been made by the author/writer (in order to highlight certain words or phrases; often found in MS of this time as an indication what should be italicised in print). If not done by the author/writer the underlining could also have been made by the recipient of the report, August Hermann Francke.

[12] Great Translator (*lo tsā ba chen po*) Rin chen bzang po (958–1055). Gergan's spelling of the letter ཚ (*cha*) is *chha*.

[13] In Tibetan *mchod rten*.

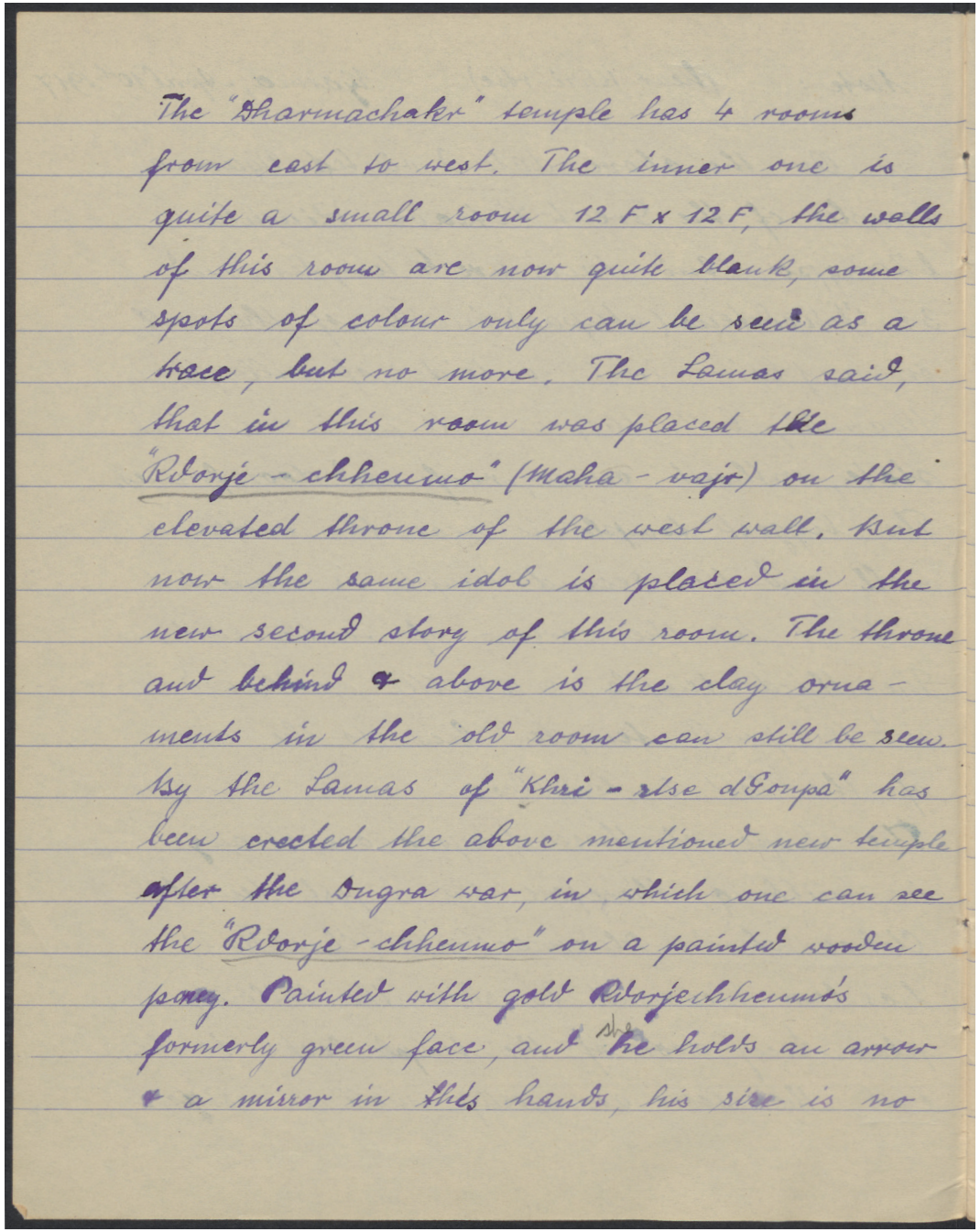
[14] In Tibetan *chos skor* (also *chos 'khor*). Gergan gives this word as synonymous with *dharmacakra*, literally the "wheel of *dharma*" representing the teachings of the Buddha. According to Gergan this name refers exclusively to the main temple and not to the whole sacred complex or religious area of temples and monuments. The designation as *chos skor* or *chos 'khor* (the latter occurs with regard to Nyarma already in *Nyang ral chos 'byung A* 336 and *Nyang ral chos 'byung B* 463) was "given to monasteries, where the translations of the 'words' and the commentaries, the revisions of the translations, the teachings and discussions on holy *dharma* by Indian *panditas* and *siddhas*—who had arrived on invitation—took place during the later propagation of the doctrine. Such monasteries, for example, are mNga' ris mTho lding, Mar yul Al ci, and sPi ti Ta po monastery." (Shastri 1997: 336). This explanation of the word *chos 'khor* corresponds to that given in *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo* (2002: 2115) with reference to the example of bSam yas as a place where the holy *dharma* was spread and an excellent location where translators and *paṇḍita*s translated many Buddhist teachings or cycles of esoteric instructions. Gergan's description as *chos skor* seems to imply that this designation was used by local people to refer to the main temple.

[15] See Fig. 16 and Fig. 17.

[16] The underlining stresses the orientation of all doors (and also of the main axis) of the temple towards the east. This remark is also a testimony to Gergan's knowledgeable observations.

*VI. Page [2b]* (Fig. 5)

The "Dharmachakr" temple has 4 rooms from east to west.[17] The inner one is quite a small room 12 F x 12 F, the walls of this room are now quite blank, some spots of colour only can be seen as a trace, but no more.[18] The Lamas said, that in this room was placed the "Rdorje-chhenmo" (Maha-vajr)[19] on the elevated throne of the west wall. But now the same idol is placed in the new second story of this room. The throne and behind & above is the clay ornaments in the old room can still be seen. By the Lamas of "Khri-rtse dGonpa" has been erected the above mentioned new temple after the Dugra [*sic*!] war,[20] in which one can see the "Rdorje-chhenmo" on a painted wooden pony.[21] Painted with gold Rdorjechhenmo's formerly green face, and she[22] holds an arrow & a mirror in ~~this~~[23] hands, his size is no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5. Page [2b], notebook, August Hermann Francke papers, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

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[17] Gergan's word "room" relates to the Tibetan word *khang*. This inner room (or central shrine chamber) is usually designated as *dri gtsang khang*.

[18] See also the contributions by Hubert Feiglstorfer, "The architecture of the Buddhist temple complex of Nyarma", and Christiane Kalantari, "Note on the spatial iconography of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* in context", this volume.

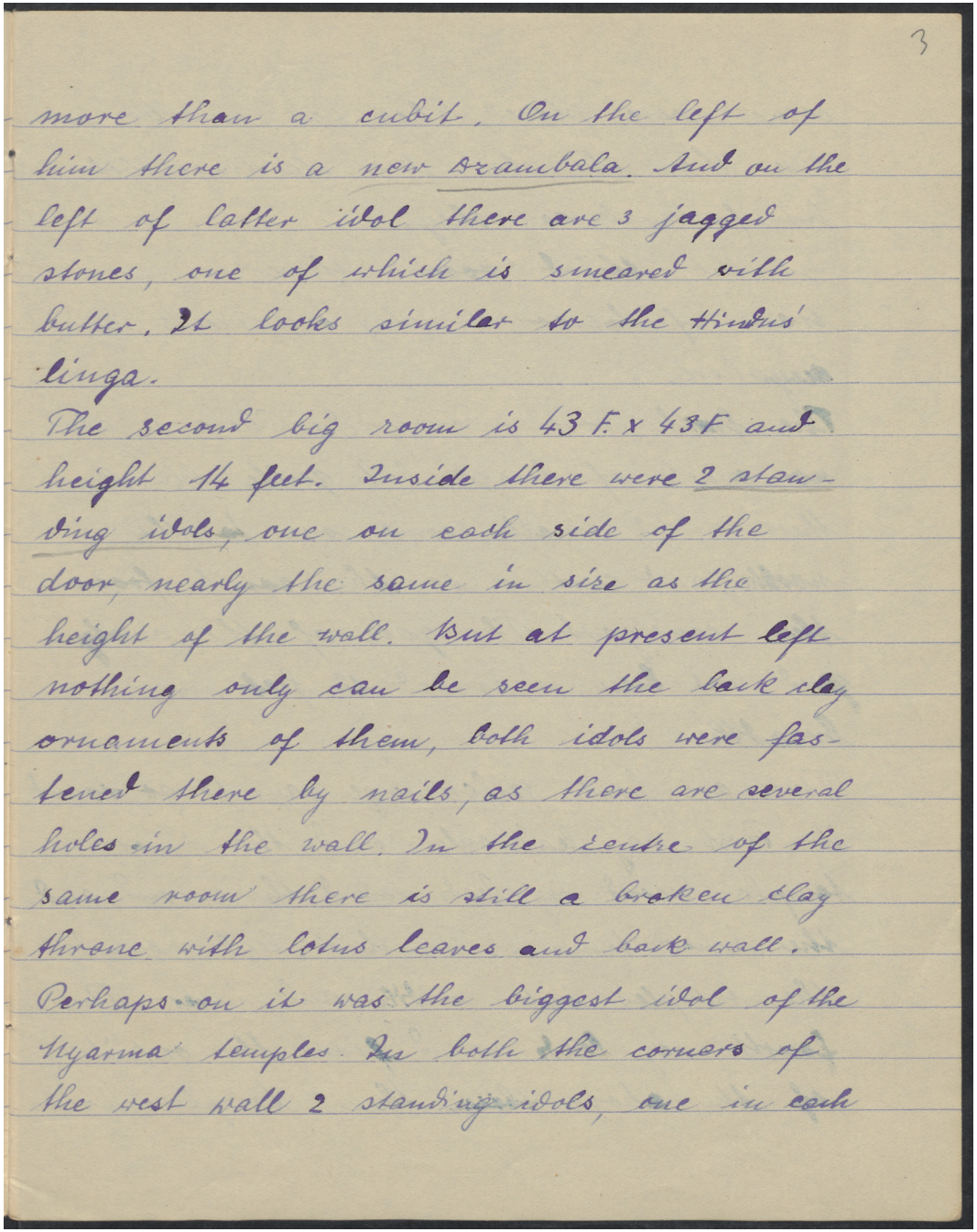
[19] In Tibetan rDo rje chen mo. Gergan's rendering into Sanskrit as "Maha-vajr" and the male gender he uses in this report seem perhaps to imply that he saw and identified this protective deity as male.

[20] Read Dogra war(s). The war(s) mentioned seems to refer to the invasion of Ladakh by the Sikhs and their Dogra allies carried out by Rāja Gulab Singh's wazir, Zorawar Singh, in four waves from 1834 to 1839. The erection of the new temple by monks from Thikse (Khrig rtse) monastery—who are still in charge of this temple today—must have taken place, according to the oral account, some time in the 1840s.

[21] From Gergan's description it is not entirely clear whether this clay statue was moved from its former location to the new one or whether a new statue was made and installed in the new temple. See Fig. 20 (and Fig. 27 in Kalantari, "Note on the spatial iconography of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* in context", this volume, p. 273) for a photo of the statue in place in 2009.

[22] "she" is added in small script (perhaps by a different hand) on top of (meant to replace) he.

[23] The word here seems to have been written "this" or "thes", perhaps an incomplete "these". The t is crossed out so that the corrected version most probably reads his (implying an intended reference to a male deity).


3

more than a cubit. On the left of him there is a new Dzambala. And on the left of latter idol there are 3 jagged stones, one of which is smeared with butter. It looks similar to the Hindus' linga.

The second big room is 43 F. x 43 F. and height 14 feet. Inside there were 2 standing idols, one on each side of the door, nearly the same in size as the height of the wall. But at present left nothing only can be seen the back clay ornaments of them, both idols were fastened there by nails, as there are several holes in the wall. In the centre of the same room there is still a broken clay throne with lotus leaves and back wall. Perhaps on it was the biggest idol of the Nyarma temples. In both the corners of the west wall 2 standing idols, one in each

6. Page [3a], notebook, August Hermann Francke papers, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz.





more than a cubit.[24] On the left of him there is a new Dzambala.[25] And on the left of latter idol there are 3 jagged stones, one of which is smeared with butter. It looks similar to the Hindus' linga.[26]

The second big room is 43 F. x 43 F. and height 14 feet.[27] Inside there were 2 standing idols, one on each side of the door, nearly the same in size as the height of the wall. But at present left nothing only can be seen the back clay ornaments of them, both idols were fastened there by nails, as there are several holes in the wall.[28] In the centre of the same room there is still a broken clay throne with lotus leaves and back wall.[29] Perhaps on it was the biggest idol of the Nyarma temples.[30] In both the corners of the west wall 2 standing idols, one in each

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[24] In size, construction and general iconographic features (including the horse) this statue very much resembles the rDo rje chen mo statue in the temple of the protective deities (*srung ma khang*) at Khorchag in Purang (see Jahoda and Kalantari 2012: 118–119).

[25] Dzam bha la (Sanskrit Jambhala), the god of riches.

[26] Gergan's description seems to relate to religious items kept at the time of his visit on the new second story of the temple. In July 2009, there was no trace of any "jagged stone" in the rDo rje chen mo *lha khang* (as it was referred to). A few big *gtor ma* (ca. 30 cm high) had been placed in front of the glass case holding the statue. One of them was kept in a kind of wooden box or altar with a carved front opening. These *gtor ma* were decorated with butter. The stones described by Gergan in all likelihood may have been small *rdo ring* which had perhaps been removed since then or were not visible in 2009.

[27] These measurements correspond with those of the square *'du khang* taken by Feiglstorfer (see Feiglstorfer, "The architecture of the Buddhist temple complex of Nyarma", this volume, p. 240).

[28] The earlier existence of two clay sculptures mounted on the wall is also suggested by Feiglstorfer (*ibid*.: 239), who interprets the absence of pedestals as an indication that they were not standing. It is unclear whether Gergan's statement that there were two over-life-size standing images (around 4 m high) is based on local oral tradition or his conclusion from the archaeological evidence.

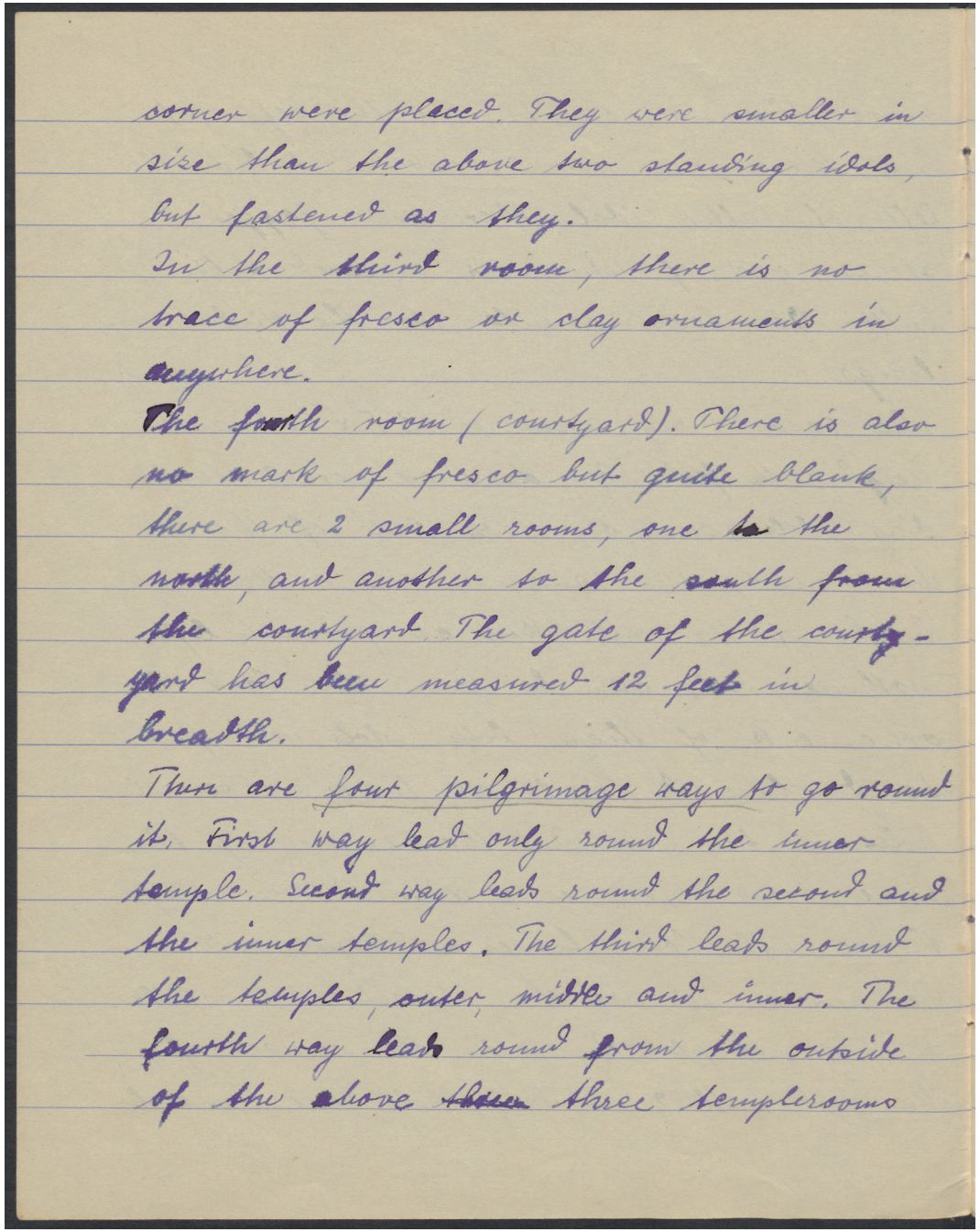
[29] See Fig. 22 in Feiglstorfer (*ibid*.: 240) and Figs. 19–21 in Kalantari ("Note on the spatial iconography of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* in context," this volume, p. 269) for photographs of the throne taken in 2006 and 2009.

[30] In his later work on the history of Ladakh, Gergan states, quoting from *gDung rabs zam 'phreng* (not available to me), that the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po built the Nyer ma *gtsug lag khang* in Mar yul, with Sangs rgyas Mar me mdzad (Buddha Dīpaṃkara) as the main deity (dGe rgan 1976: 338). This information corresponds with that in the biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od (see Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od* by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan: The Tibetan text", this volume, p. 140, and Jahoda, "On the foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, Ladakh", this volume, p. 284).

corner were placed. They were smaller in size than the above two standing idols, but fastened as they.[31]
In the third room, there is no trace of fresco or clay ornaments in anywhere.[32]

The fourth room (courtyard).[33] There is also no mark of fresco but quite blank, there are 2 small rooms, one to the north, and another to the south from the courtyard.[34] The gate of the courtyard has been measured 12 feet in breadth.[35]

There are four pilgrimage ways to go round it.[36] First way lead only round the inner temple. Second way leads round the second and the inner temples. The third leads round the temples, outer, middle and inner. The fourth way leads round from the outside of the above three templerooms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7. Page [3b], notebook, August Hermann Francke papers, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

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[31] The photographs in 2006 (see Fig. 22 in Feiglstorfer, this volume, p. 240) show that at this time only the remains of an aureole in the corner on the north were extant. Gergan's description and use of past tense suggests that in 1917 the aureoles of both statues were still there but not the statues.

[32] The "third room" here (as in Gergan's drawing; see Fig. 16. and Fig. 17) seems to refer to the spaces to the south and north of the square *'du khang*. These spaces represent the circumambulation path (*skor lam*) and one (orginally two) small temples (*lha khang*) attached to this (see the reconstruction of the ground plan based on the information provided by Gergan in Feiglstorfer, this volume, Figs. 13, 44, and 49, pp. 235, 251–252).

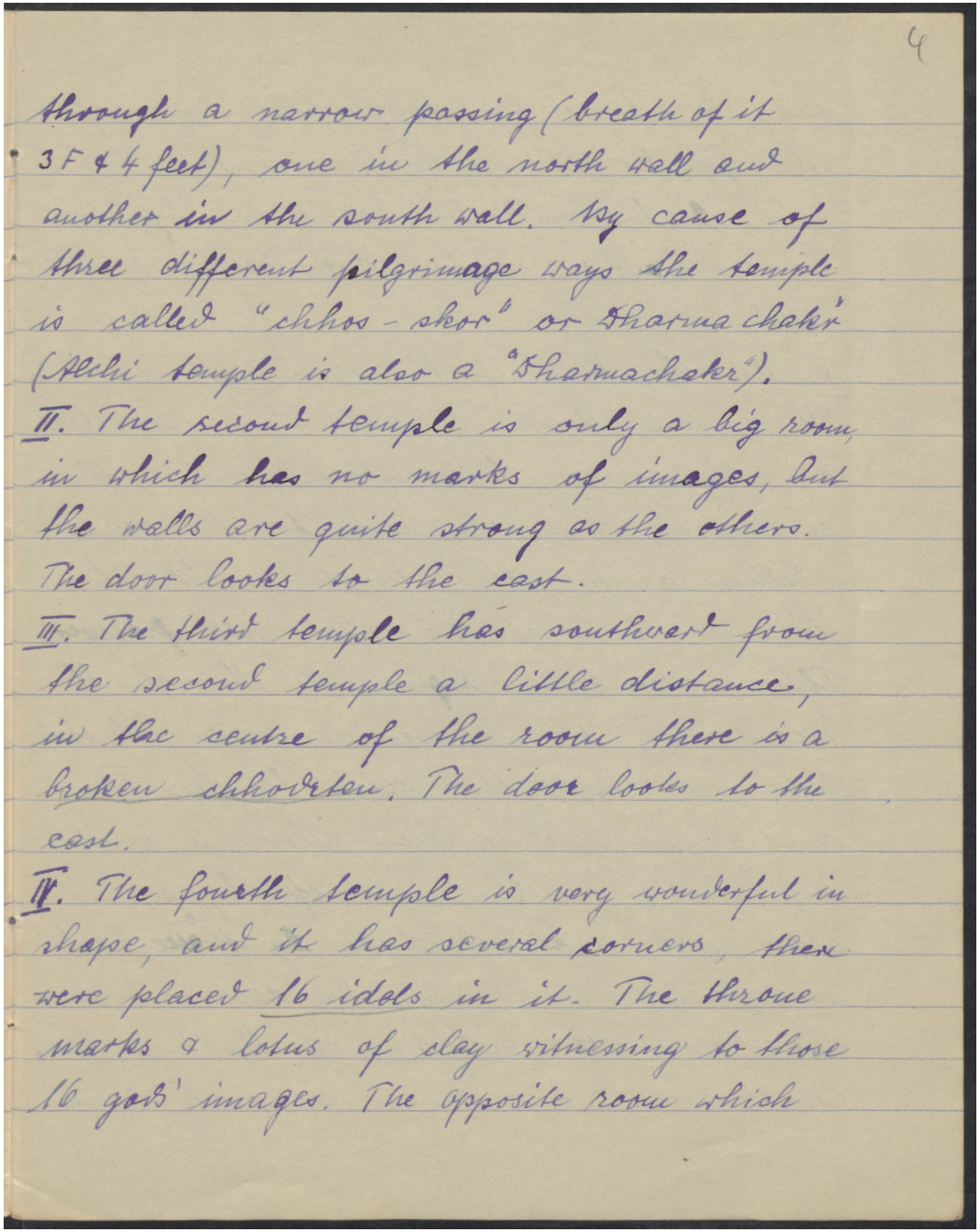
[33] The "fourth room" here refers here to the easternmost space (as in Gergan's drawing where it is described as "4th Hall or courtyard"; see Fig. 16. and Fig. 17).

[34] A reconstruction of the ground plan of these two small rooms (*lha khang*) to the south and north of the courtyard is contained in Feiglstorfer, this volume, Figs. 13, 44, and 49, pp. 235, 251–252).

[35] Gergan's drawing of the gate and the related caption (see Fig. 16 and Fig. 17) is not entirely clear. The information seems to imply that the wall on the east was fully closed (indicated by the uninterrupted line) but that an earlier opening or gate may have been visible or reconstructable (allowing him to take the measurment of twelve feet). The gate seems to be represented by two oblong rectangular spaces indicating perhaps his reconstruction of an earlier gate (walls or open door wings?).

[36] I conclude from Gergan's description and use of the present tense that the four "pilgrimage ways" (standing presumably for the Tibetan *skor lam*, literally circumambulation path) were used in popular ritual practice at the time of his visit or perhaps mentioned to him by local people as actual or recent practice. This is also suggested by the detailed information on these paths in relation to the built space. See the section on circumambulation paths in Feiglstorfer, this volume, in particular Fig. 52, p. 254, for a visual reconstruction of these paths based on Gergan's report.

In the recent past, due to the erection and closure of walls, it is not longer possible to walk along these circumambulation paths. Other paths, in particular the *gling skor*, the route leading around the wider village (including the monastic site), are still in use in Nyarma today (see, Feiglstorfer, this volume, Fig. 2, p. 227, and for more information, Feiglstorfer 2021).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through a narrow passing (breath of it 3 F & 4 feet), one in the north wall and another in the south wall. By cause of three different pilgrimage ways the temple is called "chhos-skor" or Dharma chakr (Alchi temple is also a "Dharmachakr").

II. The second temple is only a big room in which has no marks of images, but the walls are quite strong as the others. The door looks to the east.

III. The third temple has southward from the second temple a little distance, in the centre of the room there is a broken chhodrten. The door looks to the east.

IV. The fourth temple is very wonderful in shape, and it has several corners, there were placed 16 idols in it. The throne marks a lotus of clay witnessing to those 16 gods' images. The opposite room which

8. Page [4a], notebook, August Hermann Francke papers, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz.





through a narrow passing (breath[37] of it 3 F x 4 feet), one in the north wall and another in the south wall. By cause of three different pilgrimage ways the temple is called "chhos-skor" or ["]Dharma chakr" (Alchi temple is also a "Dharmachakr").[38]

II. The second temple is only a big room in which has no marks of images, but the walls are quite strong as the others. The door looks to the east.[39]

III. The third temple has southward from the second temple a little distance, in the centre of the room there is a broken chhodrten.[40] The door looks to the east.[41]

IV. The fourth temple is very wonderful in shape, and it has several corners, there were placed 16 idols in it. The throne marks a[42] lotus of clay witnessing to those 16 gods' images. The opposite room which

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[37] Read: breadth.

[38] In this instance Gergan's designation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* as *chos skor* reads like the rendering of an oral account perhaps given to him at Nyarma by local people. The practice of circumambulating this temple along a system of paths (*skor lam*) is also known from other early sites, such as Tabo in Spiti. It was perhaps connected to the original religious programme of these monuments but it cannot be excluded, however, that these forms of practice only developed at a later, more recent time. Obviously, Gergan's explanation of temples being designated as *chos skor* "by cause of three different pilgrimage paths" does not agree with the system of four such paths extant at that time in Nyarma.

A system of circumambulation paths at Alchi has recently been identified and analysed by Feiglstorfer (2021). Also the designation *chos skor* with regard to Alchi is still in use today. As stated by Lobsang Shastri, "according to some other people, the term *chos 'khor* also means the monasteries, the objects for prostration and offering for pilgrimage; they have considered the term *chos 'khor* a synonym of *gnas bskor* (pilgrimage). Although, this is doubtful we cannot deny this notion completely." (Shastri 1997: 335–336).

[39] The "second temple" (II) is identical with Temple II in the upper part of Fig. 18 (ground plans) and corresponds to Temple 2 of the site map in the lower part of Fig. 18. It is the temple to the south-east of the *gtsug lag khang* (corresponding to Temple II in Feiglstorfer, this volume, Fig. 5, p. 229).

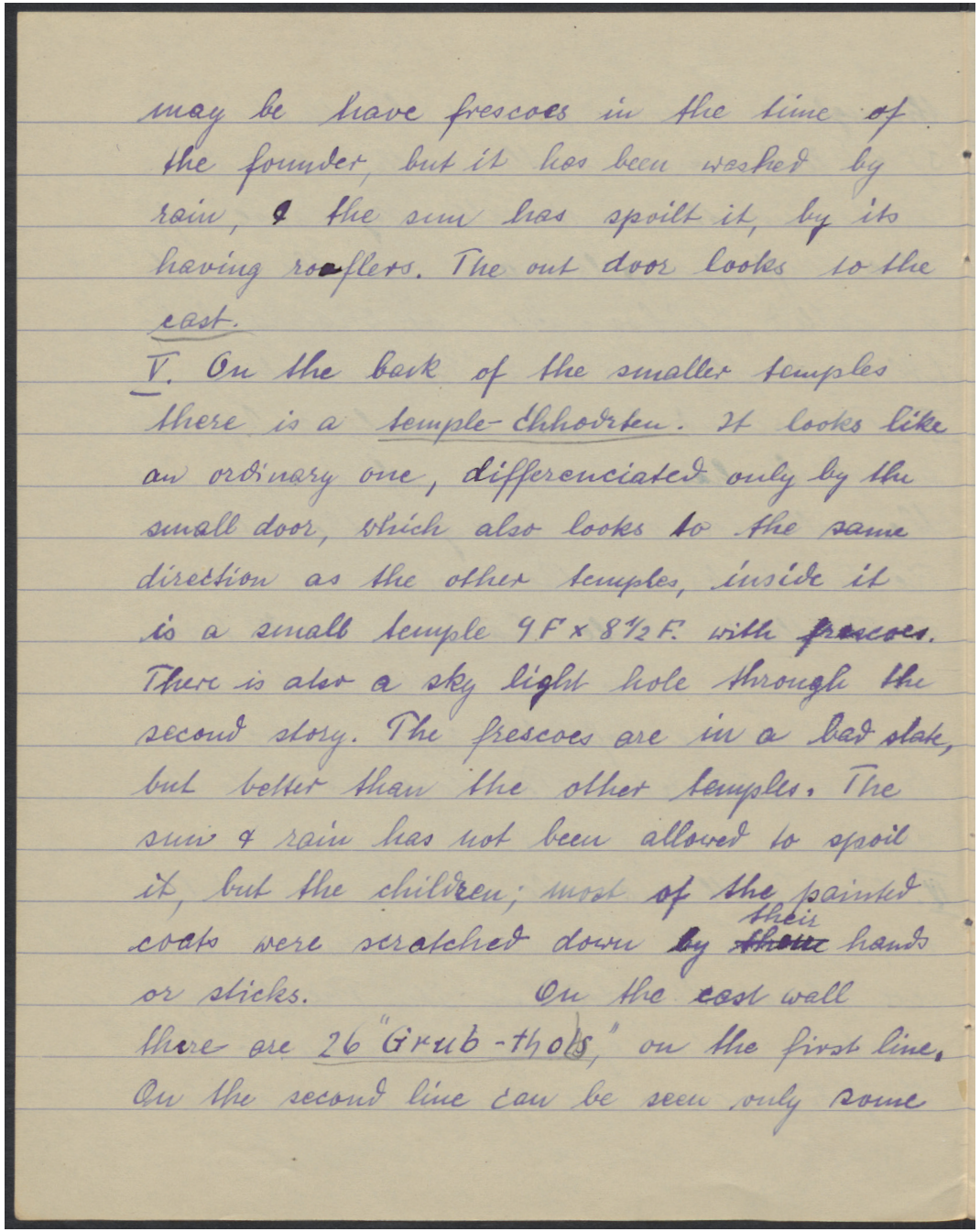
[40] In Tibetan *mchod rten*.

[41] The "third temple" (III) corresponds to Temple IV in the upper part of Fig. 18 (ground plans) and Temple IV (or 3) of the site map in the lower part of Fig. 18. It is the temple further to the south of Temple II and corresponds to Temple IV in Feiglstorfer, this volume, Fig. 5, p. 229.

[42] An possible alternative reading for marks a may be "works &".

may be have frescoes in the time[43] of the founder, but it has been washed by rain, the sun has spoilt it, by its having roofless. The out door[44] looks to the east.[45]

V. On the back of the smaller temples there is a temple-chhodrten.[46] It looks an ordinary one, differenciated only by the small door, which also looks to the same direction as the other temples, inside it is a small temple 4 F x 8 ½ F. with frescoes.[47] There is also a sky light hole through the second story.[48] The frescoes are in a bad state, but better than the other temples.[49] The sun & rain has not been allowed to spoil it, but the children; most of the painted coates were scratched down by their hands or sticks.[50] On the east wall there are 26 "Grub-thobs,"[51] on the first line. On the second line can be seen only some


may be have frescoes in the time of the founder, but it has been washed by rain, & the sun has spoilt it, by its having roofless. The out door looks to the east.

V. On the back of the smaller temples there is a temple-chhodrten. It looks like an ordinary one, differenciated only by the small door, which also looks to the same direction as the other temples, inside it is a small temple 9F x 8½F. with frescoes. There is also a sky light hole through the second story. The frescoes are in a bad state, but better than the other temples. The sun & rain has not been allowed to spoil it, but the children; most of the painted coats were scratched down by their hands or sticks. On the east wall there are 26 "Grub-thobs," on the first line. On the second line can be seen only some

9. Page [4b], notebook, August Hermann Francke papers, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

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[43] Read: maybe had frescoes from the time.

[44] According to the ground plan of this temple given in the drawing in Fig. 18 and Fig. 19 the door referred to here as out(er) door is located on the eastern side of the temple, at the intersection of the two architectural spaces—a square one and a *maṇḍala*- or "several cornered"-shaped one (see also Feiglstorfer, this volume, Fig. 4 and Fig. 5, pp. 228–229).

[45] The "fourth temple" (IV) corresponds to Temple III in the upper part of Fig. 18 (ground plans) and Temple III (or 4) of the site map in the lower part of Fig. 18. It corresponds to Temple IIIa and IIIb in Feiglstorfer, this volume, Fig. 5, p. 229.

[46] In Tibetan *mchod rten*. The designation as a temple *mchod rten* is clearly related to a cycle of murals associated with a specific religious programme and ritual function.

The temple *mchod rten* (V) corresponds to V (described as "Temple chhodrten") of the site map in the lower part of Fig. 18. It corresponds to V (temple-*mchod rten*) in Feiglstorfer, this volume, Fig. 5, p. 229. See also Figs. 21–23.

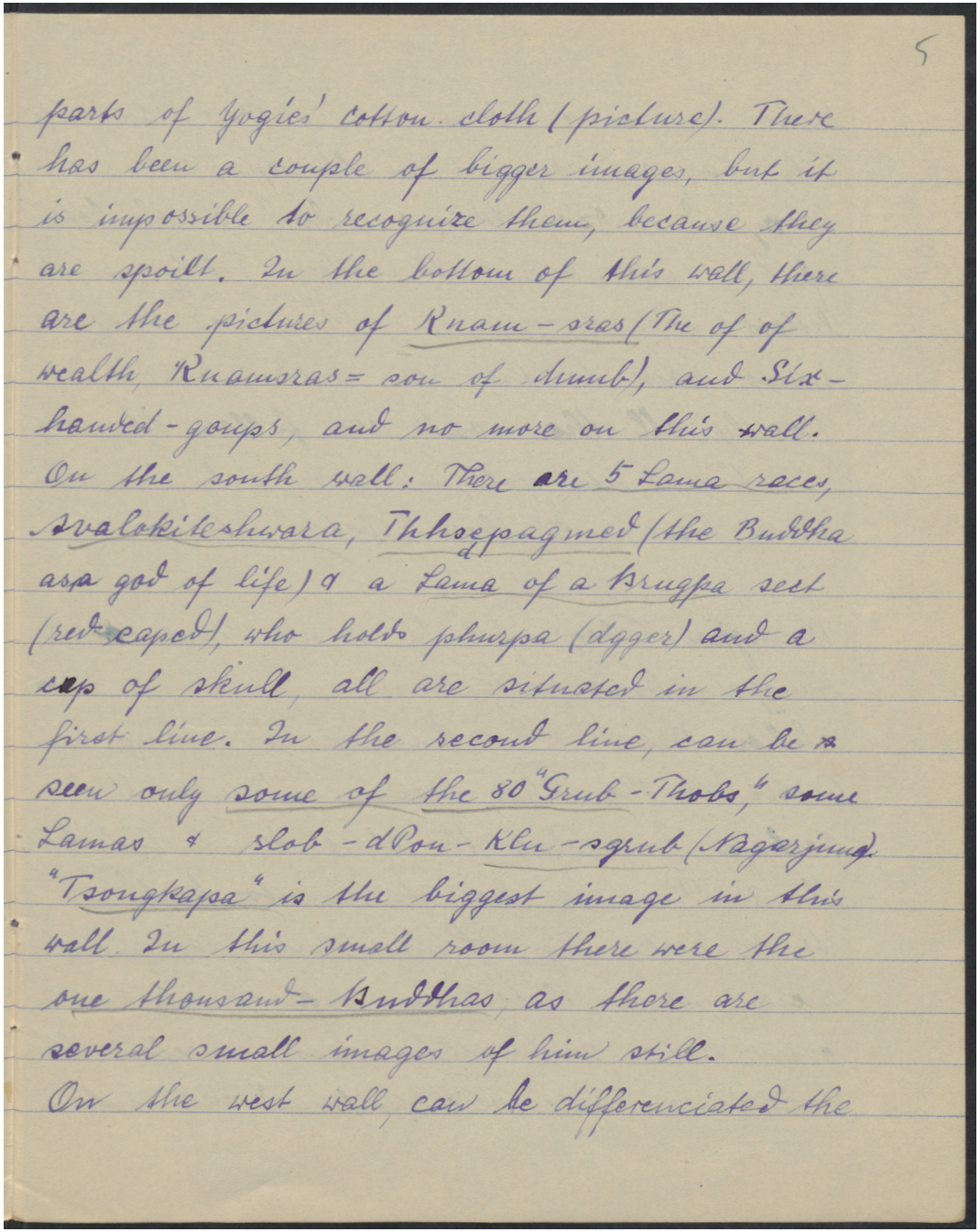
[47] This *mchod rten* and its artistic remains were described and analysed by Panglung Rinpoche in an article on the remains of the Nyarma monastery in Ladakh (Panglung 1995 [19383]). His photographic documentation of the frescoes dating from the late 1970s or early 1908s and Christiane Kalantari's from 2009 provide comparative information on the remains of the architecture and paintings. See also Panglung 1995: plate IX..

[48] The "skylight" hole at the top of the *mchod rten*, noted as a sign of destruction by Panglung Rinpoche, must have occured before Gergan's visit and has remained seemingly unchanged since then. The visit in 2009 revealed a corbelled roof construction similar to that of another *mchod rten* in the area between Thikse and Nyarma studied by Kozicz [2014]). See also Figs. 22–23.

[49] The overall state of preservation of the paintings does not seem to have deteriorated since Panglung Rinpoche's visit.

[50] After the word sticks and the beginning of the next sentence there is an empty space of ca. 4 cm in the notebook.

[51] In Tibetan *grub thob*, accomplished master, great yogin. According to Panglung Rinpoche, the figures depicted are (from left to right) Vajradhara (rDo rje 'chang), eight Mahāsiddhas, and seventeen monks facing one another. See also Fig. 24 for an overview of the east wall and Fig. 25 for a detail.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parts of Yogies' cotton cloth (picture). There has been a couple of bigger images, but it is impossible to recognize them, because they are spoilt. In the bottom of this wall, there are the pictures of Rnam-sras (The of of wealth, Rnamsras = son of dumb), and Six-handed-gonps, and no more on this wall. On the south wall: There are 5 Lama races, Avalokiteshwara, Thhoepagmed (the Buddha asa god of life) & a Lama of a Brugpa sect (red caped), who holds phurpa (dgger) and a cap of skull, all are situated in the first line. In the second line, can be seen only some of the 80 "Grub-Thobs," some Lamas & slob-dPon-Klu-sgrub (Nagarjuna) "Tsongkapsa" is the biggest image in this wall. In this small room there were the one thousand-Buddhas, as there are several small images of him still. On the west wall, can be differenciated the

10. Page [5a], notebook, August Hermann Francke papers, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz.





parts of Yogies' cotton cloth (picture).[52] There has been a couple of bigger images, but it is impossible to recognize them, because they are spoilt. In the bottom of this wall, there are the pictures of Rnam-sras[53] (The of[54] of wealth Rnamsras = son of A[???]b),[55] and Six-handed-gonps,[56] and no more on this wall.[57] On the south wall: There are 5 Lama races, Avalokiteshwara, Thhsedpagmed[58] (the Buddha as a god of life) & a Lama of a Brugpa sect (red caped), who holds phurpa (d[a]gger) and a cup of skull, all are situated in the first line.[59] In the second line, can be seen only some the 80 "Grub-thobs," some Lamas & slob-dPon-Klu-sgrub (Nagarjuna). "Tsongkapa" is the biggest image in this wall. In this small room there were the one thousand-Buddhas, as there are several small images of him still.[60]

On the west wall, can be differentiated the

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[52] I assume that Gergan is referring to the monks further down the line in the first row as the figures in the second row are clearly no yogins but deities (none of which are mentioned by him). Also none of the figures in the third row from top, showing images of teachers, among them according to Panglung (1995: 285) the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po, is mentioned by Gergan. Actually, plate IXb in Panglung 1995 as well as the photographs from 2009 show only seven teachers and a deity. See Fig. 24, Fig. 26 and Fig. 27.

[53] In Tibetan rNam sras (also rNam thos sras), Sanskrit Vaiśravaṇa.

[54] Read: god.

[55] Unclear. Read: Arumb?

[56] Read: Six-handed-gonpo (or -gonpos)? In Tibetan mGon po phyag drug pa, six-handed (*ṣaḍbhujā*) Mahākāla.

[57] Gergan and Panglung both speak only of two deities on the lower part of this wall, one on each side of the entrance. Panglung describes the flaming areoles on both sides and a sword on the proper left side, implying the depiction of two protective deities. However, the photographs from 2009 clearly show that two figures (one above the other) were painted on either side of the door, altogether four figures (see Fig. 24).

[58] The d is added below se.

[59] Obviously Gergan's description refers to eight figures painted in the top row of this wall. Based on the photographs from 2009, (from left to right) of the first three figures (to the left of the capital), the first two are wearing flat red caps (as also stated by Panglung 1995: 285). The headgear of the third one is not visible. Between the capitals there are two monks with pointed *paṇḍita*-type hats. These five figures of monks belonging to different schools seem to correspond to Gergan's description as "5 Lama races". The figures to the right of the second capital are sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) and Tshe dpag med (Amitāyus). The last figure on this side according to Panglung (1995: 285) possibly represents a form of Padmasambhava holding a *rdo rje* (*vajra*) and a scull-cup (see Fig. 28).

[60] Due to the poor state of preservation, the second line or row of paintings as well as the greater part of the lower sections on this wall it is difficult to identify the religious cycle(s) and figures depicted. Panglung (1995: 286) suggested Tsong kha pa, possibly also Sa skya Pandita, as the main figure on this wall.

*XII. Page [5b]* (Fig. 11)

clear images of Rdorje-chang" (Vajr-Pāni),[61] Tili, Naropa, Marpa & "Ras chhungpa",[62] and Manymed-aDzar,[63] Marme-mdzad,[64] on the bottom of his image are written these Tibetan small letters: [empty space of ca. 6 cm] = Many-med-adzar[65]-la-namo p[r]aise to the Many-med-adzar!![66] Nearly all the coats are fallen down of the North wall, and now only can see three Lotsavas[67] & these Tibetan letters:

[68] =

Brangpa-Rdorje-pal-la-namo = Praise to the Dangpa-Dorje pal!!

chhos-Baku- ..... bZangpo la namo = Praise to the Chhos-Baku- ..... Zangpo!![69]

Perhaps by seeing the above temple-Chhodrten; the Buddhist has been taught to build their Kakanings[70]". Some Lamas say: "In ancient times these[71] was no temple in every house, as in these days. Therefore the death-ceremonies were performed in such

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[61] rDo rje 'chang (Vajradhara, not Vajrapāṇi). This image to the left of the destroyed main figure (like three more below it of similar size) was clearly identifiable by Panglung (1995: 285, plate X) as well as in 2009 (see Fig. 29).

[62] Panglung (1995: 285) described the two figures below rDo rje 'chang as *siddhas* and the one at the bottom as a monk. It is probable although not entirely clear that Gergan's identification of "Tili" (Tilopa?, 988–1069), Nāropa (1016–1100), Marpa (Mar pa) (1012–1097) and Ras chung pa (1084–1161) is correct.

[63] *ny* in Manymed-aDzar is not entirely certain. As the immediately following "Marme-mdzad" is underlined; it seems that, as in the following sentence, this should be understood as the intended name (instead of "Manymed-aDzar").

[64] In Tibetan Mar me mdzad (Buddha Dīpaṃkara).

[65] Marme mdzad is added In small script above Many-med-aDzar.

[66] Gergan's description suggests that Mar me mdzad was on the same wall as the above-mentioned figures but in a different place. The question of whether the inscription (which seems to have disappeared) could have referred to the main figure, which was identified as Buddha Śākyamuni by Panglung (1995: 285) (see also Fig. 29), cannot be answered.

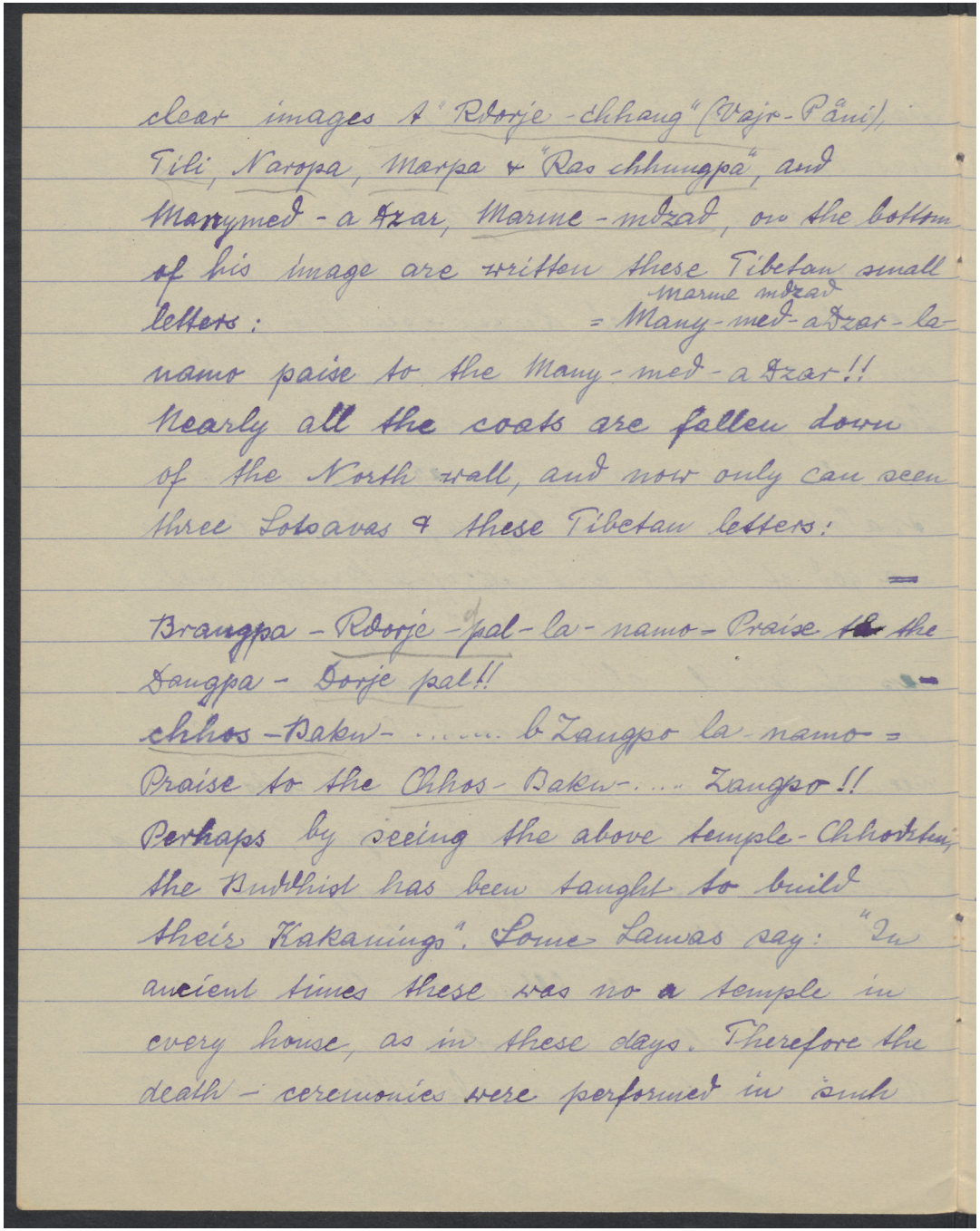
[67] In 2009, on the north wall were visible two figures in the upper left (western) corner) and three figures in the upper right (eastern) corner. In the top centre the fragmentary remains of further two figures were visible (see also Fig. 30). Cf. Panglung (1995: 285): "Die Nordwand ist sehr stark beschädigt und Malereien sind nur noch in den Zwischenräumen der steinernen Deckenträger erhalten, nämlich links zwei Mönche mit flacher roter Mütze sowie in der Mitte, vermutlich, Rin chen bzaṅ po." The basis for the identification of Rin chen bzang po is unclear.

[68] Empty space of full line before =.

[69] In 2009, these inscriptions were still there, and the photographs confirm Gergan's reading (see Fig. 31 and Fig. 32). They were obviously written by different hands and in different script. *Brang pa rDo rje* [*d*]*pal la na mo* seems to refer to the figure in the corner and may have been added only after a part of the painting had fallen down.

[70] Meaning unclear.

[71] Read: there.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letters: Marme mdzad = Many-med-aDzar-la-
namo paise to the Many-med-a Dzar!!
Nearly all the coats are fallen down
of the North wall, and now only can seen
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chhos-Baku- ..... bZangpo la-namo- =
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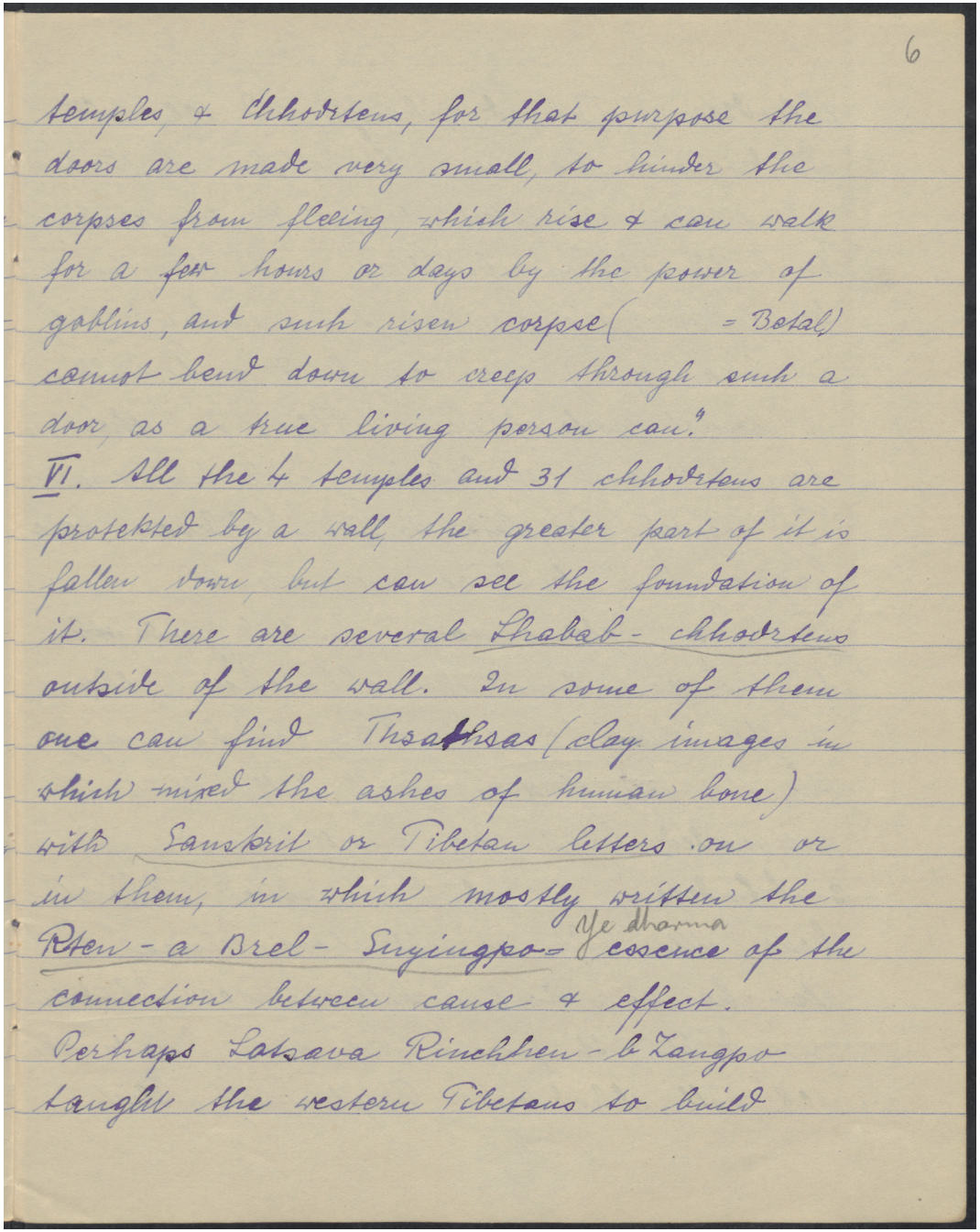
11. Page [5b], notebook, August Hermann Francke papers, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz.



12. Page [6a], notebook, August Hermann Francke papers, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz.



*XIII. Page [6a]* (Fig. 12)



temples & Chhodrtens, for that purpose the doors are made very small, to hinder the corpses from fleeing, which rise & can walk for a few hours or days by the power of goblins, and such risen corpse ( = Betal)[72] cannot bend down to creep through such a door, as a true living person can."

VI. All the 4 temples and 31 chhodrtens[73] are protekted by a wall, the greater part of it is fallen down, but can see the foundation of it.[74] There are several Lhabab-chhodrtens[75] outside of the wall.[76] In some of them one can find Thsathsas[77] (clay images in which mixed the ashes of human bone) with Sanskrit or Tibetan letters on or in them, in which mostly written the Rten-aBrel-Snyingpo[78] = Ye dharma essence of the connection between cause & effect.[79] Perhaps Lotsava Rinchhen-bZangpo[80] taught the western Tibetans to build

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[72] Perhaps a popular expression of the Sanskrit *vetāla* designating a kind of demon or ghost, also revenant, in Śaiva and Buddhist belief systems. Such spirits may by belief possess a dead body and may use it as vehicle (see, for example, Dezső 2010).

[73] In Tibetan *mchod rten*. According to dKa' chen Blo bzang bzod pa's biography of Rin chen bzang po (1976) altogether eight major and smaller temples were founded by Rin chen bzang po at Nyarma. This source says that at times there were more than a hundred bigger and smaller *mchod rten* (quoted after Panglung 1995: 283, n. 13).

[74] This enclosure wall (*lcags ri*), including its measurements, is also mentioned in dKa' chen Blo bzang bzod pa's biography of Rin chen bzang po (1976) (see Panglung 1995: 283, n. 13). In 2006 only fragmentary remains were still extant at the eastern and southern end of the site (see Feiglstorfer, this volume, p. 247).

[75] In Tibetan *lha bab* (also *babs*) *mchod rten*, commonly referred to as the Stūpa of the Descent from Heaven (more precisely, the realm of the gods), one of the Eight Stūpas representing the Eight Great Events in the Life of the Buddha.

[76] See Kozicz 2007 and 2014 for information on *mchod rten* outside the Nyarma enclosure wall or rather in the area between Thikse and Nyarma.

[77] In Tibetan *tsha tsha*.

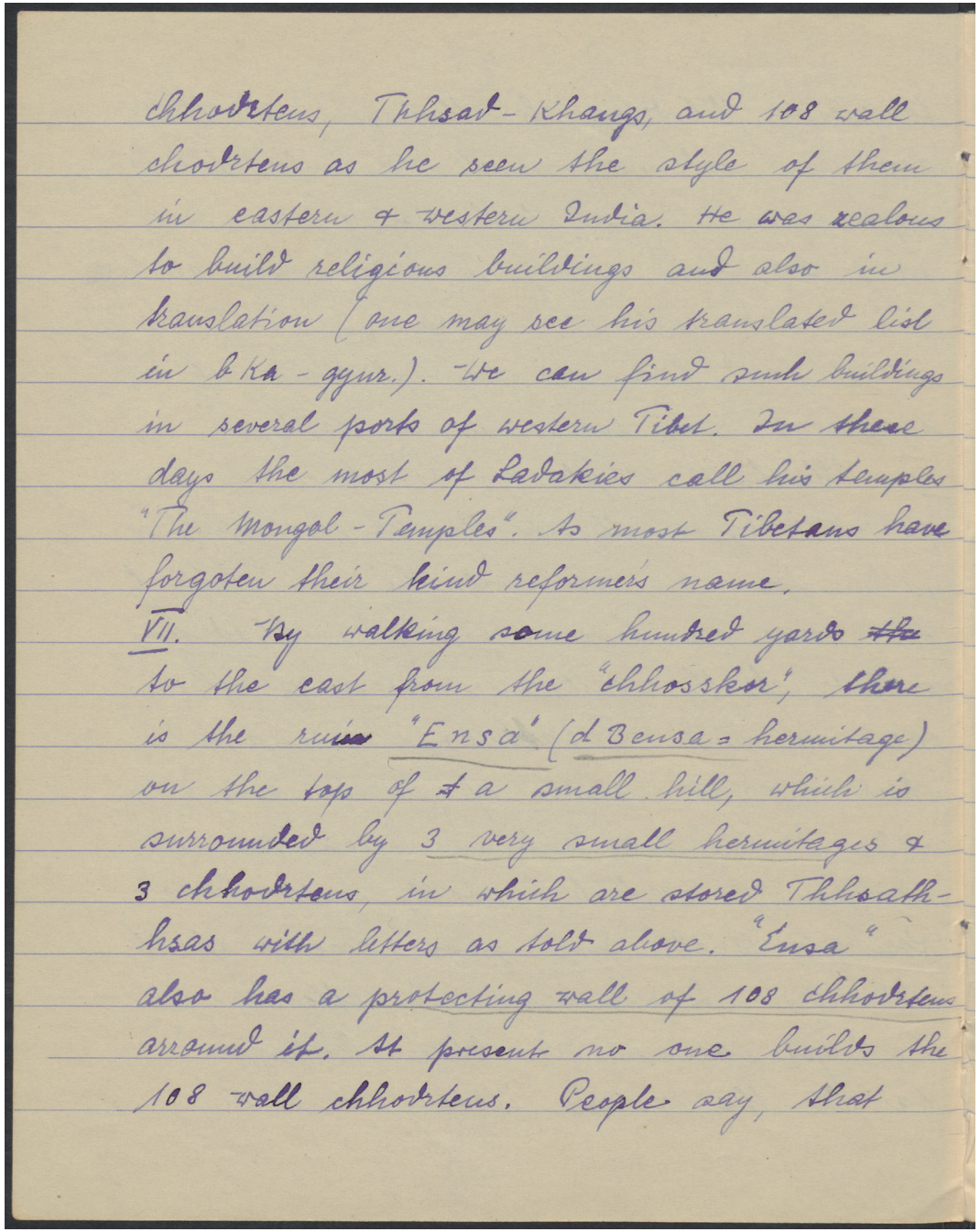
[78] In Tibetan *rten 'brel snying po*, the Heart (literally essence) of Interdependent Origination, in Sanskrit *pratītyasamutpāda*. See Namgyal Lama 2013 for an overview on inscriptions on *tsha tsha*, and Jahoda 2019 for further contexts of such inscriptions in historical Western Tibet.

[79] The Sanskrit verse (*ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetuṃ teṣāṃ tathāgaḥ hyavadat teṣāṃ ca yo nirodha ebaṃ vādī mahāśramaṇaḥ,* "All things originate from causes of which the Tathāgatas [Buddhas] have taught the causes, and that which is the cessation of the causes is also proclaimed by the Great Sage") of this essential "Buddhist creed" is often also found written in Tibetan script on objects or paintings.

[80] Great Translator (*lo tsā ba chen po*) Rin chen bzang po (958–1055).

chhodrtens,[81] Thhsad-khangs,[82] and 108 wall chodrtens[83] as he seen the style of them in eastern & western India. He was zealous to build religious buildings and also in translation (one may see his translated list in bKa-gyur[84]). We can find such buildings in severals part of western Tibet. In these days the most of Ladakies call his temples "The Mongol-Temples".[85] As most Tibetans have forgoten their kind reformers name.[86]

VII. By walking some hundred yards to the east from the "chos skor", there is the ruin "Ensa" (dBensa = hermitage)[87] on the top of a small hill, which is surrounded by 3 very small hermitages & 3 chhodrtens, in which are stored Thhsathhsas[88] with letters as told above. "Ensa" also has a protecting wall of 108 chhodrtens arround it.[89] At present no one can build the 108 wall chhodrtens. People say, that


Chhodrtens, Thhsad-Khangs, and 108 wall chodrtens as he seen the style of them in eastern & western India. He was zealous to build religious buildings and also in translation (one may see his translated list in bKa-gyur.). We can find such buildings in several parts of western Tibet. In these days the most of Ladakies call his temples "The Mongol-Temples". As most Tibetans have forgoten their kind reformers name.

VII. By walking some hundred yards to the east from the "chhosskor", there is the ruin "Ensa" (dBensa = hermitage) on the top of a small hill, which is surrounded by 3 very small hermitages & 3 chhodrtens, in which are stored Thhsathhsas with letters as told above. "Ensa" also has a protecting wall of 108 chhodrtens arround it. At present no one builds the 108 wall chhodrtens. People say, that

13. Page [6b], notebook, August Hermann Francke papers, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

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[81] In Tibetan *mchod rten*.

[82] This word also appears in Gergan's description of funeral rites in Ladakh. There the Tibetan transliteration is given as *t'shad khang* (Gergan 1940: 232), corresponding to *tshad khang* in our system of transliteration. *Tshad khang* are explained as "Tsatsaschrein", buildings where *tsha tsha* are placed (commonly referred to as *tsha khang*),

[83] By wall *mchod rten*, Gergan seems to be referring to a row of a hundred and eight *mchod rten* (*mchod rten brgya rtsa*) which are built next to each other so as to form a wall. Such rows are known to have existed at Tholing (see Vitali 1999: 101) and also at Tabo (where the remains were still visible in 1997).

[84] In Tibetan *bKa' 'gyur*, literally the "translated words" of the Buddha, the first part of the Tibetan Buddhist canon.

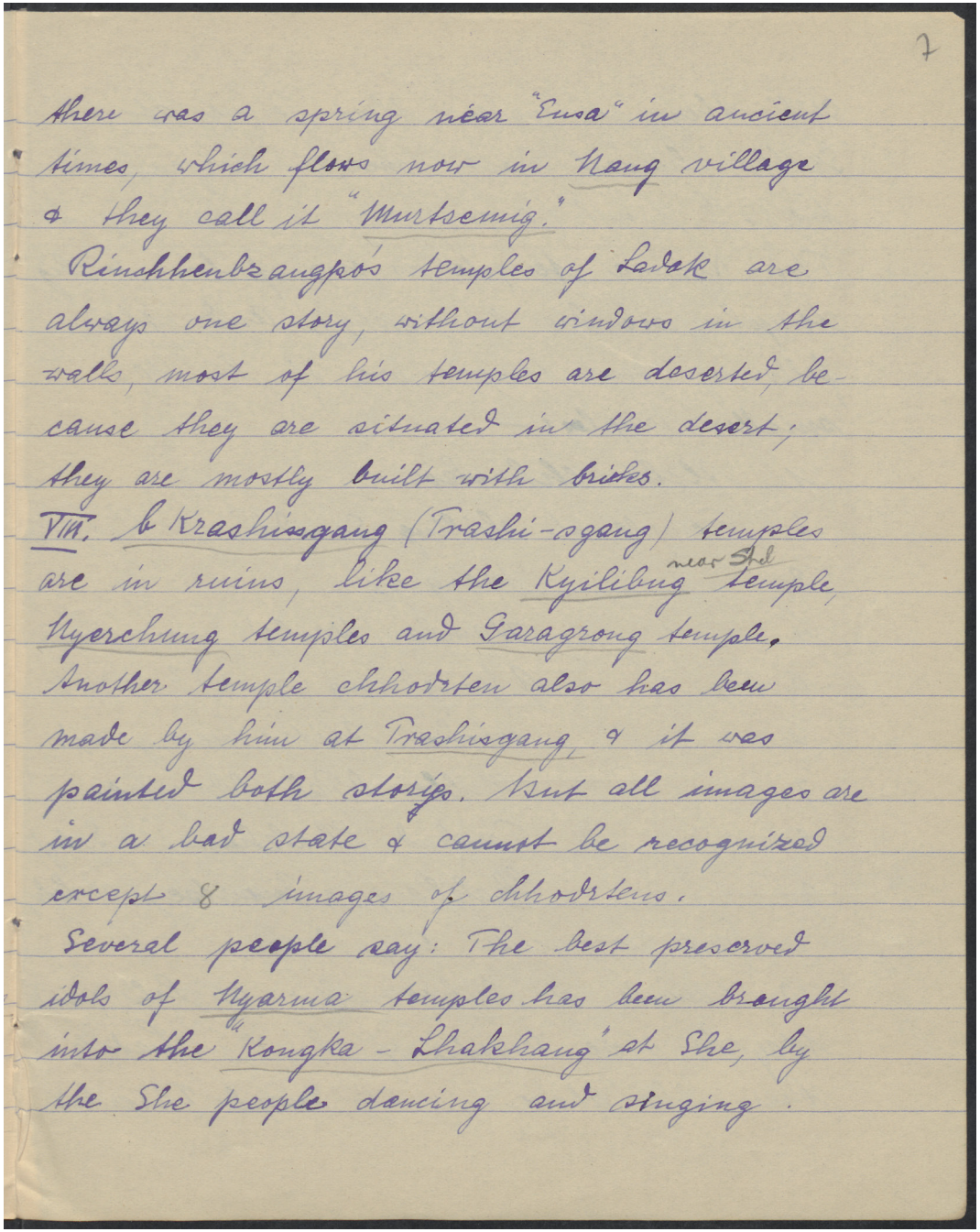
[85] The Tibetan word corresponding to this designation is not clear.

[86] At this time, Gergan's source for information on the Great Translator seems have been a version of an abbreviated biography (*rnam thar bsdus pa*) of Rin chen bzang po (as mentioned further below), local oral tradition in places where the Great Translator was credited with having been active and colophons in the *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur* where he is listed as translator of 174 texts (see Rigzin 1984: 32–37).

[87] In Tibetan *dben sa* (hermitage).

[88] In Tibetan *tsha tsha*.

[89] The hermitage which was not mentioned by Panglung was studied in detail by Hubert Feiglstorfer in 2006. His description of this site agrees entirely with Gergan's from 1917 (see Feiglstorfer, this volume, pp. 232–233).


7

there was a spring near "Ensa" in ancient
times, which flows now in Nang village
& they call it "Murtsemig."

Rinchhenbzangpo's temples of Ladak are
always one story, without windows in the
walls, most of his temples are deserted, be-
cause they are situated in the desert;
they are mostly built with bricks.

VIII. bKrashissgang (Trashi-sgang) temples
are in ruins, like the Kyilibug near Shel temple,
Nyerchung temples and Garagrong temple.
Another temple chhodrten also has been
made by him at Trashisgang & it was
painted both storys. But all images are
in a bad state & cannot be recognized
except 8 images of chhodrtens.

Several people say: The best preserved
idols of Nyarma temples has been brought
into the "Kongka-Lhakhang" at She, by
the She people dancing and singing.

Fig. 14. Page [7a], notebook, August Hermann Francke papers, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz.





there was a spring near "Ensa" in ancient times, which flows now in Nang village & they call it "Murtsemig."

Rinchhenbzangpo's temples of Ladak are always one story, without windows in the walk, most of his temples are deserted, because they are situated in the desert; they are mostly built with bricks.[90]

VIII. bKrashissgang (Trashi-sgang)[91] temples are in ruins, like the Kyilibug near Shel[92] temple, Nyerchung temples and Garagrong temples. Another temple chhodrten also has been made by him at Trashisgang, & it was painted both stories. But all images are in a bad state & cannot be recognized except 8 images of chhodrtens.[93]

Several people say: The best preserved idols of Nyarma temples has been brought into the "Kongka-Lhakhang" at She,[94] by the She people dancing and singing.[95]

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[90] See the contributions by Devers, "An archaeological account of Nyarma and its surroundings" (this volume, pp. 202–203, 206, passim) and Feiglstorfer (this volume, pp. 234–235, passim) for an analysis of the bricks used at Nyarma.

[91] In Tibetan bKra shis sgang.

[92] "near Shel" is added in small script above the word temple.

[93] These temples and *mchod rten* still need to be identified.

[94] In Tibetan Shel.

[95] The temple referred to was documented as far as possible in 2009 by Christiane Kalantari, in addition also by Bettina Zeisler and Wofgang Heusgen, who provided their photographs to the author.

*XVI. Page [7b]* (Fig. 15)

Still they remember that time at "Srubla"[96] (harvest Teast),[97] once in a year in the 7th month (August).

This Nyarma temple is one of his 4[98] big[99] temples (see his Biography). And the following ten temples are of his 108 smaller temples: –

1. Alchi chhoskor[100]
2. Temple of chiling Sumda[101]
3. " Mangrgyu.[102]
4. " Wamla (Wanla).[103]
5. " GYungdrung (yuru)?[104]
6. " Atitse (near yuru).[105]
7. " Mulbe - dPal-ldanrtse.[106]
8. " Tarchud Lhakhang (in Sabu)[107]
9. " Lhakhang - gSumrtsegs[108] at Leh (one is quite ruin.)
10. " Temple of Chhos-skor,[109] at Leh (ruin)

May be more temples of him in Ladakh than above. Joseph Thsertan.

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[96] In Tibetan *srub lha*. The meaning of *srub lha* is an offering to local deities on the first day of fall harvest, which used to be performed in various places of Ladakh and Zangskar, such as at sKyur bu can and Karsha (Francke 1923: 30–31; Gutschow 1997: 44–45). In Shel this event assumed the character of a monastic festival (dNgos grub rnam rgyal 1979: 105–113; Brauen 1980: 125).

[97] Read: Feast.

[98] A 3 has been added in smaller script above the 4, written in a different hand.

[99] In smaller script above "is one of his 4 big", written by a different hand (most probably by Francke), "1) Kho-char, 2) Mtho-ldiṅ, 3) Nyar-ma" has been added.

[100] In Tibetan *chos skor*.

[101] In Tibetan Phyi gling gSum mda'.

[102] In Tibetan Mang rgyu.

[103] In Tibetan Wan la. See Tropper 2007 for an edition of an historical inscription in the gSum brtsegs temple at Wanla, including a discussion of the question of Rin chen bzang po's foundation of this temple. While extant inscriptional and art-history evidence (dating from the 13th or 14th century) does not support such claims, an earlier foundation cannot be entirely excluded (see *ibid.*: 108–109).

[104] Nowadays usually referred to as Lamayuru. In Tibetan, Bla ma g.yung drung. Yuru (g.Yu ru) is a popular spelling based upon the local pronunciation of g.Yung drung. At Lamayuru, not only the original foundation of the temple but also a few *mchod rten* are locally attributed to Rin chen bzang po (see also Luczanits 2014: 145).

[105] This site still needs to be identified.

[106] In Tibetan Mul bhe dPal ldan rtse.

[107] In Tibetan Sa phud. The temple still needs to be identifed.

[108] In Tibetan lHa khang gsum brtsegs.

[109] In Tibetan Chos skor.

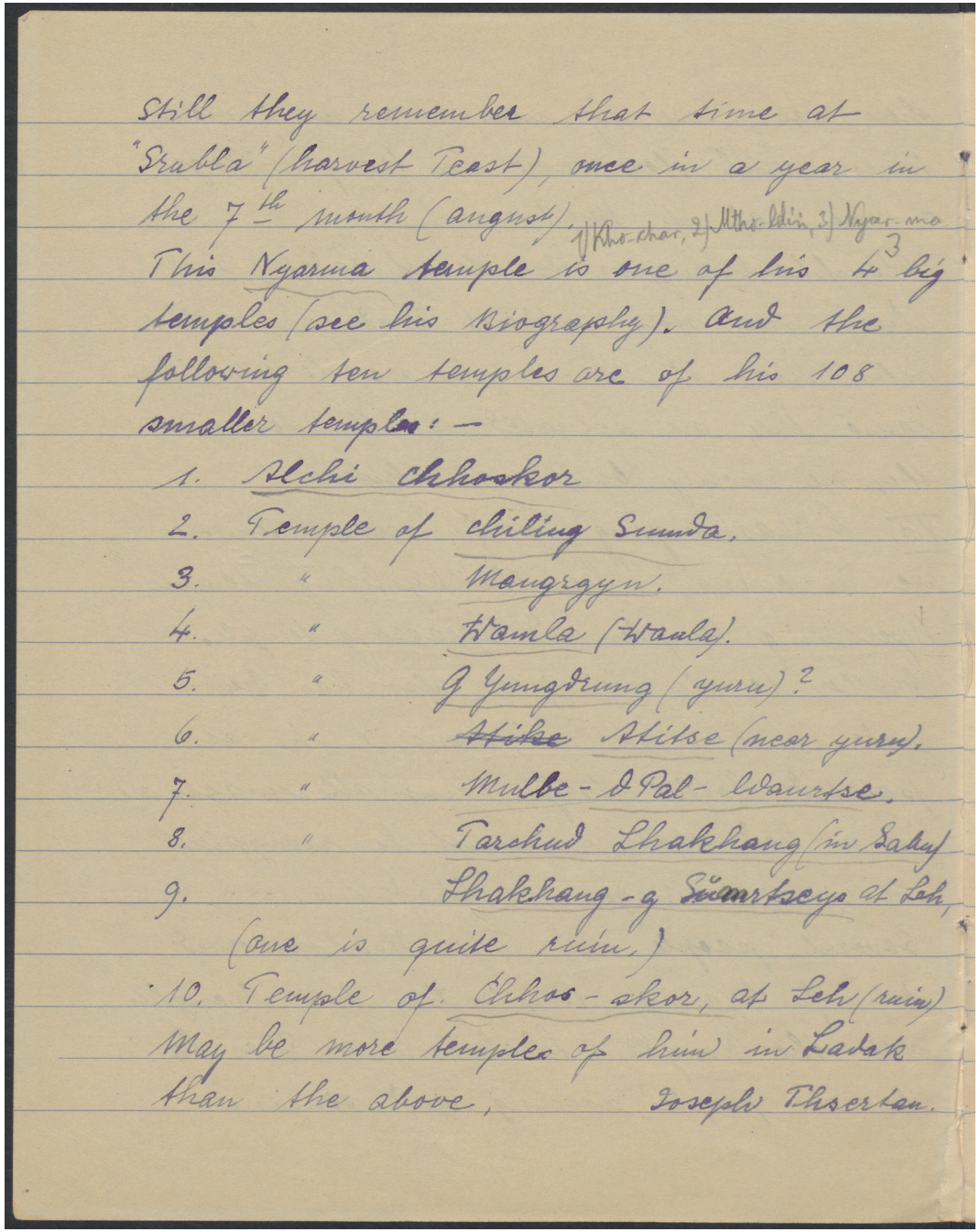
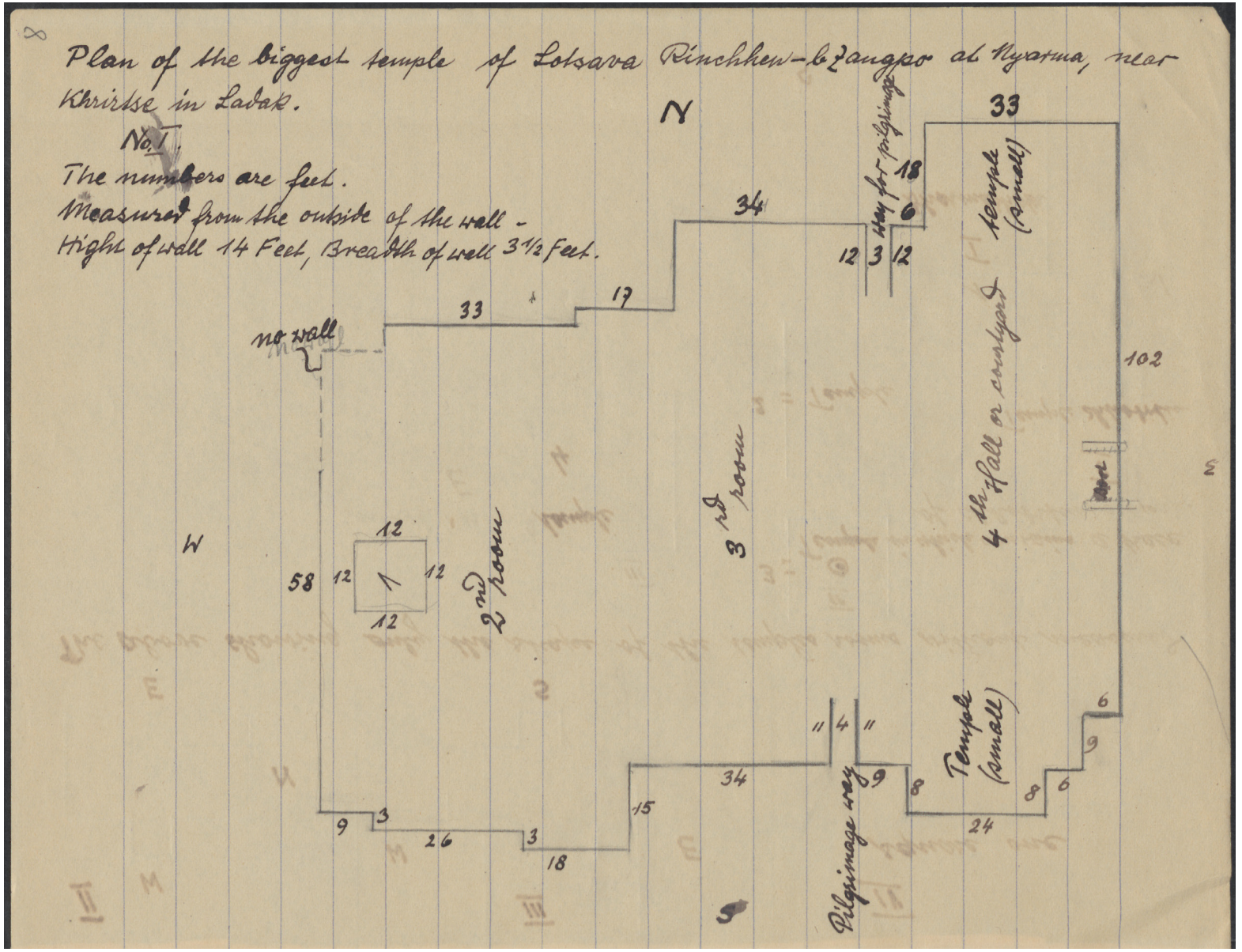

Still they remember that time at "Srubla" (harvest Teast), once in a year in the 7th month (august). 1) Kho-char, 2) Mtho-ldiṅ, 3) Nyar-ma
This Nyarma temple is one of his 4 3 big temples (see his Biography). And the following ten temples are of his 108 smaller temples: –
1. Alchi chhoskor
2. Temple of chiling Sumda,
3. " Mangrgyu,
4. " Wamla (Wanla).
5. " G Yungdrung (yuru)?
6. " ~~Hitse~~ Atitse (near yuru).
7. " Mulbe - dPal- ldanrtse.
8. " Tarchud Lhakhang (in Sabu)
9. Lhakhang - g ~~Sum~~rtsegs at Leh, (one is quite ruin.)
10. Temple of Chhos - skor, at Leh (ruin)
May be more temples of him in Ladak than the above, Joseph Thsertan.

Fig. 15. Page [7b], notebook, August Hermann Francke papers, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

Fig. 16. Page [8a], notebook, August Hermann Francke papers, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz.




*XVII. Page [8a]* (see Fig. 16)

8

Plan of the biggest temple of Lotsava Rinchhen-bZangpo[110] at Nyarma, near Khrirtse[111] in Ladak.[112]

No. I.
The numbers are feet.
Measured from the outside of the wall –
H[e]ight of wall 14 Feet, Breadth of wall 3 ½ Feet.

[110] Read: *lo tsā ba* Rin chen bzang po.

[111] Read: Khri rtse (see also n. 4).

[112] Read: Ladakh (Tibetan: Bla dwags, also La dwags).

8

Plan of the biggest temple of Lotsava Rinchhen-bZangpo at Nyarma, near Khrirtse in Ladak.
No. I.
The numbers are feet.
Measured from the outside of the wall –
Hight of wall 14 Feet, Breadth of wall 3½ Feet.

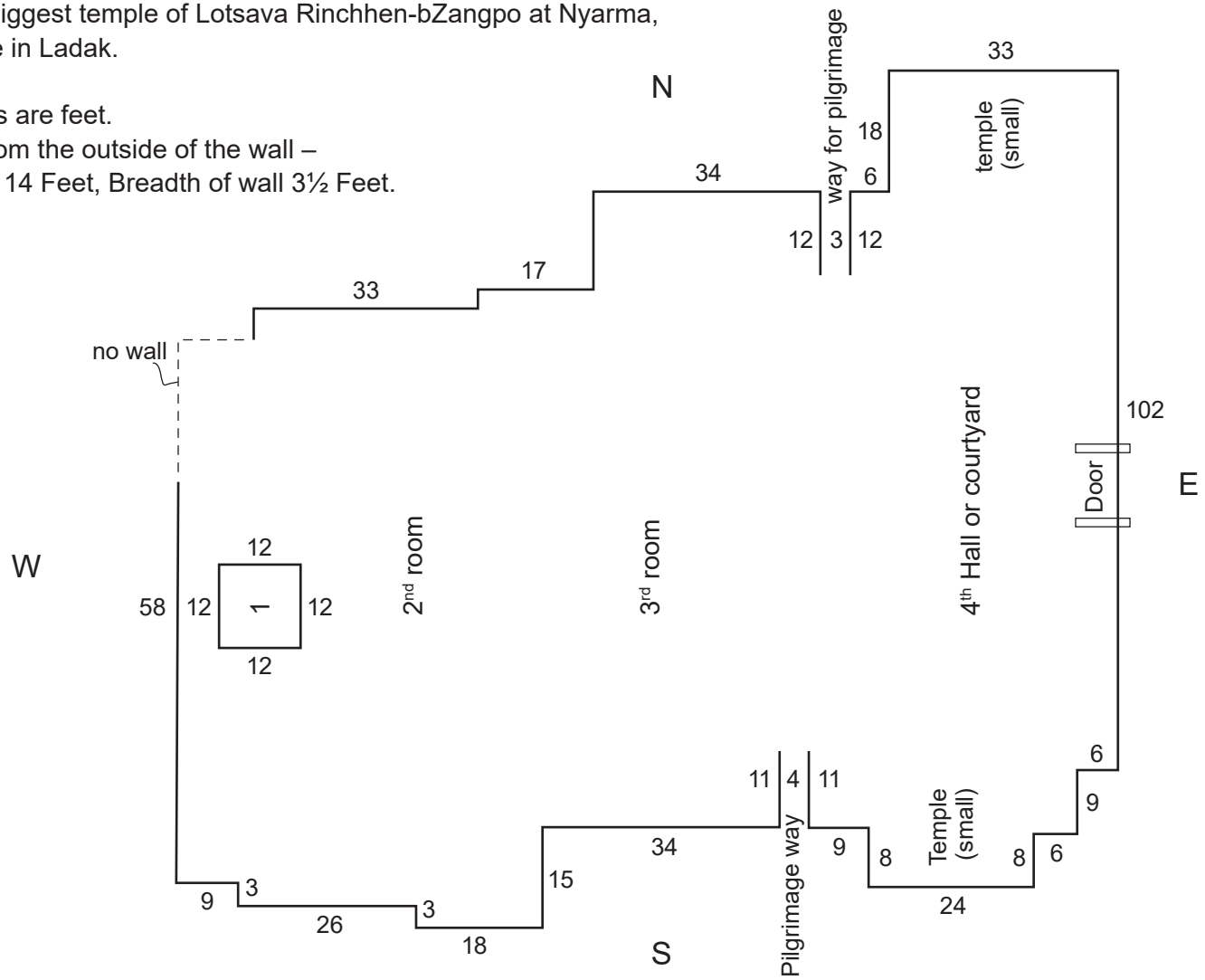
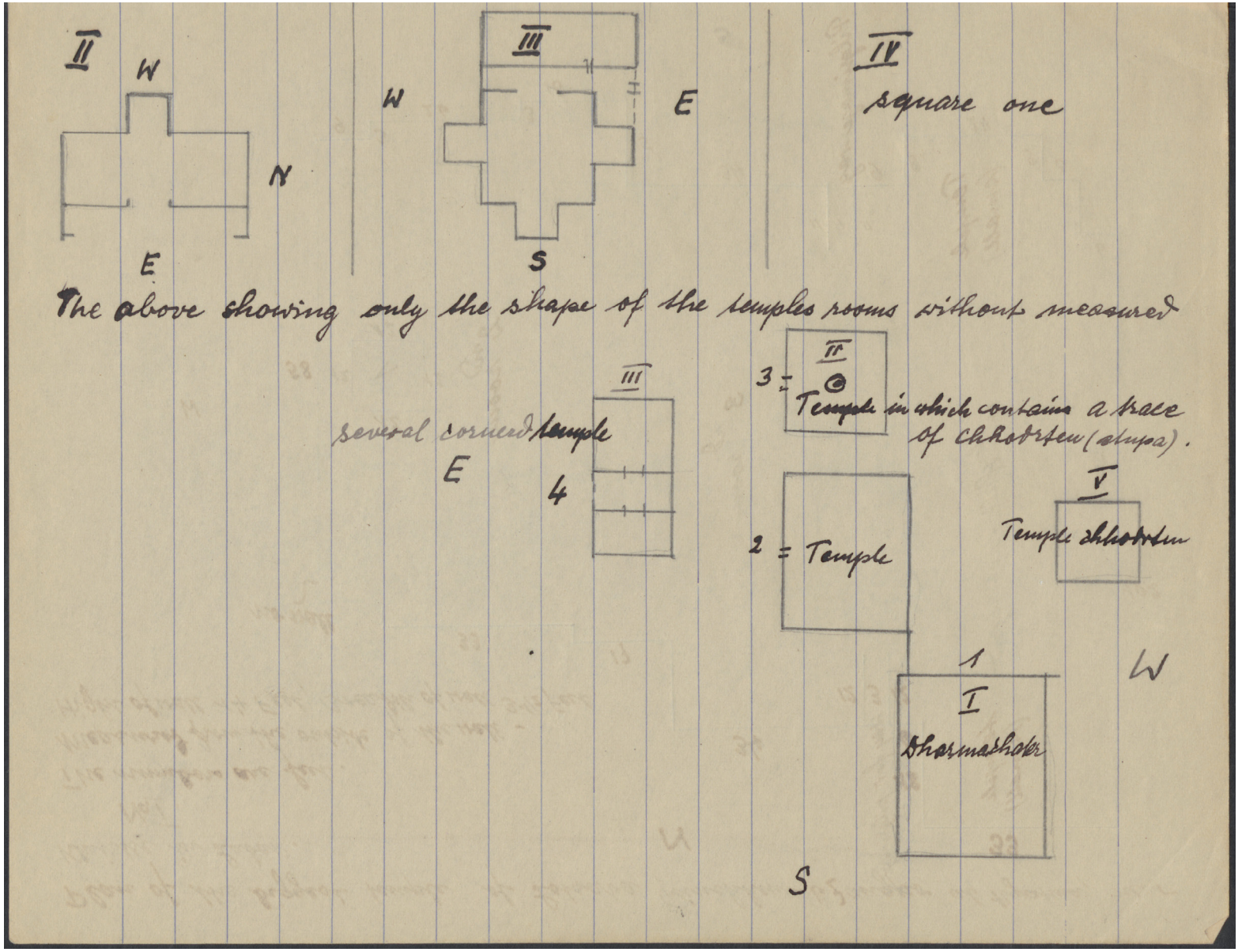



Fig. 17. Sketch of Temple I (based on original line drawings, numerals and explanations), page [8a], notebook, August Hermann Francke papers, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

Fig. 18. Page [8b], notebook, August Hermann Francke papers, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz.




*XVIII. Page [8b]* (see Fig. 18)

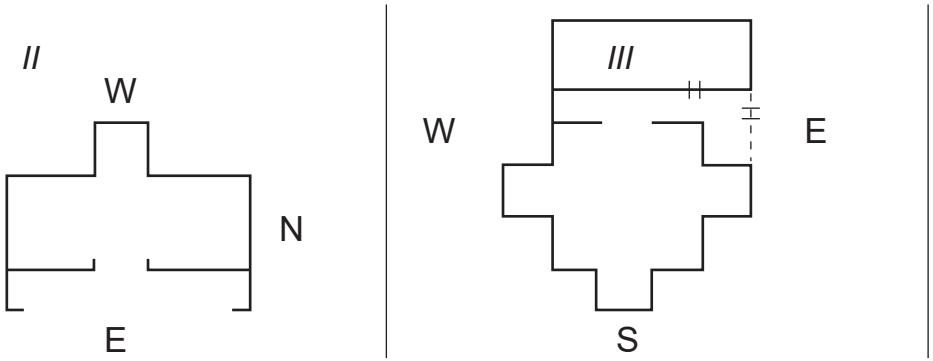



Fig. 19. Sketch of Temples II, III, IV and V (based on original line drawings, numerals and explanations), page [8b], notebook, August Hermann Francke papers, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz (drawing: Eva Kössner, 2019).

The above showing only the shape of the temples rooms without measured

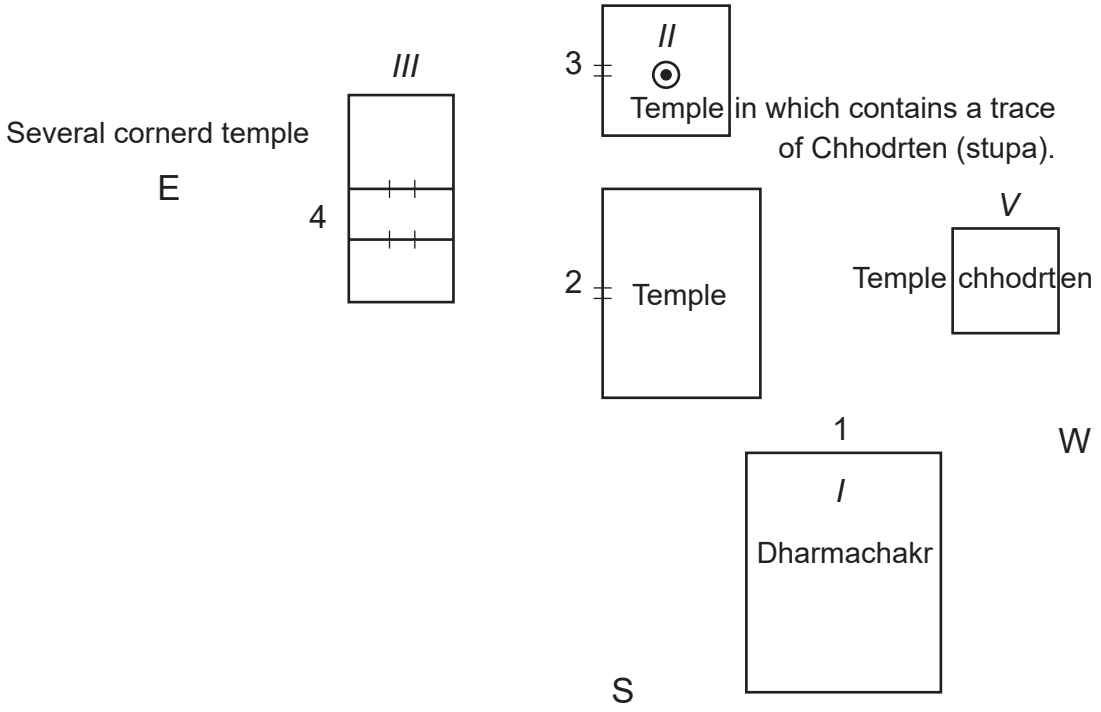


Fig. 20. rDo rje chen mo, rDo rje chen mo temple, Nyarma (C. Kalantari, 2009).

## Conclusion

In his preface to Shuttleworth's book *Lha-luṅ Temple, Spyi-ti*. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 39, Francke cited an "account of the Ñar-ma ruins" by Joseph Gergan where he (Gergan) produces another list of 10 temples built by the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po in Ladakh (Francke 1929: ii), in addition to many other temples in areas of Western Tibet (such as Guge, Purang, etc.) listed in his biography. This account of the Nyarma ruins by Gergan from which Francke quoted was never published. After his death in 1930, Francke's copy of this account—there may be other copies—was kept together with his papers and is accessible in the Berlin State Library – Prussian Cultural Heritage (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz).

Gergan's motivation for visiting Nyarma and writing an account of it is not clear. From the fact that he wrote it in English (we have no indication of a Tibetan version), it can be assumed that, in addition to his fundamental interest in the history of Ladakh and its rich cultural traditons, it was most probably part of his collaboration with August Hermann Francke, as a background perhaps also the Archaeological Survey of India's interest in recording the archaeological and artistic remains of the ancient Buddhist culture of this area. The latter may have had some influence on the form and accuracy of Gergan's account, in particular in the description of the whole site and the detailed measurements of the main temple. Gergan's account thus can also be seen as standing in the tradition and mode of operation established and used at the time by the Archaeological Survery of India and also by Francke whose *Antiquities of Indian Tibet, Part I* was published in 1914 and must have been known to Gergan.

Gergan's site map or plan (see Fig. 18) of what seems to have once constituted the core area of the monastic compound of Nyarma, and even more his measured plan of the main temple (*gtsug lag khang*) (Fig. 16), are striking examples of his accurate work in this regard. It took decades until similar work was done by Romi Khosla (1979) in Ladakh and other areas of the Western Himalaya and again much later by others.

Gergan's account and as well as his other works as a collector of oral traditions and written sources and authorship are among a few rare examples of scholarship that combines knowledge and methodological approaches from diverse settings, in his case the learning, ideas and socio-cultural practices of Ladakh, Tibet, India, and the 'West', in particular Western Europe. In terms of language this comprised the languages of Tibet, Ladakh and Northwestern India, such as Hindi and Urdu, and the religious traditions of Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism and Islam.

Gergan's account is remarkable for various specific reasons. First of all, in that he provides an overview of the whole site and a description of the extant temples as he found them in 1917. In addition to what he describes as an eye-witness, his account also includes local oral traditions and recollections, in particular by monks, most probably from nearby Thikse/Khrig se monastery.

Based on his knowledge of sites and through the discovery of related textual sources, he was able to identify the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po as responsible for the construction of the main temple of Nyarma. While the exact basis for his list of ten further, smaller temples built by the Great Translator in Ladakh is not given and remains unclear, research in recent decades and years has shown that in their current state the temples on this list are among the earliest extant Buddhist temples in Ladakh. Whether they were originally founded by the Great Translator is still an open question for research that will occupy scholars in the future, with Gergan's list certainly providing a valuable orientation.

Of particular importance are his findings regarding the original main deity of the Nyarma main temple, Sangs rgyas Mar me mdzad / Buddha Dīpaṃkara, again through a combination of the result of this survey and subsequent textual studies (that were confirmed by

information in historiographical sources which have only become accessible in recent years).

His major findings may also include the relevance of the cult of rDo rje chen mo in this (as in other major early monastic foundations of historical Western Tibet where the Great Translator was (is said and mentioned to have been) active, such as for example Tabo, Tholing (mTho gling), and Khorchag ('Khor chags). The information presented by Gergan on the cult of rDo rje chen mo in Nyarma comprises various aspects, such as the basis of her cult in a local deity whose residence was related with a spring located near a hermitage (*dben sa*) associated by local oral tradition with Rin chen bzang po, the transfer of her cult from Nyarma to Shel (and the relationship to a particular festival) and the continuing presence of her cult in Nyarma. All this information, like nearly all of Gergan's report, was (re-)traced by the present author together with Christiane Kalantari in situ in 2009. This also holds true for his description of the so-called "temple-*mchod-rten*". His remarks on its state of preservation (obviously only minimally deteriorating between 1917 and 2009), construction and function are another example for the remarkable qualities of his account.

Finally, the system of four "pilgrimage ways" or circumambulation paths that he mentions leading around the *gtsug lag khang* is not only an essential historical observation (which together with his measured plan allowed Hubert Feiglstorfer—see his contribution in this volume, pp. 225–257—to reconstruct them) but one that represents a great potential in helping to "read" past and present ritual and popular practices in relation to the built space (and religious "decoration") and ultimately understanding the contemporary concept of the Buddhist monuments as well as later transformations.[113]

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[113] See the following contributions by Devers, Feiglstorfer and Kalantari in this volume for accounts and analyses of the site of Nyarma and its main temple from the perspectives of archaeology, architecture and art history respectively.

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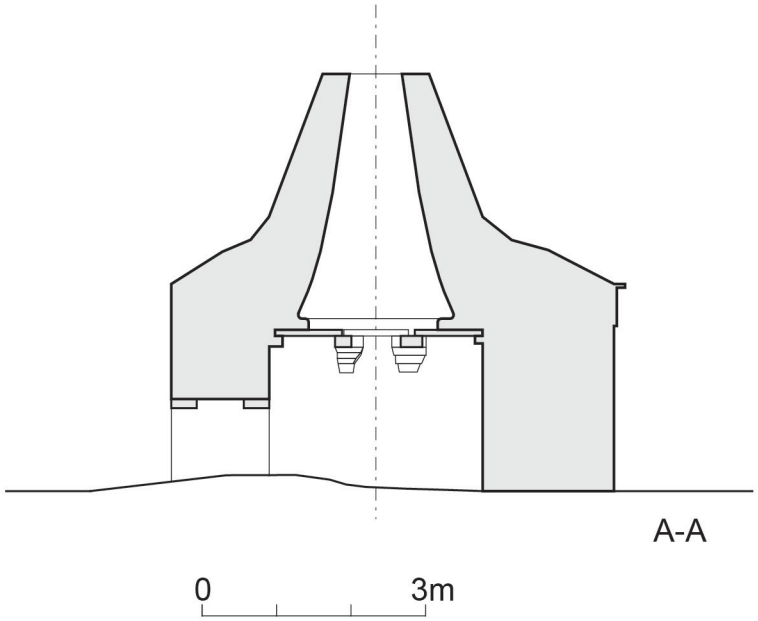
**Appendix (Figs. 20–32)**

Visual documentation of the *mchod rten* with painted decoration, Nyarma, made in 2005 and 2009.

Fig. 21. *mchod rten* with painted decoration (view from east), Nyarma (H. Feiglstorfer, 2005).

Fig. 22. *mchod rten* with painted decoration, corbelled roof construction, Nyarma (C. Kalantari, 2009).



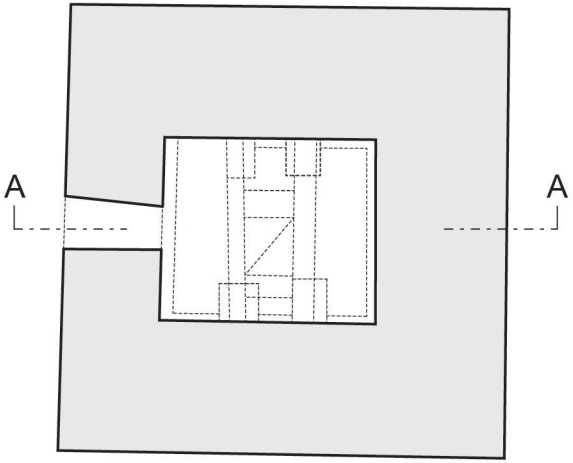




Fig. 23. Ground plan and section A-A, *mchod rten* with painted decoration, Nyarma (drawing: H. Feiglstorfer, 2019).

Fig. 24. *mchod rten* with painted decoration (overview east wall), Nyarma (C. Kalantari, 2009).

Fig. 25. rDo rje ʻchang (Vajradhara) and *siddhas* (*mchod rten* with painted decoration, east wall, top register), Nyarma (C. Kalantari, 2009).

Fig. 26. ʻJam dpal dbyangs (Mañjuśrī) and monks (*mchod rten* with painted decoration, east wall, top registers), Nyarma (C. Kalantari, 2009).

Fig. 27. sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) (*mchod rten* with painted decoration, east wall, top registers), Nyarma (C. Kalantari, 2009).

Fig. 28. *mchod rten* with painted decoration (overview south wall), Nyarma (C. Kalantari, 2009).

Fig. 29. *mchod rten* with painted decoration (overview west wall), Nyarma (C. Kalantari, 2009).

Fig. 30. *mchod rten* with painted decoration (overview north wall), Nyarma (C. Kalantari, 2009).

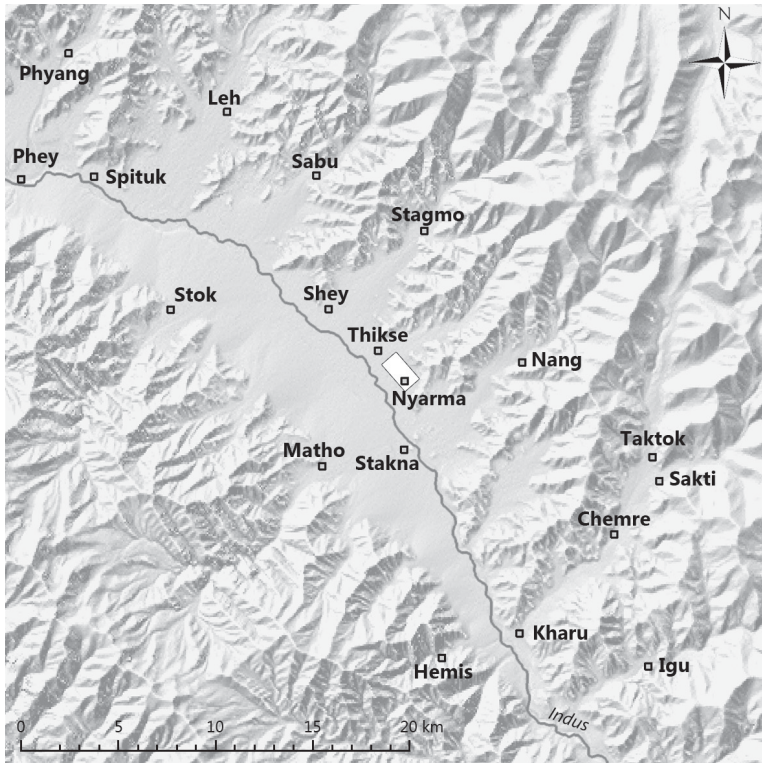
Fig. 31. Monks with inscriptions below (*mchod rten* with painted decoration (detail inscription, north wall), Nyarma (C. Kalantari, 2009).

Fig. 32. Detail of inscriptions (*mchod rten* with painted decoration, north wall), Nyarma (C. Kalantari, 2009).

Quentin Devers

# An Archaeological Account of Nyarma and its Surroundings, Ladakh*

The village of Nyarma, located on the left bank of the Indus a little upstream of Thikse (see Fig. 1: map), houses a rich archaeological heritage (Figs. 2 and 3). It stands out as having been the place that had both the most numerous and the largest temples before the mid-fifteenth century. As a comparison, whilst the temples in Alchi (inside and outside the Choskor) add up to a total surface of about 350 m$^2$, the ruins of Nyarma and its surrounding area come to roughly 860 m$^2$ (Devers 2015, forthcoming). The village has received attention mainly for its famous complex of temples in ruins, reportedly founded by Rinchen Zangpo (958–1055).[1] Various studies of this complex—including the *chörten* (Tib. *mchod rten*, Skt. *stūpa*)—have been conducted, the most important one being by Panglung (1983), Neuwirth and his team (see Neuwirth 2008), Kozicz (2007a-d, 2011), and myself (2015, forthcoming).[2] Further investigating the antiquity of the complex, B. R. Mani of the Archaeological Survey of India found five clay tablets "datable to about eleventh century AD" (Director General Archaeological Survey of India 2006: 184). The second site that has been researched is the little fort, described by Howard in his study of the fortresses of Ladakh (Howard 1989: 269–71). Beside




1. Map of Central Ladakh with the area of study highlighted in white (Q. Devers, 2012).

* The fieldwork for this paper was funded by the *Centre de Recherche sur les Civilisations de l'Asie Orientale* (UMR8155, CNRS/EPHE/Paris Diderot-Paris 7/Collège de France) in 2009, and by the *École Française d'Extrême-Orient* in 2010 and 2011. I would like to thank Olivier Tochon, who accompanied me for the documentation of some of the structures described in this paper.

1 Also known and referred to as the Great Translator (*lo chen*) Rin chen bzang po [editors' note].

2 Earlier descriptions and reports on Nyarma are by Joseph Gergan (bSod nams Tshe brtan) (see Jahoda, "Joseph Thsertan Gergan's report on Nyarma, 1917", this volume) and by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana. Mention of Gergan's report (although with reference to Francke) is also made in Kozicz (2007b: 1, 4). Concerning the activities by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana in Nyarma, John Bray kindly indicated to me that he mentions the excavations he made at the complex in the 1930s with the help of a young member of the Moravian mission, Tsetan Phuntshog (personal communication by John Bray, January 2012). If such digs did take place, it would be ground breaking to know which part of the complex was excavated and where the report or the results could be consulted.

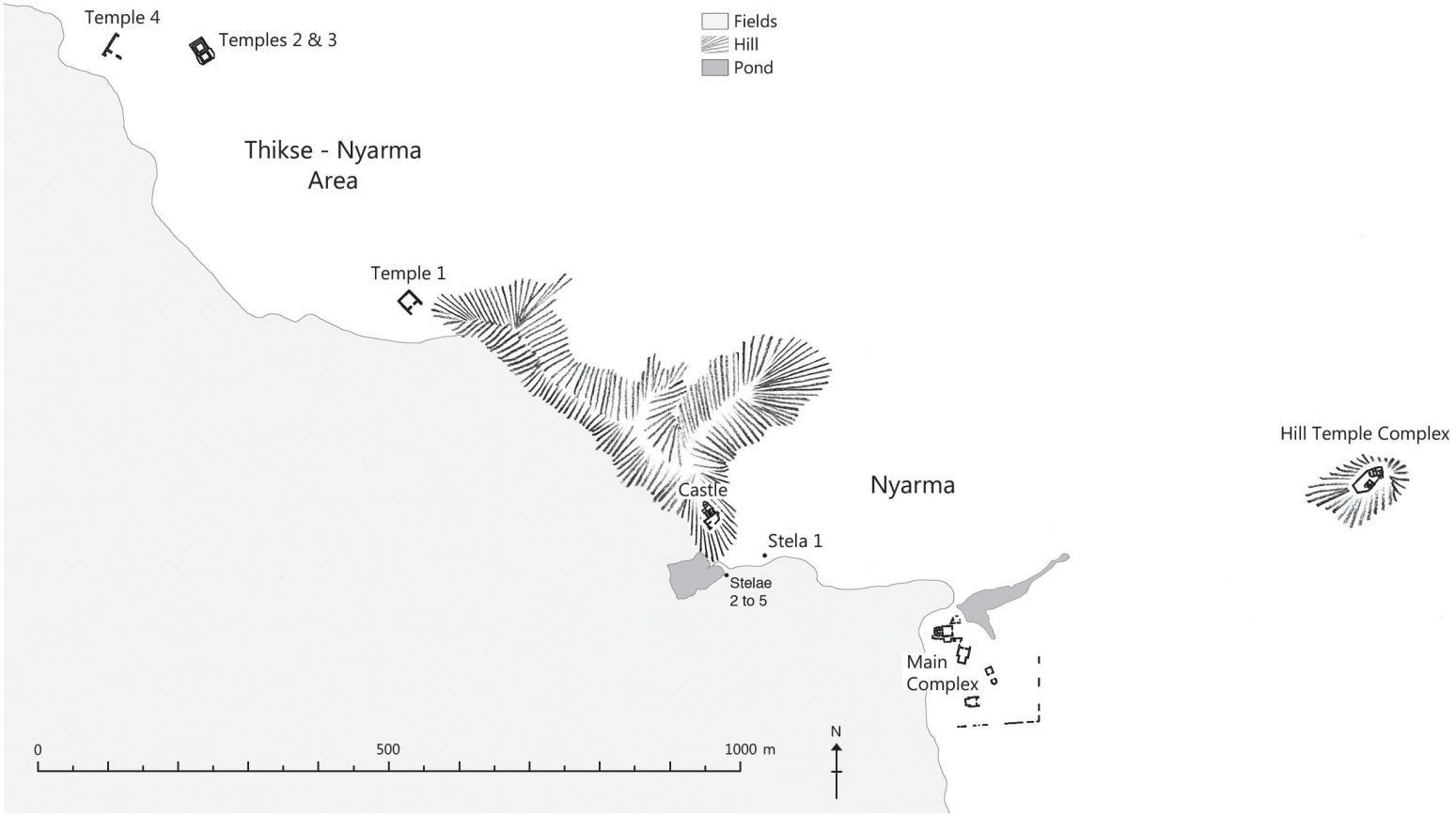
2. General view of the area of study from the south-south-east: a) main complex, b) fort, c) hill temple complex, d) Thikse-Nyarma area. The monastery of Thikse can be seen in the background (Q. Devers, 2011).

these, there are other structures that haven't received the same attention yet: overlooking Nyarma on the east is a small hill-temple complex, and north of the rocky formation on which the fort stands is a series of four ruins of temples.

The goal of this paper is not to comment on and confront what has already been written on Nyarma, instead it is to bring a much-needed fresh archaeological look at the ruins, especially at Temple 1, whose relative complex chronology has been the source of confusion in the existing literature as regards the reconstruction of its original plan and the distinction of its successive transformations. To close this introduction, it should be noted that the numerous *mchod rten* found in this area of study, though of indubitable interest, are, like modern structures, intentionally left aside: we will focus exclusively on the ruins of temples and on the fort.

### The Main Complex of Temples

Nowadays only five temples are left in the main complex, along with




3. Sketch map of area of study (Q. Devers, 2012; topography drawn by Martin Vernier, 2012).

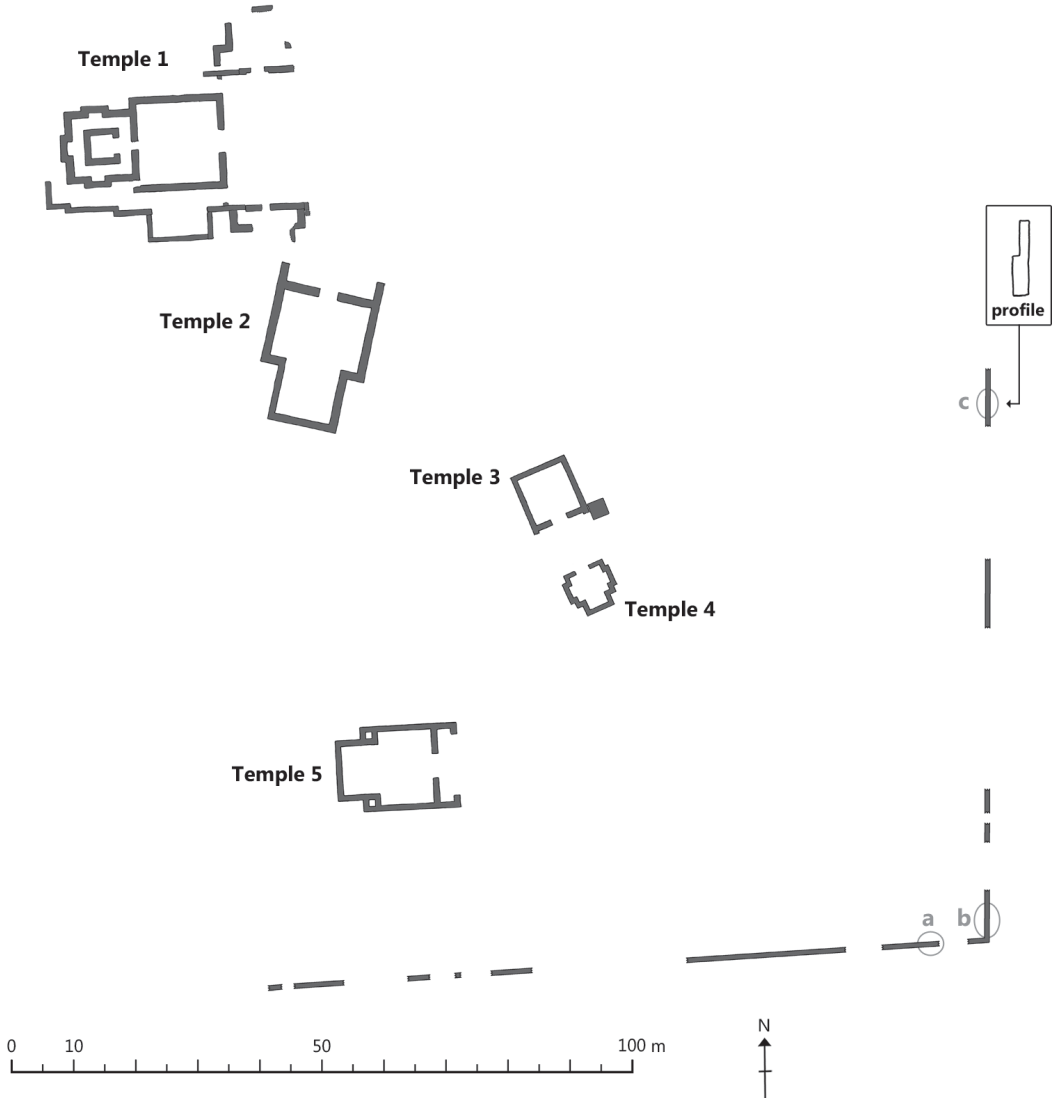
4. Satellite view of Nyarma (American Corona Space Mission, October 4 1965). Courtesy of Abram Pointet, Cartographer.

some portions of the original enclosure on the southern and eastern edges (Figs. 5 and 6). These structures are all built with unbaked bricks, none of the walls are in stone. As the different sizes and textures of the bricks indicate (Fig. 29), these constructions were likely erected at different times.

From an archaeological perspective, important recent activity has damaged the complex, the most important being the construction of a new temple and the extraction of construction material from most of the southern and eastern part of the complex. This is carried on an industrial scale, with trucks coming on a daily basis to carry the extracted material. The size and the depth of the pit is growing every year—in 2011 it was about 50 x 70 m and over 2 m deep (on Fig. 21, a truck and the beginning of the pit on the left can be seen; the same pit is also visible on Fig. 5 on the right).

The complex is constructed on a location that has a clear water-drainage problem. Indeed, the little pond on the northern side does not flow anywhere: water comes both from the pond down the fort

5. General view of the main complex from the south-south-east (Q. Devers, 2011).

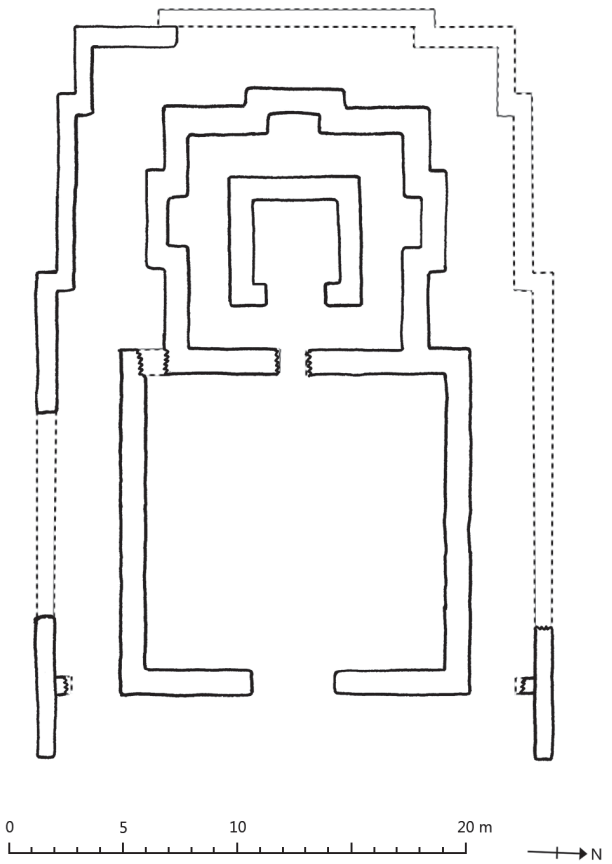



6. Plan of the main complex (Q. Devers, 2012).

on the west and from the mountains on the east. The builders must have faced this difficulty, and it is to be wondered if they had any water-management system to overcome it, and, if they did, what it was. A reservoir has recently been built—as it does not appear on the satellite view of Fig. 4, this would have been after 1965—near the hill with the hill temple complex, with a drain that goes straight to the main complex. This installation, now unused, could have only aggravated the drainage situation.[3]

With the extraction pit, the fluctuations of the pond and the construction of the new temple there is probably no chance of retrieving the foundations of the three missing temples that once stood in the complex (see Panglung 1983: 283) along with the five that are cur-

[3] It can be suspected that it is indirectly responsible for the collapse of some of the walls of Temple 1 (walls of Space B and Chapel C, i.e. walls 15, 16 and 17 on Fig. 7): while these walls were still standing in 1965 as can be seen on Fig. 4, they have now dissolved into the ground. A possible scenario is that on the completion of this installation large quantity of water likely ended up rushing to the complex, where it had nowhere to escape, as the topography goes slightly uphill in all directions, provoking an increase in the size of the pond which dissolved the base of walls 15, 16 and 17, resulting in turn in their eventual collapse.



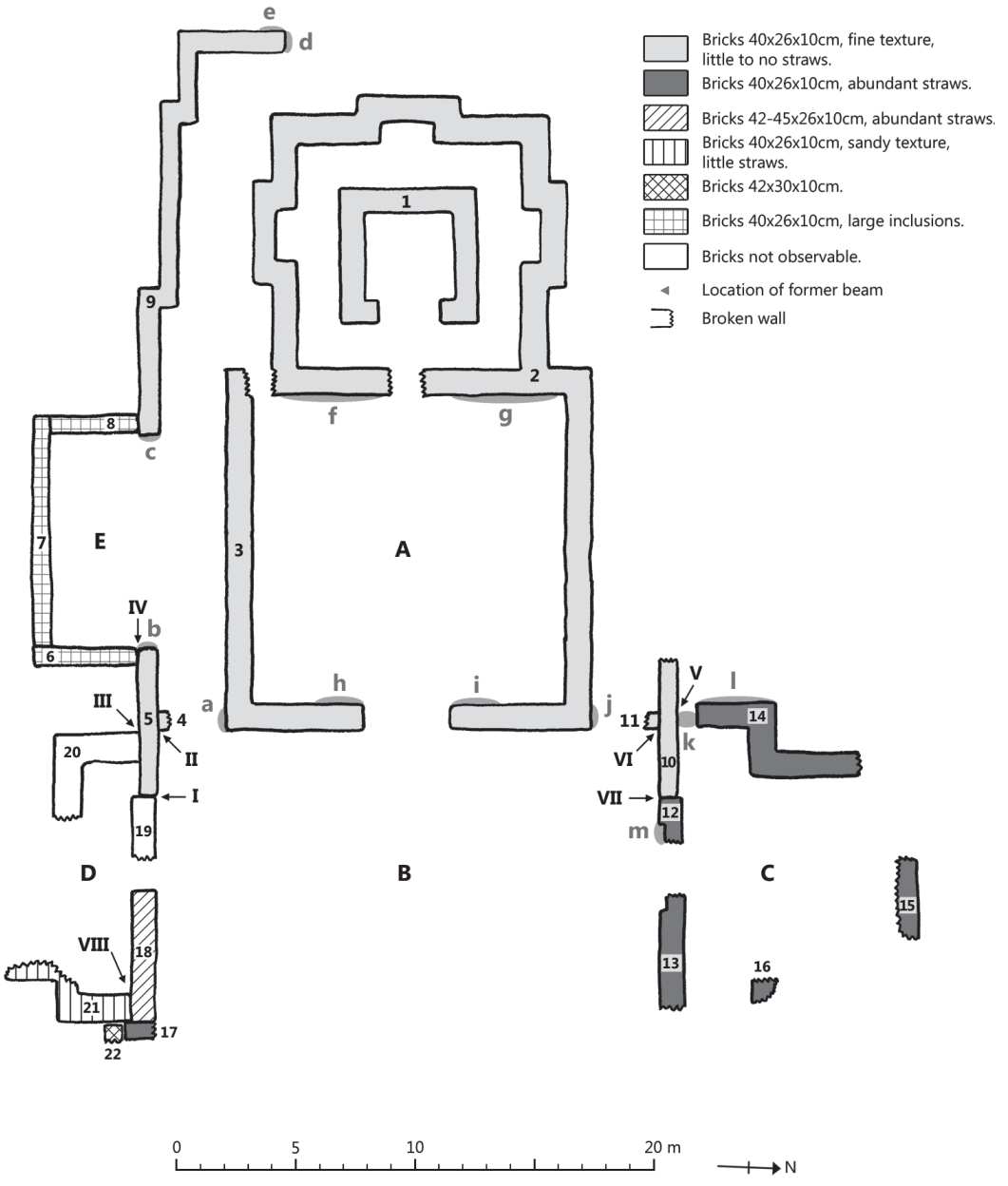

rently visible. The largest of these temples, Temple 1, is reported to have been founded by Rinchen Zangpo. It has undergone several modifications over time, which we will review in detail.

Temple 1

Temple 1 is composed of several parts (Fig. 8): there is a central temple (A), an ambulatory around it visible only on its southern flank with a room opened in it (E), and a large open space in front of it (B) framed on both sides by two chapels (C and D). The central temple (A) is in turn composed of a large assembly area, opening on the west on an inner ambulatory that contains a central cella. A small temple was built in the relatively recent past (most probably in the 1840s, see Jahoda, "Joseph Thsertan Gergan's report on Nyarma, 1917", this volume, p. 175) above this cella and above part of the inner ambulatory, as can be seen in Fig. 9.

In order to reconstruct the original plan and to trace the various changes, the walls need to be studied by looking at their various components like the bricks—both size and texture—the mud coats, the beam marks etc.

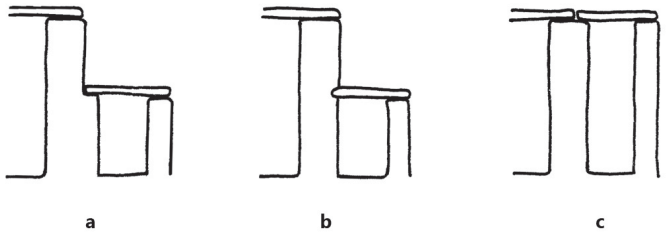
In Fig. 8, the walls are differentiated according to their chaining, and according to the traces of mud coats. For example, the sections of wall 2 are chained together, making it one long single wall. On the other hand, while they are straight and contiguous, walls 5 and 19 are not the same,




7. Reconstruction of the original plan of Temple 1 (Q. Devers, 2012).

8. Plan of Temple 1. Roman numerals indicate specific mud-coat marks and grey lower-case letters locations referred to in the text (Q. Devers, 2012).

9. Assembly area of Temple 1 from south-east. Numbers indicate the walls numbers according to Fig. 8. The white arrows show the recesses were the beams used to fit on wall 2. The opposite wall has its top levelled (wall 3) (Q. Devers, 2009).




10: Different types of deambulatory roofing. After original drawings by Martin Vernier (Q. Devers, 2012).

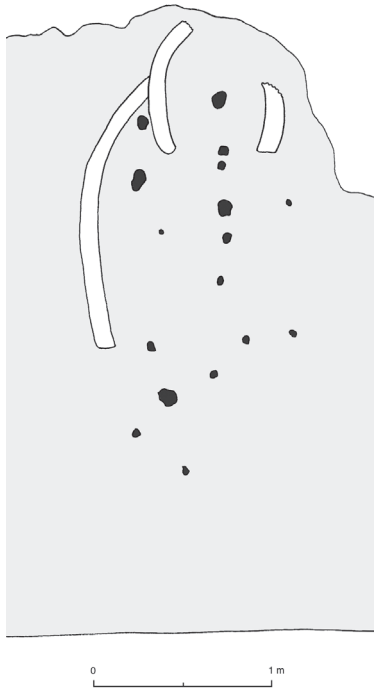
11. Temple 1: drawing of the halo in *i*. Scale approximate. The halo is in white, holes in the wall are in black (Q. Devers, 2012).

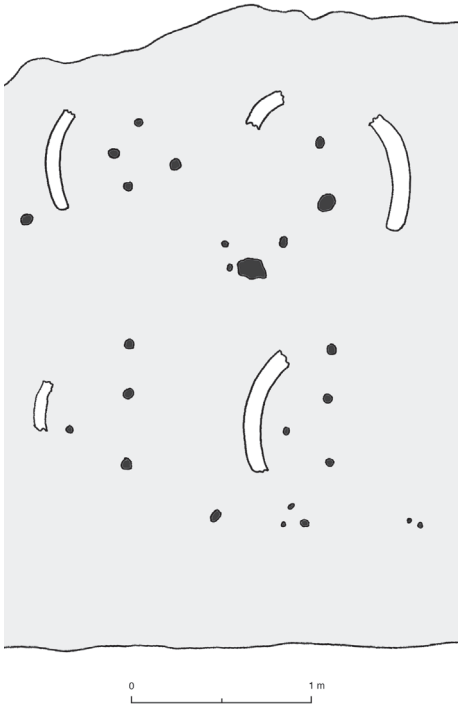
12. Temple 1: drawing of the halos in *g*. Scale approximate. The halos are in white, holes in the wall are in black (Q. Devers, 2012).

because the external mud coat of wall 5 goes all around its tip at its juncture with wall 19, thus separating them. In addition, in Fig. 8, the walls are coloured according to the size and texture of the bricks.

*The Original Temple*

The original plan is easily visible: it is drawn by the walls coloured in light grey (walls 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10 and 11). It is made with 40 x 26 x 10 cm bricks that have a fine texture without straw inside.



The study of the mud coats corroborates this plan: in II and VI they tie these original walls together (walls 4 and 6 on the one hand, 10 and 11 on the other), while in I, III, IV, V and VII they clearly separate them from those added later. The preserved walls are about 4 m high.

Some elements allow for reconstructing the missing walls of the ambulatory. In Fig. 8, in *b* and *c* the tips of walls 5 and 9 are not coated, and they are made with bricks that have a rougher texture, with pebbles inside like those of walls 6, 7 and 8. Walls 5 and 9 were as such very likely a single wall that was cut at *b* and *c* in order to build room E. In *d*, the mud-coat on the tip of the wall indicates that it ended there, while in *e* a break in this coat shows that the wall protruded here. From there, if we consider that the temple was symmetrical, then we can reconstruct the walls all the way to wall 10, as shown on Fig. 7. In *a* and *j* the mud coats are continuous: walls 4 and 11 had as such no protruding counterparts from walls 2 and 3.

There is a small wall in the assembly area that is not represented in the plan. This is usually said to testify to the existence the former inner *mchod rten* of the temple.[4] As its bricks are not directly observable, it is difficult to venture whether it is original or not.

The positions of the beams that once supported the roof of the assembly area are still visible: they correspond to the vertical recesses at the top of the walls. There were four of these, about 2.5 m apart (Fig. 8: indicated by the small grey triangles in wall 2; Fig. 9: indicated by the white arrows). These can be seen only on wall 2: the upper part of wall 3 was levelled (Fig. 9).

The roof of the ambulatory is more difficult to assess. Like wall 3, the tops of walls 5 and 9 were levelled, and, as the rest of the ambulatory wall is missing, no trace of a roof is left. If there was one, it could not have been lower than that of the temple: it would have otherwise required either a wall with a recessing profile (Fig. 10: *a*) or a wall with holes to fix the beams (Fig. 10: *b*)—the walls of the temple are straight and without holes. As such, if the ambulatory had a roof, the only possibility is that it was at the same height as that of the temple, as illustrated in *c* in Fig. 10.[5]

The external top of the entrance walls has small marks of a porch roof (Fig. 8: small holes on the upper part of wall 3). However, given the later development that took place in front of the temple (see below) one must remain cautious as to whether these marks are original or if they are due to this later development.

There are two sets of halos visible on the walls of the assembly area, and a third inside the central cella.[6] The first set consists of a large halo on either side of the main door, at *h* and *i* in Fig. 8. They are 1.5 m wide (Fig. 11). The second set of halos is in *g*. It has four smaller halos, 80 cm wide, in two registers (Fig. 12). The lower halos seem to have had three vertical fixings with another one on the left near the halo. The holes of the upper halos are not as clear, they seem to have had fewer fixings spread in a different fashion. The elevation of the wall in *f* is missing: as such the existence of another four halos is a matter of speculation. A third set composed of at least one small halo can be seen on the back of the central cella (wall 1).

*Frontal Development: Space B and Chapel C*

In a second phase, a development took place in front of the temple with the construction of a large space (B) along with at least one lateral chapel (C) (Fig. 8). Another chapel was likely on the other side of space B, but, as we will see, in its current state it is not from the same period as chapel C.

As there is no direct relationship between walls 12-13 on the one hand and walls 14-15-16 on the other, it is questionable to state whether the development of space B is contemporaneous with that of chapel C. But the fact that they are made from the same bricks, and that walls 12-13 use special bricks shaped with a recess in order to fit a doorframe (Fig. 13) indicates that it was designed with a door right from the beginning. As such, chapel C is likely contemporaneous with space B.

Two elements in chapel C are worthy of discussion. First, an opening in the wall suggests that there was a narrow door about 80 cm wide leading outside of the chapel in *k*. The second element is that in *l* wall 14 has no external mud coat, whereas the rest of the wall does. These two elements raise the question of the existence of a former room there. Fig. 15 shows a possible reconstruction of this stage with the hypothesis of a chapel in D similar to that in C, and with the hypothesis of an adjacent room north of chapel C.

*Alteration of Chapel D*

If chapel D as it currently stands had been built at the same time as chapel C, it would likely have had the same floor plan, the same dimensions and the same bricks. Instead, it is quite the opposite: the layout is different, it is much smaller, and the walls are built with

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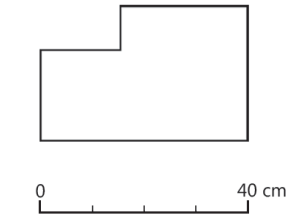
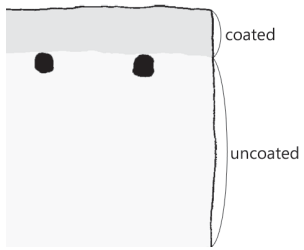
4 In his report from 1917, Gergan referred to it as a "broken clay throne with lotus leaves and rear wall" where "perhaps" the main cult image was located (see Jahoda, "Joseph Thsertan Gergan's report on Nyarma, 1917", this volume, p. 176).

5 I would like to thank my colleague Martin Vernier with whom this question of the roof of the ambulatory was discussed.

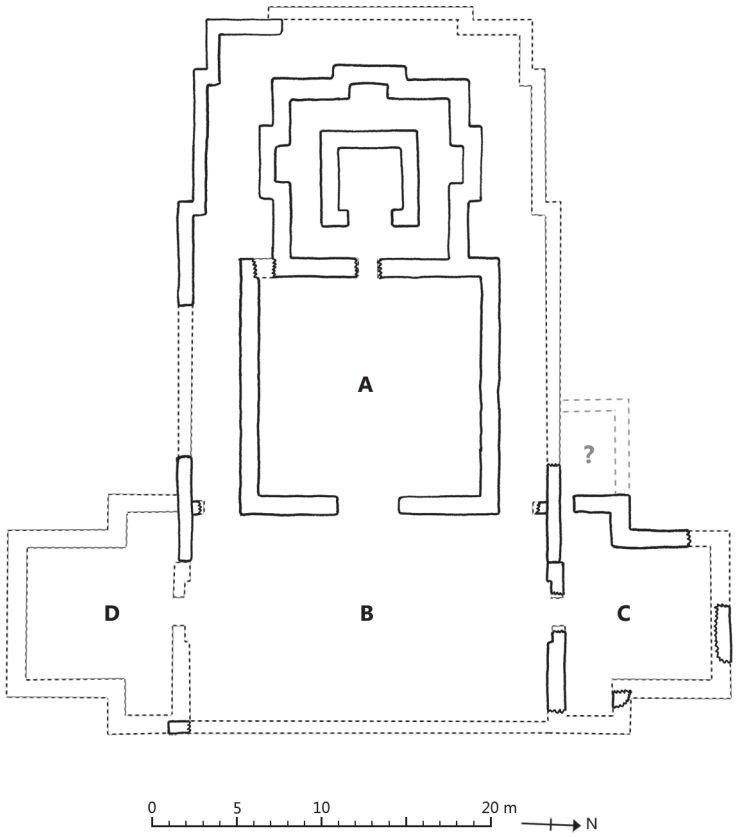
6 During my fieldwork, my main focus was to understand the chronology of Temple 1. As such, I did not closely record the traces of stucco halos on the walls. It is only at the request of Christiane Kalantari that I am describing those I documented in my notes: it is possible that other halos are to be accounted for.




13. Temple 1: brick used for the door jambs of walls 12 and 13 (Q. Devers, 2012).




14. Temple 1: elevation of the rear wall of room E. The holes of the former beams are in black (Q. Devers, 2012).




15. Temple 1: reconstruction of space B, chapel C, possible room north of chapel C and possible original chapel D (Q. Devers, 2012).

at least three different types of bricks. Indeed, wall 18 is made with bricks surprisingly larger, 42-45 cm long, wall 17 is made with bricks like those of chapel C but is only 75 cm thick, wall 21 has a unique thickness of 115 cm, is made with bricks that have a unique sandy texture, and it is the only wall that was built with timber lacing—in walls 19 and 20 no bricks are directly accessible to be properly measured. In addition, wall 22 is, as we will see, a true enigma.

In order to see into this structure more clearly it is necessary to examine the different elements separately.

Wall 17, with bricks of a texture similar to those used in the walls of chapel C, could have been built at the same time. However, with no direct visible stratigraphical relationship it is not possible to assert this definitively.

Walls 18 and 21 seem to be tied together by the coat in VIII. However, the drips of dissolved bricks there make the reading of the relationship between the two walls difficult and open to debate. Even if the mud coat between these two walls is the same, they were still clearly not built at the same time: they are far too different, with different bricks, different thicknesses, and even different techniques, as wall 21 featured timber lacing.

A relationship between walls 20 and 21 is difficult to assert as a mass of dissolved bricks separates them, but they are probably from the same state.

As for wall 19, it is the same thickness as wall 18 and, from what is visible, its bricks seem to be larger than 40 cm: as such it is probably the continuation of wall 18.

An element in favour of an original chapel similar to chapel C is the position of the door. As it is now, it is not centred: it is closer to the right-hand wall, creating a right/left asymmetry. However, if we reconstruct a layout similar to chapel C, then the door is exactly at the location where it would have been.

As we will see, the modifications of chapel D have to be considered in relation to the construction of Temple 2. Indeed, if it was originally similar to chapel C it would have overlapped with Temple 2 (Fig. 17).

Wall 22 is the most bewildering in the complex. With its length of about 1 m, it is more of a wall fragment. It is slightly inclined: it lies against wall 17. It has no mud coat, and at 42 cm long and 30 cm wide its bricks are both longer and wider than those of the other walls. Its thickness is not constant: it decreases as the height of the wall increases. Two bricks thick at the base, it is about only one brick thick at the top. No further trace of it can be observed on the ground around: it is as if this wall never went farther than the metre it currently stretches. Its function and former layout are quite enigmatic.

With these elements, the following chronology can be proposed:

- In a first step, a chapel similar to chapel C was likely built along with temple B. Wall 17 is the last testimony to this development.

- Then, for some reason, the chapel underwent two modifications that led to the construction of walls 18-19 on one hand and walls 20-21 on the other.

- As for wall 22, it is an open question to why it ended there and what its function was. The only element that can be stated is that it was built after walls 17 and 21.

*Room E*

As seen earlier, the section from wall 5 to 9 was dismantled for the construction of room E. As there is no direct stratigraphical relationship with the other walls of B, C and D, it is not possible to relate its construction to the other later developments of Temple 1. As it stands now, the room has undergone at least one change since its construction. Originally made of apparently unchained walls, it is coated outside but not inside. Rear wall 7 has a line of holes: above it the wall is coated, below it is not (Fig. 14). These holes are probably

those of the timbers of the original roof: the upper part of the wall was coated as it was outdoors, while the lower part was not. This roof was then destroyed or dismantled, before being rebuilt along with new parting and entrance walls.

Temple 2

Temple 2 is immediately south of Temple 1 (Figs. 16 and 20). It has the thickest walls of the complex, which are 125 cm. They are made with bricks that are 45 x 26 x 10 cm—some are 45 x 20 x 10 cm. Its porch was roofed with one large transversal beam as indicated by a large recess on the left wall, and a series of smaller beams as the profile of the exterior entrance walls show. The doorjambs of the entrance wall were straight, accounting for a straight doorframe.

Inside, the walls of the assembly area have a series of small holes closely spread in line about half way above the current ground (Fig. 18). The holes on the entrance walls are slightly lower. The lateral walls of the rear niche have two parallel lines of small holes: one about half way, and one near the top of the wall (it can be seen on Fig. 16). The rear wall has an upper line of small holes only on its right third (Fig. 19). The walls of the rear niche are higher than those of the assembly area: they are 5 m rather than of 3.7 m. The positions of the beams that once supported the roof are not clearly visible, except on the rear wall where there used to be two beams about 4 m apart and 2.5 m from the lateral walls.

This temple does not have an external mud coat. According to Kozicz, "the most proper explanation would be it had never been finished" (2007b: 4). Though it is true that they rarely miss external coat, temples do not necessarily need to have one in order to be functional. As we will see later, one ruin of temple in the area between Nyarma and Thikse, which has no reason to be considered unfinished, also lacks external mud coat.

The western wall of the porch of Temple 2 is only a few meters away from the rear wall of chapel D (Fig. 17). If in its original state chapel D had the same layout and size as chapel C, then its rear wall and Temple 2 would have overlapped.

This raises the question of the chronology between chapel D and Temple 2. To sum up, there are four events that took place, given here in a non-chronological order:

a) Construction of original chapel D.

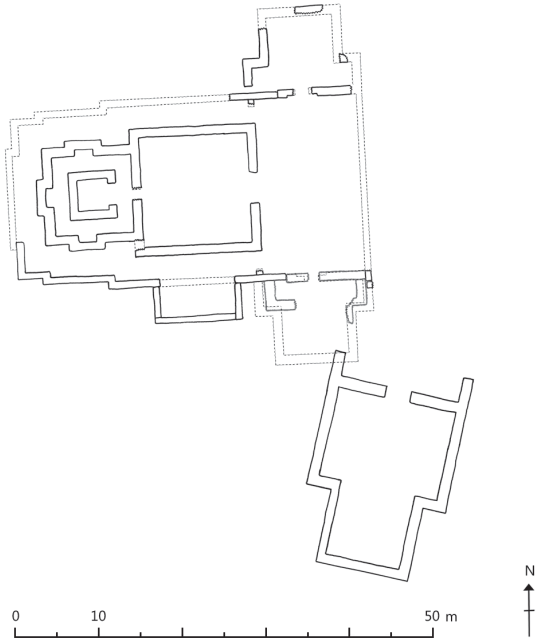
b) Modification of chapel D, which saw the construction of walls 18-19.

c) Modification of chapel D, which saw the construction of walls 20-21.

d) Construction of Temple 2.

In the current state of research it is impossible to know the exact

16. Temple 2 from the hill temple complex (Q. Devers, 2011).



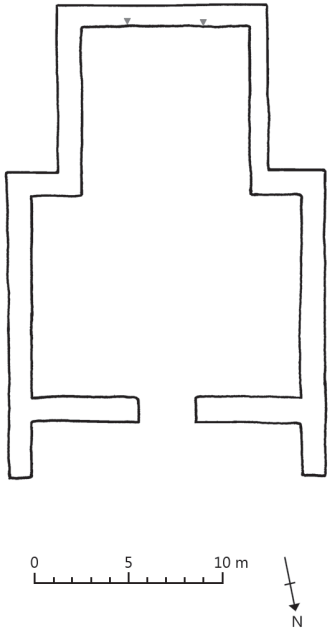

17. Temple 1: possible reconstruction of original Chapel D in relation to Temple 2 (Q. Devers, 2012).

18. Temple 2: right-hand wall of the ambulatory area (Q. Devers, 2009).

19. Temple 2: rear wall (Q. Devers, 2009).

sequence in which these events took place. Indeed, even stating that Temple 2 was built after the original chapel D is speculative. For instance, we could imagine that Temple 2 was built just after Temple 1. In that case, when the development in front of Temple 1 took place, the two lateral chapels would have been built in different sizes: one on the northern side, which would have been larger as there was space there for building a large chapel, and one on the southern side, which would have been smaller because of the constraint of space imposed by Temple 2. Then, at some point, some problem could have led to the reconstruction of walls 18-19, followed by another problem leading to the reconstruction of walls 20-21. In this scenario we would have exactly the same remains as those currently observable.

As such, the only sequence that can be established is that events b) and c) happened after a). Then, the construction of Temple 2 (event d) could have taken place at any point before or after any of these events.[7] And in the absence of excavations, events b) and c) could have happened in any order.




20. Plan of Temple 2 (Q. Devers, 2012).

Temples 3 and 4

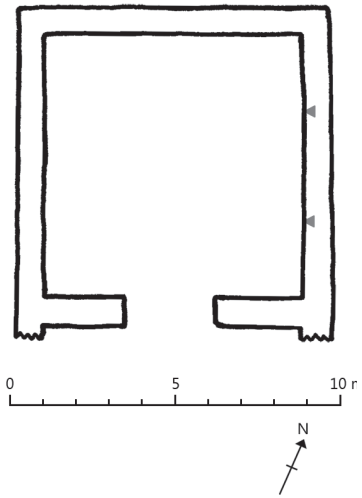
Though facing each other and looking as two coherent parts of a same whole, Temples 3 and 4 were probably not built at the same time (Fig. 21). Indeed, while Temple 3 is built with large bricks that are 45-47 x 26 x 10 cm, those of Temple 4 are 40 x 26 x 10 cm.

The walls of Temple 3 (Fig. 22) are built in two different thicknesses: the entrance wall is 90 cm thick, while the other walls are 82 cm—they are 4.2 m high. The roof used to be supported by two beams 3.4 m apart, 2.3 m from the entrance and rear walls. There are no apparent traces of stucco halos or fixation holes. The door jambs are not straight: they are wider on their upper parts, indicating for a particular type of door frame that used to fit there, different from that used in Temple 2. As can be seen on Fig. 21, one *mchod rten* is built against its right wall. The wall of the temple is not coated where the *mchod rten* is: the latter was as such not built after Temple 3. The temple was either built against this existing *mchod rten*, or both were built at the same time. To sort this chronology one would need to see whether the *mchod rten* is coated on the side touching the temple: if it is, then it means that it was finished before the temple was constructed, if it is not then both the temple and the *mchod rten* were likely built at the same time. When I conducted my field survey, the drips of dissolved bricks prevented me from seeing whether the *mchod rten* was coated. Temple 3 is currently used to store various materials, such as long wooden sticks whose pressure against the walls tends to damage the internal mud coat.

Temple 4 (Fig. 24) is the smallest of the temples still standing in the complex and has the thinnest walls—only 70 cm thick. It is one of only three temples in all Ladakh with a plan with three niches—the other two are the famous three-storied temples in Alchi Choskor and in Wanla, leaving this one as the only single-floored example (Devers, forthcoming).

Its walls do not exhibit clear signs of stucco halos or of fixation holes, except maybe for one hole that goes right through the rear

[7] For all we know, Temple 2 could even be older than Temple 1. As far as material evidence is concerned, nothing proves that Temple 1 was necessarily the first one built in the area.



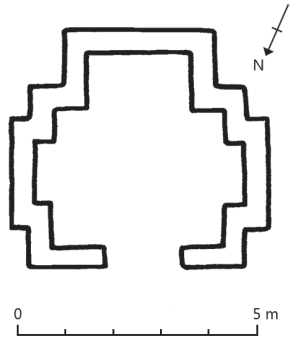

21. Temples 3 (right), Temple 4 (middle) and Temple 5 (left) from the hill temple complex (Q. Devers, 2011).

22. Plan of Temple 3 (Q. Devers, 2012).

wall. The door jambs are larger towards the top, as in for Temple 3. Some type of low podium ran along the walls (Fig. 23).

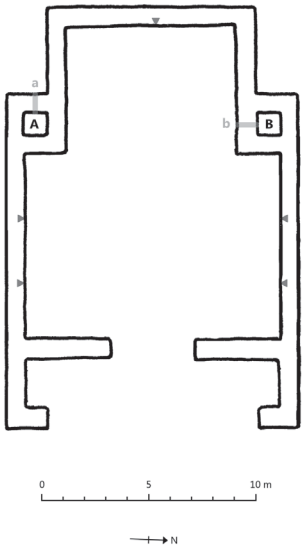
Temple 5

Temple 5 is the southernmost in the complex (Fig. 21 and 26). Its walls are 90 cm thick, built with bricks that are 40–42 x 26 x 10 cm. The porch shows signs of the beams of its former roof both on the side walls and on the entrance walls. In addition, a series of vertically aligned small holes can be seen in the left corner (Fig. 27). The door jambs are straight. The roof of the assembly area was supported by two beams about 3 m apart, 2.6 m from the entrance wall and 3 m from the rear wall. The rear niche, which has walls 5.9 m high rather than 4.6 m for the assembly area, appears to have had one beam. The inner walls do not show clear signs of stucco halos or of fixation holes. The access to the two closed rooms on each side of the rear niche (A and B on Fig. 25) is open to question: the room on the right




23. Temple 4: low podiums running along the walls (Q. Devers, 2009).

24. Plan of Temple 4 (Q. Devers, 2012).




25. Plan of Temple 5 (Q. Devers, 2012)

26. Temple 5: *mchod rten* inside the rear niche (Q. Devers, 2009).

27. Porch of Temple 5 (Q. Devers, 2009).

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28. Enclosure: recess at the base of the wall in *b*, 0.6 m wide and 0.3 m high (Q. Devers, 2009).

can be seen only through a hole in the wall in *a*, while one on the left can be entered only through a hole at the base of the wall outside in *b*. As of now it is not possible to state whether these holes are original or if they were added later on, raising the issue of whether the interior of these rooms was designed to be accessed or even seen.

A *mchod rten* is in the middle of the rear niche. As can be seen on Fig. 26, this *mchod rten* is made of stones that were apparently left uncoated and as such undecorated. This element is somewhat surprising and opens the question of the dating of this *mchod rten*: is it contemporaneous with the temple or was it built afterwards?[8]

Enclosure

Only small sections of the enclosure that once delineated the complex are still preserved on the eastern and southern sides. They are 70 cm thick, built with bricks 40 x 26 x 10 cm. They are mainly uncoated on both faces, except in two, maybe three, places as indicated in Fig. 6 (sections indicated with *a*, *b* and *c*). Furthermore, in *b* and *c* additional elements indicate that structures were likely constructed there.

In *b*, the wall has a small recess at its base, which is not due to a recent removal of bricks as its coating indicates (Fig. 28). The coat on this section, which is a little over 5 m long, does not go all the way to the top of the wall, it stops somewhere above the middle of the elevation.

In *c*, the section of the wall that is coated also has a different profile, with an upper half that is thinner, as indicated in Fig. 6. This section is about 4 m long, but it is not complete, as the wall is broken on its southern end. The function of the coat of these two sections and of their recesses is open to question.

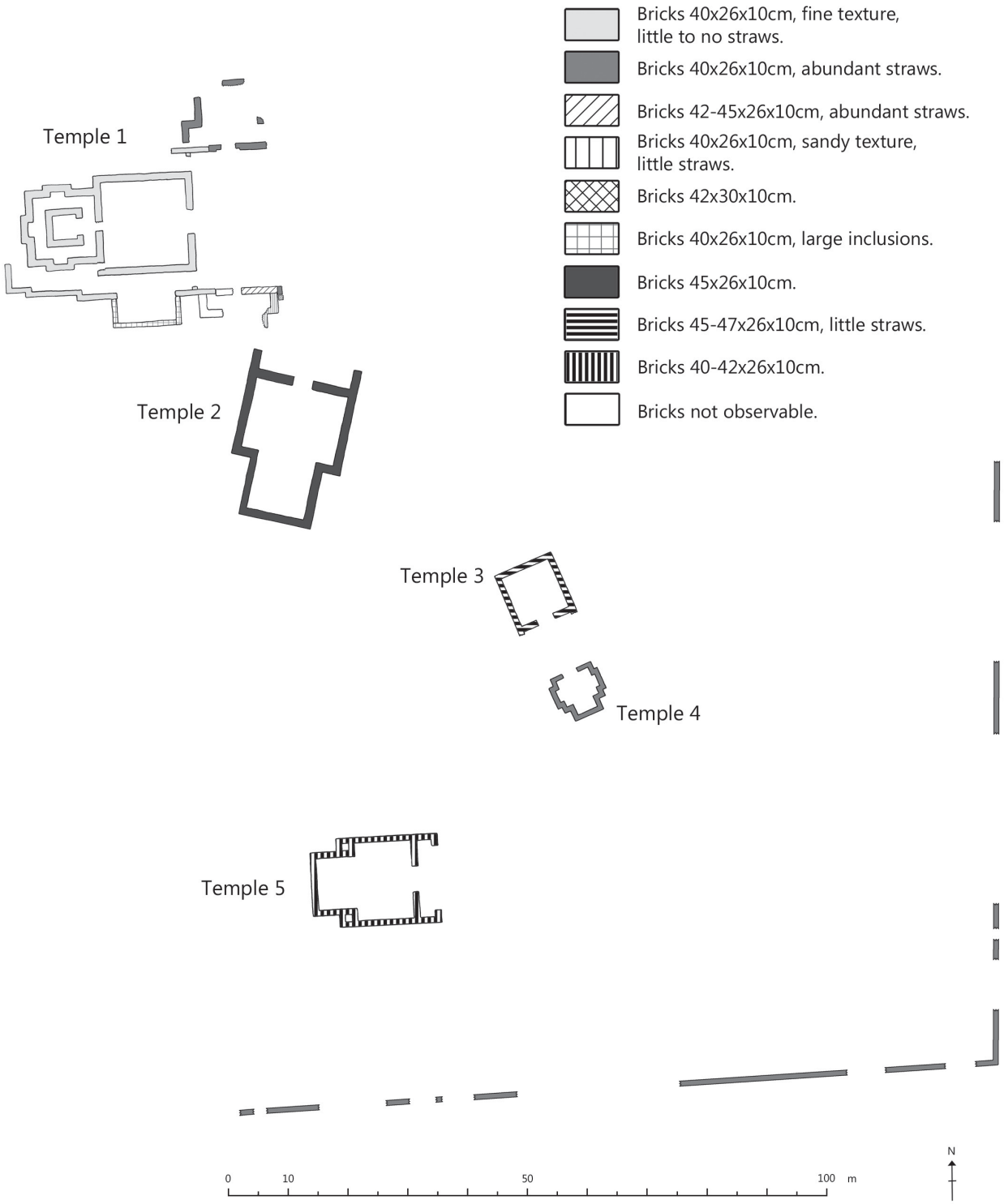
General Observations

The door jambs of the temples have two shapes: they are either straight or with a recess making them wider towards the top. Fixation holes can usually be seen on them: a study of them could possibly enable a reconstruction of the type of door frame that was used. Finally, the door jambs are always uncoated, showing the importance of wooden door frames the presence of which made coating unnecessary. In the temples that do not have such frames, such as the small hill temple and temples 2 and 3 between Nyarma and Thikse, which we will see further below, the door jambs on the other hand are duly coated.

The thicknesses of the walls seems directly related to the size of the temples, and more specifically to the span of the roof. As such, the smallest temple has the thinnest walls (Temple 4 has a span of less than 5 m and walls 70 cm thick), while the largest temple has the thickest walls (Temple 2 has a 14.4 m span and walls 125 cm thick). The other temples also fit in this scheme: Temple 3 has a 7.8 m span with walls 82 cm thick, Temple 5 has a 12 m span and walls 90 cm thick, while Temple 1 has a 13 m span and walls 100 cm thick.[9]

[8] For example, it is conceivable that it was built when the site was being abandoned, to bury sacred objects that were not being carried elsewhere, such as pieces of broken statues or other broken sacred objects. Other such explanations could well explain a later origin for this inner *mchod rten*.

[9] After measuring bricks in all types of ruins throughout Ladakh, I could see that their dimensions are highly irregular. In length, bricks vary from 24 to 52 cm;




29. Walls of the main complex coloured according to their type of bricks (Q. Devers, 2012).

30. The fort (indicated by the red arrow in the foreground) and the small square structure at the other end of the rocky formation (indicated by the upper red arrow), with the monastery of Thikse in the background from the south-east (Q. Devers, 2011).

## The Fort

The fort of Nyarma (Figs. 30, 31 and 32) was described by Howard in his article on the fortifications of Ladakh (Howard 1989: 269–271). As such we will proceed only to a brief general description before reviewing its roofing technique and chronology in greater detail.

The rear of the main building consists of a tower (level +3) that appears to be D-shaped—not round as described by Howard (*ibid*.: 269)—the upper elevation of which is made of bricks reported by Howard as being 40 x 25 x 10 cm (*ibid*.: 269). In front of the tower is a succession of narrow rooms (level 0). An enclosure delineates an open space in front of the buildings with two entrance structures (A and B), while two spaces are delimited by more recent walls on the western side (C and D).

The layout of the rooms of level 0 is dictated by the technique used for the roof. Culminating at 3.1 m above the ground in the front rooms, it is made only of stones (Fig. 36). It is built with a technique based on three structural levels: a first level of spaced corbels supports a second level of stones bridging the distance between the two facing walls, while the third level is made of transversal stones that cover the remaining space (Figs. 33 and 35). This technique is the most widely encountered in stone-roofed structures in Ladakh. It imposes particular constraints on the design of the buildings: the rooms cannot be more than 1 m to 1.5 m wide in order to have walls close enough to be bridged by the stones of the second level. This conception of space applied to multiple rooms can also be observed in the Kadam *mchod rten* in Stok (Fig. 34). Beyond Ladakhi frontiers, stone-roofs are a main feature in ancient buildings of Upper Tibet, where they can attain important expressions (cf. Bellezza 2008: 32–37).[10]

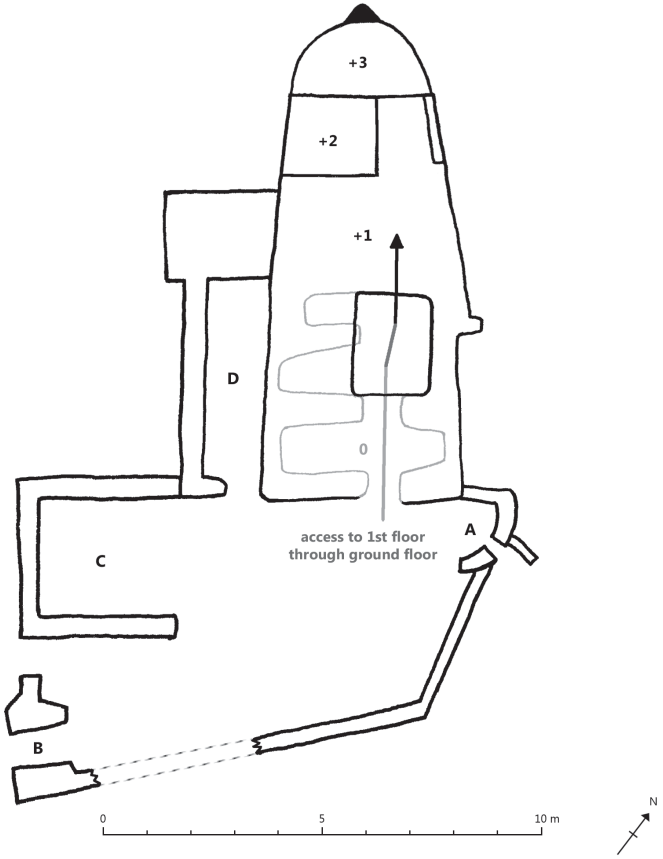
The two entrance structures A and B were also stone-roofed: structure A has only its corbels left, while structure B has its high stone-roof intact. It is made of a single level of lintels that directly bridge the space, except for the middle stone, which rests on corbels (Fig. 33).

The walls of spaces C and D are later additions. They use more mortar than the main building, and some shards of ceramics can be seen in it, as was observed by Howard (1989: 269). Another clear indication that the walls of space D are later additions are the stone corbels protruding from the main building (Fig. 33): there are no similar corbels protruding from its facing wall, and no stones can be found fallen on the ground. This means that the roof that used to rest on the corbels protruding from the main building was dismantled at some point and that the facing wall that had been built with stone

in width, from 13 to 35 cm; in thickness, from 7 to 15 cm. I came to notice that in order to understand them, one should not look at their absolute dimensions, but instead at the ratio between the length and the width. Three groups can thus be distinguished: 1) bricks with a length-width ratio under 1.7 appear characteristic of monuments built before the fifteenth century; 2) bricks with a ratio between 1.7 and 2.2 seem to have been used during all periods; 3) those with a ratio of 2.2 or above appear to have been used only after the fifteenth century. For a full history of Ladakh, another size can be added: contemporary bricks have a square section—width and thickness are equal. See Devers 2016 for a more detailed account of bricks.

From the results of the study I conducted for my dissertation, in the complex of Nyarma (see Fig. 29), all the bricks belong to the first group with ratios under 1.7, except for those of Temple 2 that have a ratio of about 1.8. If the proposed categorisation is correct, this means that Temple 1, 3, 4, 5 and the enclosure were likely built before the fifteenth century, while Temple 2 could have been built at any time.

[10] In some sites bridging stones can be as long as 2 m (Bellezza 2008: 33), and among unique examples is the large lantern-like ceiling at gZims phug (*ibid*.: fig. 1, p. 33) and the no less than three-storey high tower at Thophu, which uses stone ceilings for all three levels (personal communication, Nov. 10, 2010).




31. Fort viewed from the hill temple complex (Q. Devers, 2011).

32. Sketch plan of the fort. It is built on four levels, indicated by the numbers (Q. Devers, 2012).

corbels was either destroyed or dismantled before being replaced by the current one. This restored space D was then either left open or roofed with wooden beams resting on the corbels of the main building on one side, and on top of the new wall on the other.

Finally, the walls of space C were built after those of space D, as they lie against them. Another larger entrance to the site was likely open then, delineated on one side by the wall of space C and on the other by the former entrance B.

In large buildings, this type of stone-roof is undoubtedly ancient. The main reason is the constraint of layout it imposes: rooms need to be very narrow. However, this type of roofing had a more perennial use in smaller structures, in which rooms did not need to be more important, the most common of which were the *mchod rten*. This longer use in smaller structures is also noted by Bellezza in Upper Tibet (Bellezza, personal communication, Nov. 10, 2010).

To understand further the antiquity of this fort, one can look at two sites. The first, taken in the corpus of fortifications, is the castle of Wanla. From its woodcarving, this can be dated roughly to the same period as the three-storied temple near it, i.e. to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century (Luczanits 2005: 89, Martin 2015). One can appreciate the radical difference in design. There is an abundant and ostentatious use of wood for roofing three stories (instead of one), for timber lacings, for woodcarvings and for balconies.

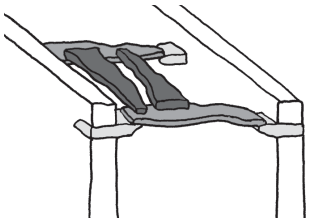
The second site to bear in mind is in the complex of temples just below the fort: this is Temple 1. Datable to the eleventh century through its supposed foundation by Rinchen Zangpo, it was already making important use of wood to span no less than the 13 m of the assembly area, showing that, if needed, wood could be obtained in this village at that time.

The use of wood in these two sites shows the radical difference in design from the fort at Nyarma, and gives an idea of its greater antiquity.[11]

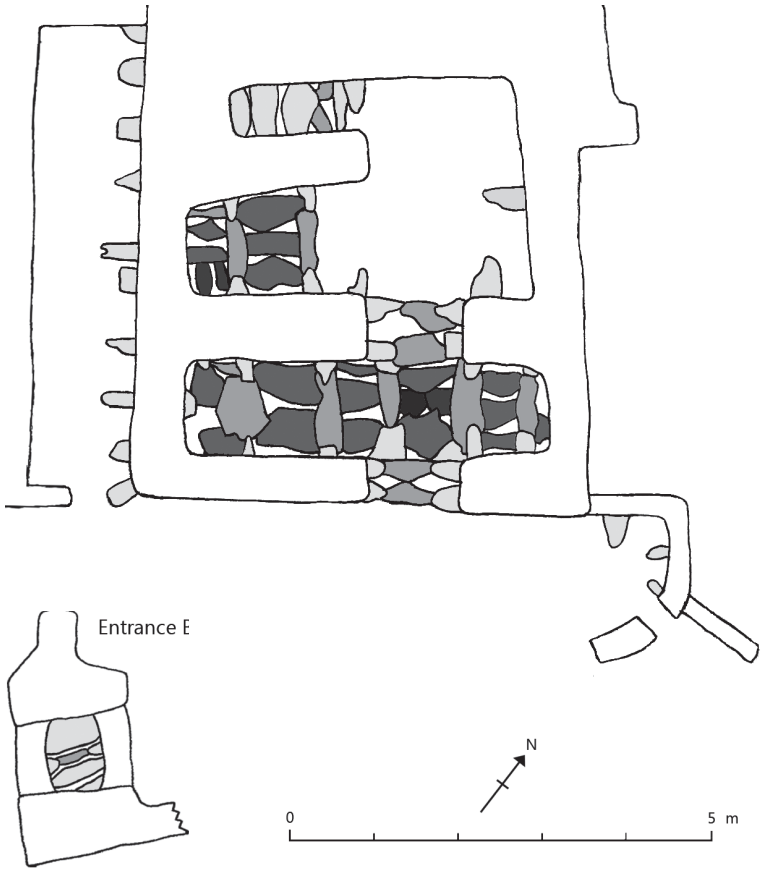
[11] For more details about the evolution of fortifications in Ladakh, see Devers 2016.

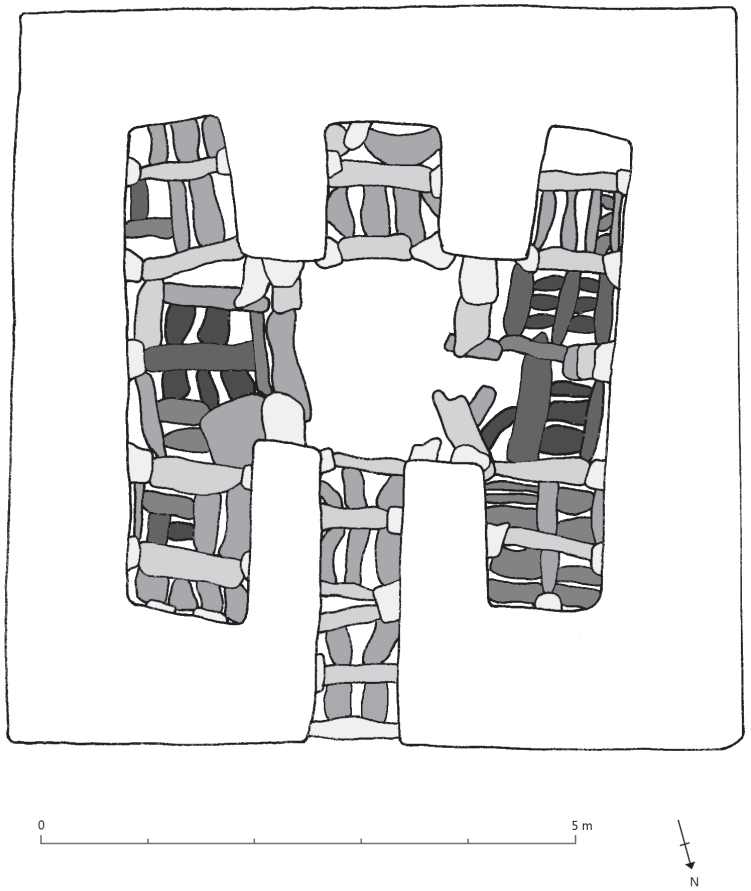
33. Plan of the stone roof of the fort: the corbels and the lintels are viewed from underneath, looking up (Q. Devers, 2012).

34. Plan of the stone roof of Kadam *mchod rten* in Stok: the corbels and the lintels are viewed from underneath, looking up. Drawn after the original floor plan made by the Tibet Heritage Fund in 2011 (Q. Devers, 2012).



35. The three structural levels of the stone roof in the fort: corbels (light grey) support lintels (mid-grey), supporting in turn another level of lintels (dark grey) (Q. Devers, 2012).



36. Stone roof in the fort (Q. Devers, 2009)

37. Small square structure at the other end of the rocky formation viewed from the north-west (Q. Devers, 2009).

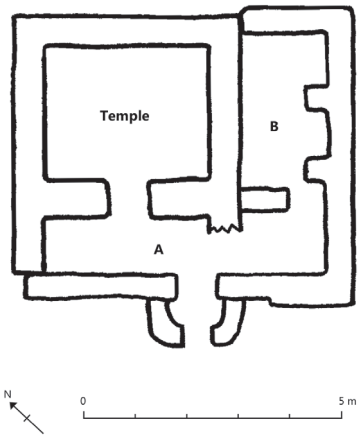
At the other end of the rocky formation on which the fort stands are the ruins of a small square structure covered with prayer flags (Fig. 37). It would be hazardous to venture the nature of this ruin. One possibility is that it was a watch post linked to the fort: as there is no view downstream from there towards Thikse and Shey it could have been an intermediary watch post as the eyes of the fort.

Down the hill, amidst the ruins of the former village there is a very weathered stela, while to the west, near the pond are four other stelae—three lie against a *maṇi* wall, one is on top of it (Fig. 38a-e; see also Fig. 3 for the location of the stelae). They are (width x height) ca. 98 x 130 cm (a), ca. 70 x 120 cm (b), ca. 68 x 113 cm (c), ca. 60 x 90 cm (d) and ca. 27 x 86cm (e).[12]

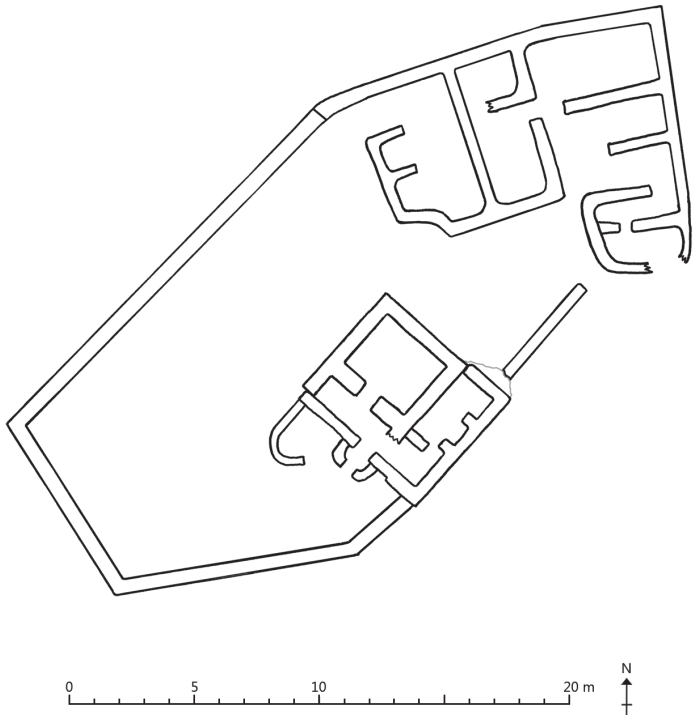
[12] The author is currently working on a comprehensive account of Ladakhi Buddhist stelae and rock reliefs with Laurianne Bruneau and Martin Vernier.

38. Stela amidst the ruins of the ancient village (a) and the three stelae against (b, c, d) and standing on (e) the *maṇi* wall (a: Q. Devers, 2012b; b, c, d, e: Q. Devers, 2009).

39. The hill temple complex from the south (Q. Devers, 2011).




40. Sketch plan of the hill temple complex (Q. Devers, 2012).




41. Plan of the hill temple (Q. Devers, 2012).

## The Hill Temple Complex

The small temple complex on the hill to the east of the main complex has so far received little attention (Fig. 39, Fig. 40). However, in my opinion it is an important site, the study of which could potentially shed exclusive new information on the history of Nyarma. The hill is covered with several structures, including a temple, a series of small rooms and several *mchod rten*.

Two to three stages can be observed in the temple (Fig. 41). The first corresponds to the construction of the temple itself. It is very small, only 2.6 x 3.2 m. The door, with a stone lintel, is also very narrow, only 80 cm wide. The walls, 2.6 m high, are of stone masonry. In a second step, a wall was built around the temple on its south-eastern and south-western sides. This creates two distinct spaces, A and B. The floor of space A is at the same level as that of the temple, while the floor of space B is one level above it. The external coat of the temple in B was either removed or never existed. Finally, in what seems to be a third step, an additional structure was built at the entrance with two walls protruding from the building, reducing the doorway to only 60 cm in width.

The sort of corridor created by space A is only about a metre wide. The corridor-like space B is slightly wider, about 1.8 m, but it features two buttresses protruding from the wall, reducing the distance to the temple to only a little over a metre. The distance between these two buttresses is 1.1 m. These lead to consider the possibility that spaces A and B were originally roofed with bridging stones, the metre being the key distance for the use of this technique in other edifices. However, no stones can be seen on the floor, so this possibility has to be treated with caution.

North of the temple are the ruins of several rooms (Fig. 42). Some parts still have the stones of their roof. The technique used is the same as that in the fort, with three levels of corbels and bridging stones (Fig. 43). The ceilings are low, only 1.2 m high. The rooms used to be coated, as can be seen in the spaces still roofed.

Several elements are surprising in this complex:

- The temple is of stone masonry while all the other temples of the main complex down below are strictly brickwork.

- The door to the temple has a stone lintel—the only temple ruin I surveyed in Ladakh that clearly has one (the only others may be Temples 2 and 3 between Nyarma and Thikse, but their lintels are not directly visible).

- The rooms behind the temple are stone-roofed.

These points raise the question of the dating of this small complex. Its overall design and the material used are radically different from what can be seen in the main complex. Instead, these create more parallels with the fort. In that way, the possibility that it could

predate the complex founded by Rinchen Zangpo has to be considered. The local tradition says that the Translator used to meditate on this hill. If there is any truth to this, could he have come to meditate in an already established Buddhist installation? The answer to this question can potentially provide important new elements in the study of Nyarma and of Buddhism in Ladakh in general.[13]

**From Nyarma to Thikse**

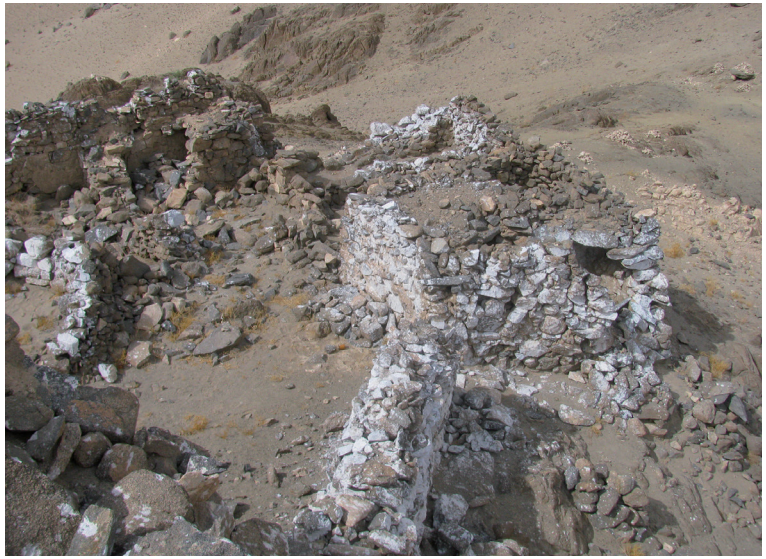
North of the rocky formation on which the fort stands, in the direction of Thikse, are several ruins of ancient temples (Fig. 3). By their proximity to the structures described so far they can be considered as being part of the archaeological environment of Nyarma. For this reason, I have chosen to include their description in this paper.

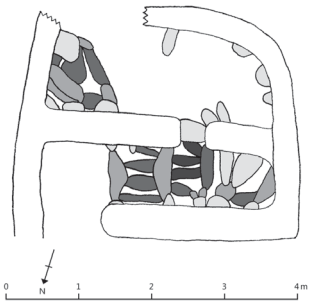
Temple 1

This stands immediately after the rocky formation (Fig. 44 and 45). Built of some of the longest bricks I have measured in Ladakh—52 x 22 x 10 cm—its walls are quite thin compared with those of the main complex: they are only one brick thick, i.e. 55 cm when adding the thickness of the mud coat.[14] They are 4.9 m high. The shape of the door jambs is not visible, both having deteriorated. The right half of the porch is marked with a line of small holes on the entrance and side wall (Fig. 44). The roof of the temple was supported by one main beam in the middle of the side walls. There are still stones in the recesses into which the timber used to fit, protecting the bricks from the pressure it created. These stones show the width of the former beam: about 50 cm. The walls do not have clear marks of stucco halos or of fixation holes.

Compared to the brick walls of the other temples described in this paper, the relative thinness of the walls of Temple 1, while there is still a 6 m span denotes a technique and custom of construction that differs from the other temples. This may be a sign that this construction is from a later period.[15]

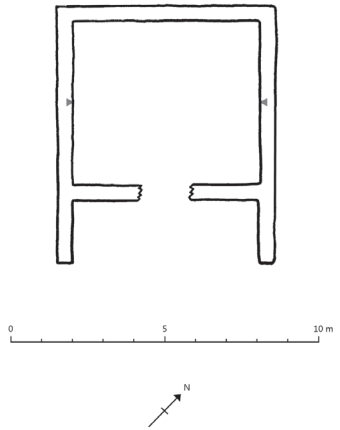
This temple is currently used to enclose Dzos (*mdzo*) when need-






42. Rooms behind the hill temple viewed from the temple (Q. Devers, 2011).

43. Plan of one of the room's stone roof: the corbels and the lintels are viewed from underneath, looking up (Q. Devers, 2012).




45. Thikse-Nyarma: Temple 1 from the south (Q. Devers, 2009).

44. Thikse-Nyarma: plan of Temple 1 (Q. Devers, 2012).

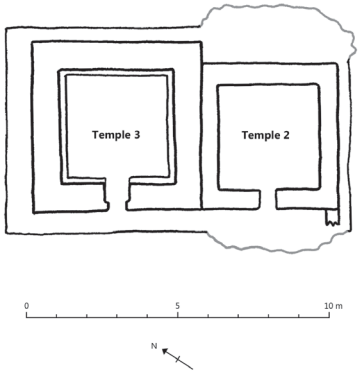
[13] Indeed, while the large corpus of Buddhist stelae and of rock carvings of *mchod rten* found throughout Ladakh point to the presence of Buddhism in Ladakh before the "Later Diffusion of Buddhism" (for an excellent summary see "Le *stūpa* au Ladakh" by Bruneau 2010: 266–286), the earliest temples known so far are only from this "Later Diffusion". It would not be a big surprise if one or more of the ruins of temples scattered across Ladakh was found to predate Rinchen Zangpo.

[14] This wall thickness is probably the reason for the unusually long bricks: indeed, the thickness of walls determines the type of bond that can be used. In this way, a wall can only be the thickness of one brick length or of one brick length plus one brick width; no in between variation is possible. As such, if the builders were intending to build a wall of this precise thickness, they had only two choices: to mould bricks the length of which was just the thickness of the wall, or to mould bricks in proportions that one length and one width would equal the thickness of the wall. In this case the former solution was chosen. Fig. 50 shows a comparison of the different walls described in this paper and their brick bonds. One can see the different bonds used according to the thicknesses of the walls. It can be noticed that when the walls are just two lengths of brick thick the builders did not know how to chain the rows of bricks together: in one case they push the bond used for thinner walls to its limits where the stretchers no longer overlap, on the other they do not even alternate them with headers—the bricks are only laid as two piles of stretchers side by side.

[15] If the categorisation of bricks mentioned in a footnote above is correct, this later dating is corroborated by the ratio between the length and the width of the bricks, which in this case is 2.3.

46. Thikse-Nyarma: Temple 2 and Temple 3 from the south-south-west (Q. Devers, 2010).

47. Thikse-Nyarma: door of Temple 2 (a) and 3 (b) (Q. Devers, 2010).




48. Thikse-Nyarma: plan of Temple 2 and Temple 3 (Q. Devers, 2012).

ed. Following the footpath to Thikse, about 300 m away, are three small painted *mchod rten*, on which Kozicz (2007c) has published.

Temples 2 and 3

About 180 m further north-west of these *mchod rten* are the ruins of two temples side by side. Built on a raised platform—1.3 m at its highest point—they are both made in stone masonry (Figs. 46 and 47).

Temple 2 is the least well preserved; its walls are falling to pieces. Due to their degradation, their thickness is now variable, from 50 cm to 70 cm, for a height of 2.2 m. Except for the front façade, the walls do not have an external mud coat. Its door is very narrow and low—only 55 cm wide and 1.15 m high. Its frame is decorated with four successive recesses, the outermost of which is T-shaped (Fig. 47[a]). Its intact mud coat conceals the material used for the lintel of the door. Only one small porch wall protrudes on the right: made of bricks, it is possibly a later addition. However, from the side one can see one long stone sticking out from the masonry to penetrate into the bricks: this may be an indication that although it is made of brick it is contemporaneous with the temple (Figs. 48 and 49).

Temple 3 is coated both inside and outside. It has the particularity of having an additional inner brick wall built against the outer stone wall. This brick wall is a later addition, as the internal coat of the stone wall shows. The inner brick-wall is only 21 cm thick, made of bricks that are 40 x 20 x 8 cm. It has the marks of the single beam that used to support the roof. The stone walls are 90 cm thick and 2.8 m high. The door is also very small, though a little bigger than that of Temple 2: it is 75 cm wide and 1.25 m high. The door frame is decorated in a similar way, with four successive recesses and a T-shaped outer one (Fig. 47[b]). Similarly, its intact coat makes it impossible to see which material has been used for the lintel.

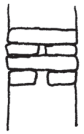
Both temples are small: their inner spaces are about 3.4 x 3.4 m. The relative chronology of these two temples is difficult to assess. One would need to see whether the right-hand wall of Temple 3, which is side by side with the left-hand wall of Temple 2, has an external coat: if it does it would mean that Temple 3 was built before Temple 2; if not then it is most likely that Temple 2 is the earliest.

Several characteristics separate these temples from the other temples presented in this paper, and more generally from the ruins of temples recorded throughout Ladakh, which are:

- The raised platform: none of the ruined temples of this area are built on one.
- The decoration of their door frame, which is not encountered elsewhere.
- The reduced size of their door.
- Their stone masonry

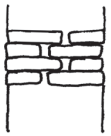
To these characteristics one can add their orientation: they face south-west, like the temple on the hill above the main complex. Instead of an absolute direction, these temples could be seen as being oriented towards the Indus river—several early temples with such orientation appear to be linked to older funerary sites (about

Thikse - Nyarma Temple 1
(55cm)

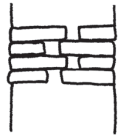


**One length of brick thick**

Temple 4 &
Enclosure
(70cm)

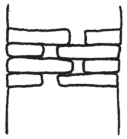


Original Temple deambulatory walls
& Space B
(75cm)

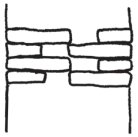


**From one length and one width of brick thick to two lengths of brick of thick**

Temple 3 side and back walls
(82cm)



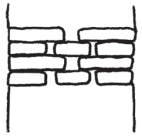
Temple 3 entrance walls
(90cm)



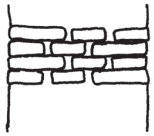
Chapel D wall 18
(90cm)

**Two lengths of brick thick**

Temple 5 &
Thikse - Nyarma Temple 4
(90cm)

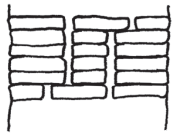


Original Temple
& Chapel C
(100cm)

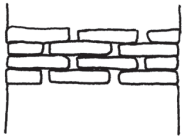


**Over two lengths of brick thick**

Chapel D wall 21
(115cm)



Temple 2
(125cm)

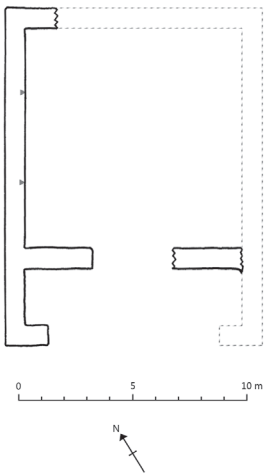


**Over two lengths and one width of brick thick**

49. Thikse-Nyarma: Temple 2 from the south-east. The porch wall in bricks can be seen on the left, with a stone in the middle that sticks out of the masonry to penetrate into it (Q. Devers, 2010).

50. Brick bonds of the profile of the walls categorised by thicknesses (Q. Devers, 2012).

51. Thikse-Nyarma: Temple 4 from the south-west (Q. Devers, 2009).




52. Thikse-Nyarma: plan of Temple 4 (Q. Devers, 2012).

the orientation of temples in Ladakh until the mid-fifteenth century, see Devers, forthcoming). Their dating would probably be a subject of interest, potentially providing complementary information on the history of the area by seeing how they are positioned chronologically in relation with the hill temple and the main complex.

Temple 4 "Kiki *lha khang*"

About a hundred metres to the north-west is the ruin of Temple 4, said to be called "Kiki *lha khang*". It is in a very bad state of conservation, with only its entrance and left walls still standing (Figs. 51 and 52). These are 90 cm thick and 5.2 m high. Their bricks are highly irregular, varying from 40 cm to 47 cm in length, with a width and a height of 26 cm and 10 cm. The door jambs are straight. The roof of the temple was supported by two beams 4 m apart, 2.8 m from the entrance and rear walls. Given its state of preservation, the holes in the walls are difficult to interpret as being fixation holes for statues or simply as normal marks of degradation. Like Temples 2 and 3, it faces south-west.

To the west, at the edge of the vegetation, there is a collapsing *mchod rten* (see also Kozicz 2007a, 2011 (Nyarma Northern Section: Stupa with the Hidden Chamber) and Devers et al. (2014). It has a constructional feature of interest to us: like Temple 3, it has an internal brick wall built against the original outer stone wall.

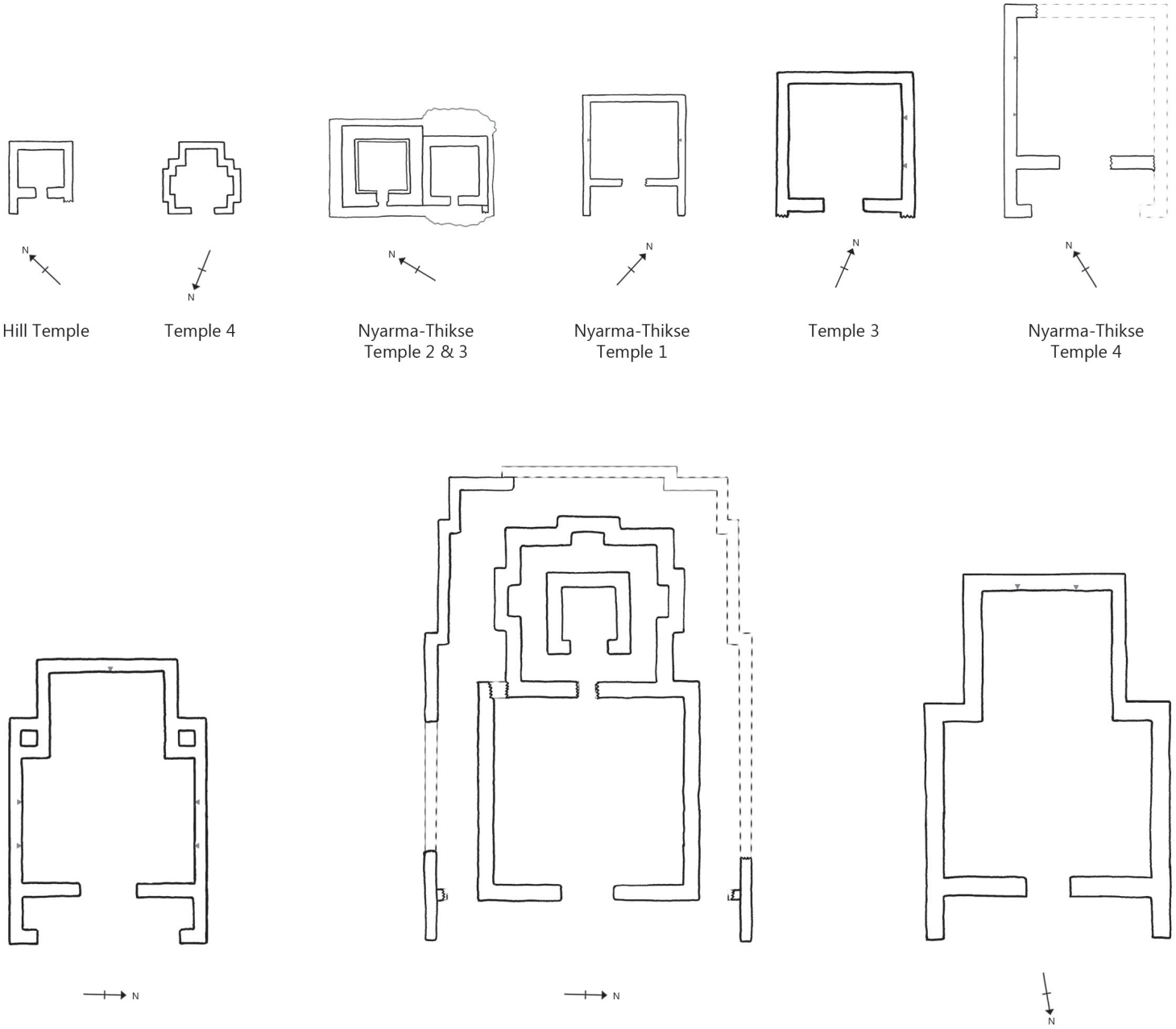
## Conclusion

Carrying archaeological work only from ground observations, without excavation, is always a difficult task. In Ladakh it is made more laborious by the absence of existing studies with dated material. Indeed, in other places archaeologists can date shards of ceramics gathered on the surface just by examining them. When they observe standing buildings, they can form a fair idea of their date through their different architectural features: the objects and structures they study fit into defined chronological frameworks. In Ladakh this is not possible: the chronological frameworks are still to be constructed.

In this study, relative chronologies between elements were established whenever possible using the methods developed by the discipline of the archaeology of buildings. However, when there are no physical contacts that make it possible to establish stratigraphical relationships, the task was to observe the characteristics and compare them in order to create groups that share similar traits. Hopefully, in the future the chronology will also be revealed when proper lab dating can be carried out.

In this process, the following groups were outlined. The oldest structure is probably the little fort, whose design evokes ancient construction customs without wood. The hill temple complex and the two small temples side by side between Nyarma and Thikse have characteristics that bring them closer to the fort than to the other temple ruins. Surprisingly, the rooms behind the hill temple are stone-roofed, while the temple combines a reduced size, stone masonry and a stone door lintel. The two small temples between Nyarma and Thikse, on their raised platform, share similar characteristics. Here we probably have a group of early Buddhist temples, possibly predating the foundation of Rinchen Zangpo—but only carbon dating can determine this. The third group is formed by the temples of the main complex, to which should be added Temple 4 between Thikse and Nyarma. Though probably all erected at different times, they are built in similar ways, with some coherent fashion as for the thicknesses of the walls in relation to their size. Finally, following this distinction, Temple 4 between Nyarma and Thikse seems to conform to a different type of construction custom, and probably belongs to a later development.

It is now to be hoped that the on-going study of the other archaeological remains of Ladakh will lead to the refining of this tentative chronology, and that series of lab datings will help to anchor it in time.




53. Comparison of the different temples (Q. Devers, 2012).

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Hubert Feiglstorfer

# The Architecture of the Buddhist Temple Complex of Nyarma

This article discusses results of studies on the architecture in Nyarma (Myar ma, Nyar ma) in Ladakh, based on field research in 2002, 2006, 2009 and 2011, including the survey of the temples of Nyarma and its remaining structures.[1] From the viewpoint of architecture and architectural history, with the site of Nyarma we are dealing with one of the key-projects of early Western Himalayan Buddhist temple architecture and with one of the earliest surviving Buddhist temple sites of historical Western Tibet (mNga' ris skor gsum).

## State of Preservation and Documentation

Nowadays, the remains of the early historical structure of the Nyarma temple site are in ruins. All the wooden parts have been removed from the site and the pure earthen adobe brick structures remain. Apart from some wooden parts in the innermost sanctum (*dri gtsang khang*) in the main temple (*gtsug lag khang*) on which a new temple (*lha khang*) was constructed as a second storey, no wooden parts are left. This building extension, initiated by the lamas of Thikse (Khri/gs rtse, Khrig se) monastery, can be related to a later addition, probably to the period after the Dōgra wars, i.e. after AD 1842.[2]

Most of the walls are in such a good condition that it was possible to make measurements and to draw plans of the whole site, including the height of some of the walls, and to make three-dimensional models of the temples. At several temples one can see the former position of main girders and in some cases even the rafters. To obtain a good picture of the architecture of Nyarma, in addition to the traditional structural recording it was helpful to use historical building research methods by reconstructing models, as well as building-materials research in identifying the materials used (see Feiglstorfer 2014). Using a horizontal level along the walls facilitated the study of the different levels, and in a further step the examination of the three-dimensional concept of the temples.

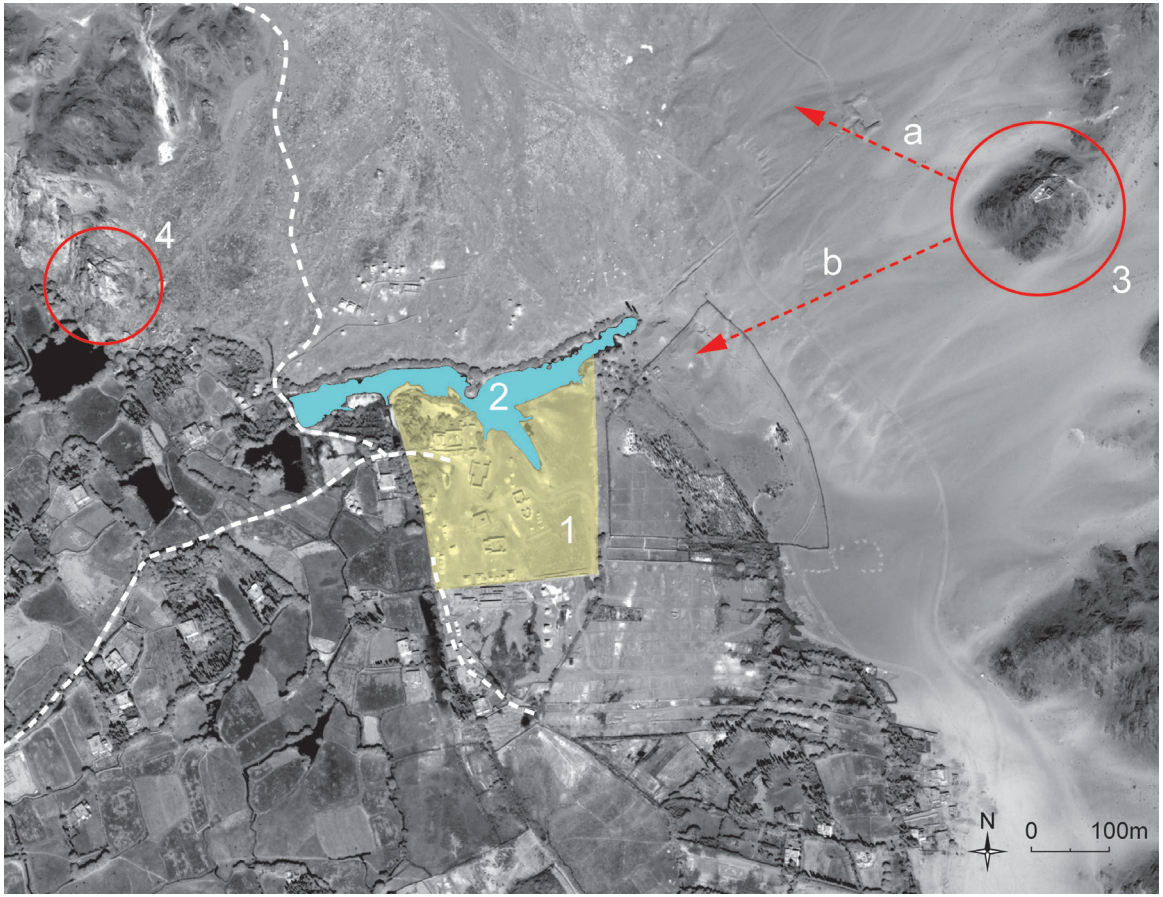
As this study of Nyarma would not be complete without a comparison of architectural data from other early temple structures of the early Western Himalayan period of temple building, a comparative study with these early structures became inevitable. As the *gtsug lag khang* of Nyarma belongs to the earliest period of the West Tibetan kingdom, a comparative study provides the answer to the question of the extent to which this temple has architectonic parallels to other sacred structures of the early period and how far it belongs to a superordinate architectural concept.

## The Temple Site: Location of the Temples

The Buddhist temple complex is located on a plain. A range of hills rises to the east and the north side is flanked by a few rocky hills. Close to the *gtsug lag khang*, to the east and to the north a lake, which is nowadays surrounded by willows, adjoins the temple area (Fig. 1). To the west, the temple area is connected by a dirt road to the metalled Leh-Hemis road. Several individual *chörten* (*mchod rten*) as

[1] The research in Central Tibet and in Khorchag in February/March 2010 as well as the research in 2011 in Ladakh was funded by the FWF research project P21806-G19 "Society, Power and Religion in Pre-Modern Tibet". Christian Jahoda and Christiane Kalantari provided field documentation, in particular selected additional measurements of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* from their field trip to Ladakh in July 2009 and of the temples in Tabo from their expedition in September/October 2009, also funded by the FWF Project P21806-G19.

[2] See Jahoda, "Joseph Thsertan Gergan's report on Nyarma, 1917", this volume, p. 175.




1. Satellite view of Nyarma temple site and its environment (Sept. 9, 2006, Earth Data Analysis Center, University of Mexico, Albuquerque). Satellite image (courtesy of FWF research project P21806-G19, drawing: H. Feiglstorfer, 2012). (1) Nyarma temple site, (2) lake, (3) hermitage (*dben sa*), (4) fortress and *lha tho* (shrine of local deity); (a) view towards Thikse, (b) view onto the temple site; (dashed line) routes linking the temple site to its environment.

well as groups of *mchod rten* accompany the footpaths connecting the sacred site or *chos skor*[3] with particular surrounding areas.

To the north a footpath leads along the uneven, arid plain from the monastery of Thikse towards the *chos skor* of Nyarma about 2.5 kilometres away. Today this path is a part of the outermost circumambulation path or *gling skor*, which defines a wider sacred space including the Nyarma *chos skor* as the southern extension and Thikse monastery as the northern one. The importance of the element water in relation to this sacred area is emphasised by the fact that not only is the lake to the north and north west of the *chos skor* part of this pilgrim's path but so is the stream to the west, which a section of the Leh-Hemis road follows, and which is involved in the ambulatory area (Fig. 2). The *gling skor* is accompanied by several stone reliefs. A single stone relief (see Fig. 2: Sr1) is located along the stream in the western section of the *gling skor* (Fig. 3). The first part of the *gling skor*, after passing the temple site, leads north, passes a trio of stone reliefs which are placed alongside each other facing south. These are located at the intersection of several paths just beside the lakes at the crossing of the footpaths passing one of the lakes towards the west when following the *gling skor*. Passing these stone reliefs northwards a path leads to the fortress on top of a rocky hill. Before reaching the hill another path leads east towards a Rigsum Gönpo (*rigs gsum mgon po*) represented by three coloured *chörten*,[4] to the cemetery and further on links with the *nang skor* to the south (see Fig. 2: Sr3).

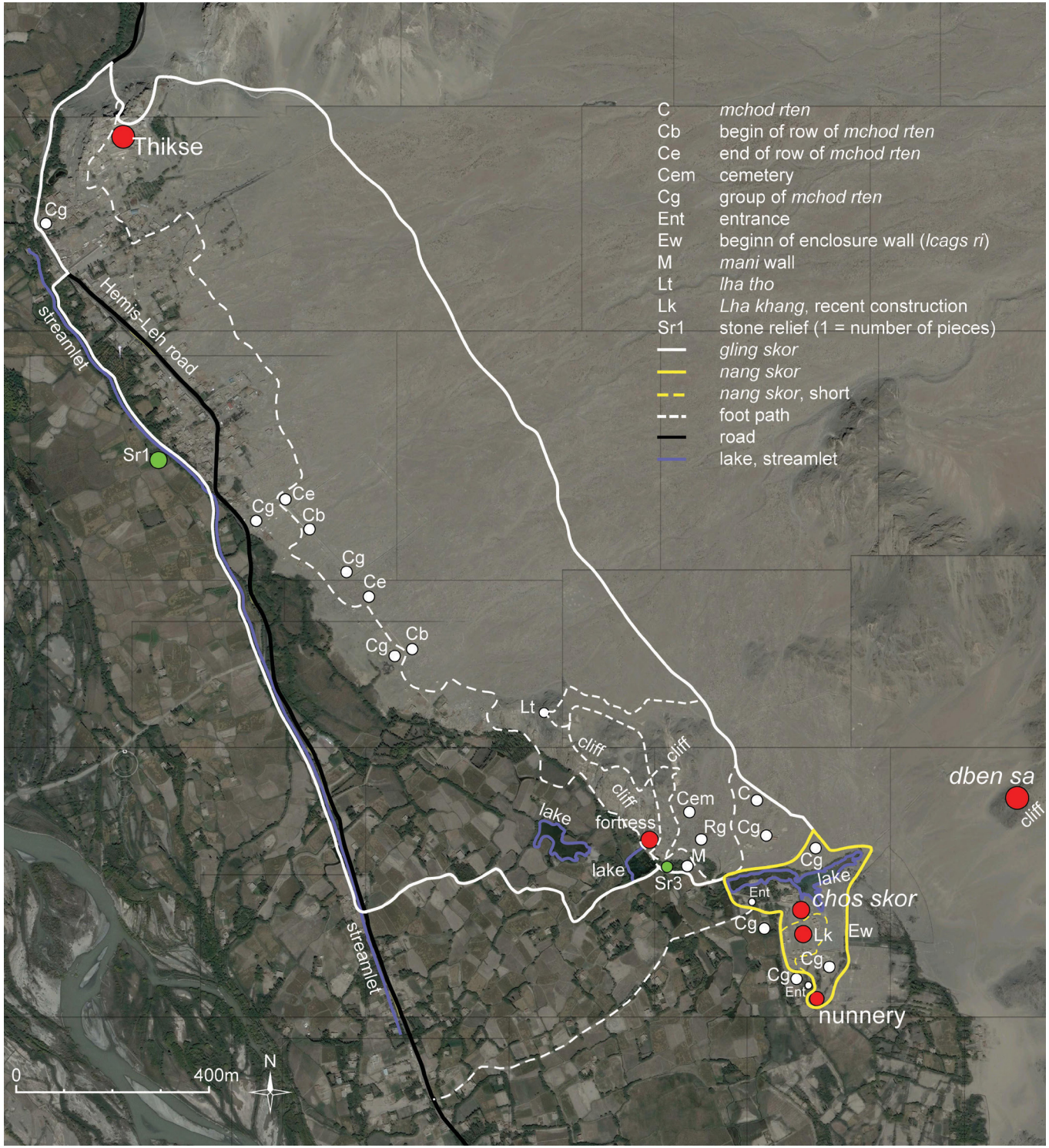
To the east, approximately 580 metres from the *gtsug lag khang*, a hermitage was built on the slopes of the range of hills. About 64° to the north-west of the *gtsug lag khang*, about 360 metres away, the ruins of a fortress with a crowning *lha tho* top a rocky hill with a *rigs gsum mgon po* at its foot. These elements are also part of pilgrims' ritual paths, such as the fortress by the *gling skor* and the *rigs gsum mgon po* by the *nang skor*.

To the south of the temple area a path accompanied by a row of *mchod rten* connects with some village houses merging into a plain of fields. The position of the various groups of *mchod rten*—i.e. to the north and west of the lake and to the west and south of the *gtsug lag khang* and at the site of the hermitage to the east—define the temple site and particularly the main temple in their cardinal intersections as their geometrical centre.

The core of this archaeological site consists of a temple complex which to facilitate further studies can be divided into five structures, which will be mentioned in the following text as the *gtsug lag khang* (temple I), the *lha khang* to the south of the *gtsug lag khang* (temple II), the square *lha khang* (temple IIIa), opposite a *maṇḍala*-shaped *lha khang* (temple IIIb), the *lha khang* containing a broken *mchod rten* in its *dri gtsang khang* (temple IV) and the temple-*mchod rten*, which can be entered from the east, in the shape of a *mchod rten* (temple V) (see Fig. 4). As well as these temple structures we find several *mchod rten* inside the remaining parts of the enclosure walls as well as outside the wall and across the lake. In this description temple III was divided into two parts, IIIa and IIIb, as it was mentioned as one temple in the text by Gergan (see Jahoda, "Joseph Thsertan Gergan's report on Nyarma, 1917", this volume, p. 178, and Fig. 18, p. 188).

[3] See also Feiglstorfer 2011a I: 158–168 for a discussion of the term *chos skor* (or *dharmacakra*) with respect to Nyarma and other early monastic foundations in Ladakh as well as in Central and Western Tibet.

[4] The name of this "protective *chörten*-triad" (cf. Gutschow and Ramble 2003: 146) can be explained by the association with the Lords of the Three Families (*rigs gsum mgon po*).




2. Nyarma *gling skor* and *nang skor* (satellite image: Google Earth, drawing: H. Feiglstorfer, 2012). The *gling skor* (white line) surrounding among others the Nyarma *chos skor* and Thikse monastery as well as lakes and a stream, the fortress, *lha tho* (La), 108 *mchod rten* walls, single *mchod rten* (C) and *mchod rten* groups (Cg) and stone reliefs (Sr) as part of the outer circumambulation path. Today mainly two different *nang skor* (or inner circumambulation) paths are known by pilgrims: The outer one (yellow line) encloses the *chos skor* as well as its enclosure wall to the east, the nunnery to the south, the new temple and the historic temple site in the centre and the lake to the north. The inner path for circumambulation or *skor lam* (dashed yellow line) is primarily focused on the circumambulation of the new temple (Lk).

3. Stone relief by the stream, as a part of the Nyarma *gling skor* (H. Feiglstorfer, 2011).

4. Nyarma temple site overview Picture taken on the way to the hermitage (*dben sa*). (I) *gtsug lag khang*, (II – IV) unnamed *lha khang*, (V) temple-*mchod rten* (H. Feiglstorfer, 2006).

**The Temple Site: Orientation of the Temples**

As one can see from the following, the orientation of these six structures does not follow an immediately clearly readable concept: based on a satellite image (Fig. 1), a site plan of Nyarma (Fig. 5) shows that the *gtsug lag khang* faces east with a deviation to the north of about four degrees. Temple II faces about 13 degrees north-east, temple IIIa about 25 degrees north-west, temple IIIb about 19 to 20 degrees north-west and temple IV, similar to the *gtsug lag khang,* faces east with a northward deviation of about 3 degrees. Temple V faces east with a deviation to the north of about 16 degrees. According to these different orientations, the *gtsug lag khang* and temple IV can approximately be described as east-west-facing temples. All the other temples mentioned clearly differ from the east-west orientation to a varying extent.

In contrast to the temple sites in Tabo, in Alchi (A lci) or in Khorchag ('Khor chags, Kho char, etc.) these buildings in Nyarma do not follow a more or less common orientation. In Alchi, for example, the entrances to all the temples face approximately in the same south-easterly direction, in Tabo towards the east and in Khorchag towards the cardinal directions north and east. Even in Tholing (Tho gling, Tho lding, etc.) the orientation of the single temple structures follows the pattern of the *gtsug lag khang*.

Interestingly in Nyarma, the entrance to temple II faces the entrance of the *gtsug lag khang*, similarly still facing the lake. The IIIa and IIIb structures form a common and approximately square inter-space; facing each other and away from the lake their common axis approximately intersects with that of temple II at the intersection point of the longitudinal axis of the *gtsug lag khang*.[5] This intersection point is located in the area of the entrance of the *gtsug lag khang*, thus linking the entrance areas of the *gtsug lag khang*, temple II and temples IIIa and IIIb. In this respect the orientation of these temples would determine a geometrical connection between them and explain their supposedly unorganised position.

**The Enclosure Wall (*lcags ri*)**

The five temples, which are equal to the six structures mentioned, are partially enclosed by a wall which may previously have surrounded the whole temple area. Today this wall is reduced to fragments at the eastern and southern end of the temple site. In the Western Tibetan region, enclosure walls can be found around *gtsug lag khang* of the early building phase, i.e. late 10th and 11th century.[6] These sites are Tholing, Nyarma, Khorchag, Tabo and Alchi. Conceivably they follow Central Tibetan monastic examples such as Samye (bSam yas)[7] (founded in AD 767, completed AD 779)[8] with a *lcags ri* (*cakravāda*) as a part of the whole architectural concept, which was part of the original master plan of the whole monastic site.[9] None of the dates

5 See Feiglstorfer 2011a II: 239, plan 41 for a drawing, based on a satellite image that shows that the axes of the temples II, IIIa and IIIb and of the *gtsug lag khang*, not precisely, but approximately intersect in the area in front of the '*du khang*.

6 At later monastic sites in Western Tibet such kinds of *lcags ri* are not known.

7 See Feiglstorfer 2011a II: 216, plan 2 and Feiglstorfer (2014 a) for a proportional analysis of the layout of Samye based on a satellite image. Compare also Mémet 1988: 32. Today the shape of the enclosure wall is of the form of a square with rounded edges. Reconstructing today's wall as a circle, its diameter would be five times the length of the central proportional unit (modulus), the size of one modulus being defined by the size of the dBu rtse temple. The idea of the enclosure wall as a part of a superordinate religious concept becomes a part of this concept in a geometrical and proportional sense. Furthermore, all the structures that appear within the enclosure wall as a part of the original ensemble are related to a common geometrical concept.

8 Data according to Vitali 1996: 199, n. 285. Vitali gives the year of foundation as AD 767 as the latest option.

9 The introducing of the idea of the *cakravāḍa* into the geometric concept of a whole monastic site can be found at sacred structures in South-East Asian areas of a similar period to the one of Samye, exemplarily at the *candi* Sewu in Central Java and at the Somapura *vihāra* at Pāhārpur in East India (see Feiglstorfer 2013). In a West Tibetan context, Goepper mentions "a wall of dried bricks" once probably protecting the whole area of the Alchi *chos 'khor* (Goepper 1996: 21; see also Goepper 1993: 111). It cannot be excluded that

of origin of these West Tibetan enclosure walls are documented. A closer look at the plans of Alchi *chos skor* drawn by Khosla shows that in the 1970s the western section of the enclosure wall existing today was not entirely part of the original structure (Khosla 1979: plate 8). His plan of the whole compound primarily shows the wall enclosing the temple compound up to the So ma *lha khang* ("New Temple"). In his description he mentions this part of the wall as being more rectilinear and better preserved, whereas he describes the western part along the houses as an informal continuous semi-ruin without any rectilinearity. He describes this part as a kind of "village boundary" (Khosla 1979: 55). Referring to a satellite image of Alchi,[10] it has to be said that the part given by Khosla as rectilinear does not approach a right angle either.

This would confirm the above-mentioned proposal by Goepper (1996: 21) that the *cakravāḍa-parvata* only encircles the main temple halls. Parts of this former and probably original construction of this enclosure wall surrounding the 'Du khang, the oldest structure of this temple site, can today be seen to the east of the compound, with the surmounting *mchod rten* referring to the idea of a 108-*mchod rten* wall (Feiglstorfer 2011a II: 19, fig. 39). The plan of the *chos skor* given by Huntington agrees with this statement, as she marks the eastern section of the enclosure wall as "old wall" *(*Huntington 1985: 379*)*, similar to the description given by Linrothe (1999: 23).

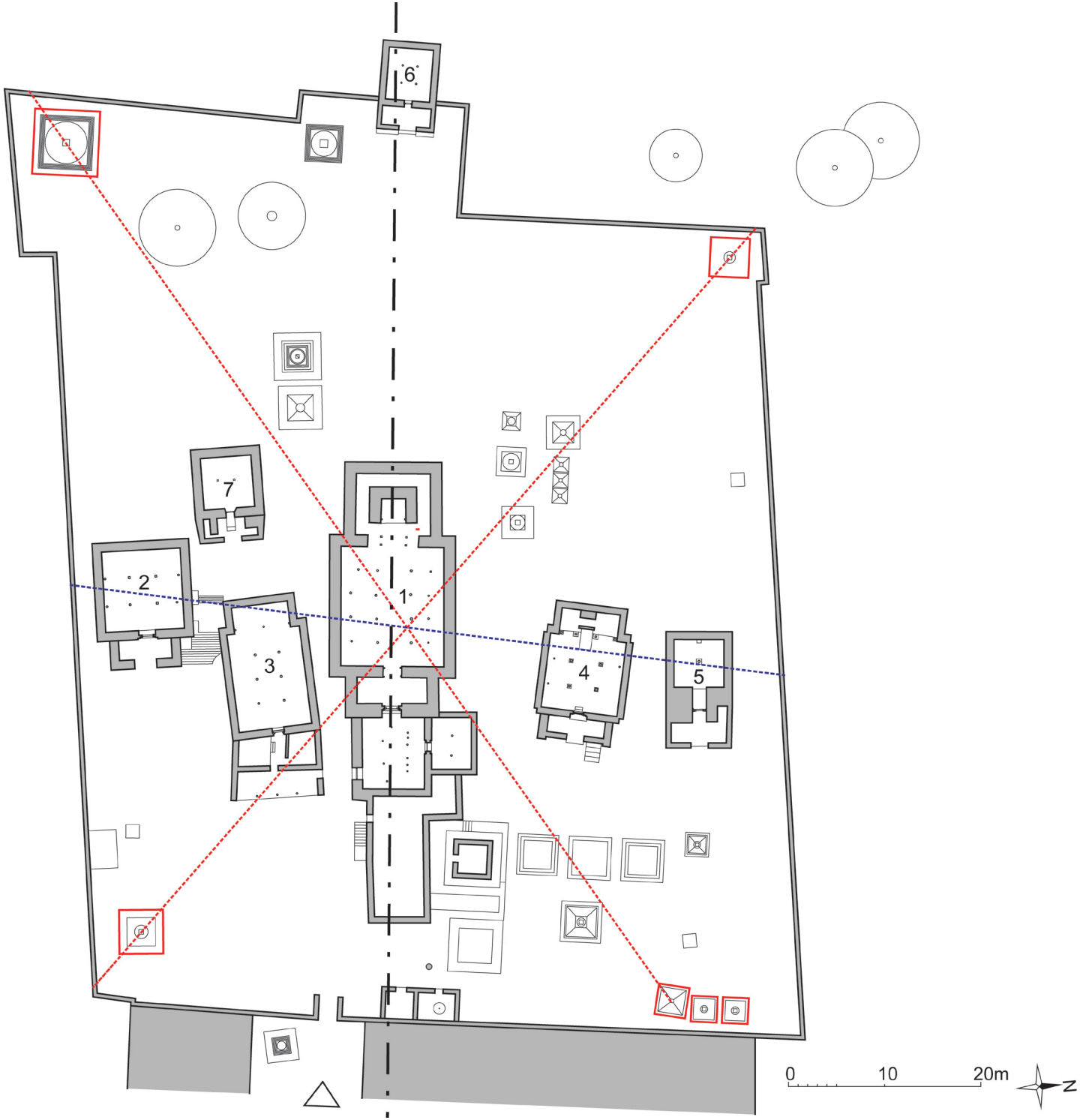
In Khorchag, the erection of the enclosure wall that exists today was initiated a few years ago. Based on an interview with a local lama, we can redraw the approximate plan of the previous outer boundary of the outer circumambulation path or *phyi skor* surrounding the Jo khang and the lHa khang chen mo (also referred to as brGya rtsa) temples. This boundary was partially built as a wall and largely formed by the facades of the adjoining houses of the local village people.[11] This kind of an occupied enclosure wall is comparable to the dwelling houses, bordering the *bar skor* around the Jo khang in Lhasa. In Khorchag none of these adjoining housing structures survived. A historical text—*Jo bo dngul sku mched gsum dkar chag* by Wa gindra karma (1996: 34)—mentions the restoration of the boundary wall (*lcags ri*) in the early 16th century. According to this text an enclosure wall existed at that time.

5. Nyarma site plan. (I) *gtsug lag khang*, (II–IV) unnamed *lha khang*, (V) temple-*mchod rten*, (a) enclosure wall (H. Feiglstorfer, 2012)

the *cakravāḍa-parvata* only encircled the main temple halls in Alchi, as stated by Goepper (1996: 21). The idea of the *lcags ri* probably follows a cosmological concept elaborated in the *Abhidharmakośa* by Vasubandhu. This seems to have also formed the reference basis for Giuseppe Tucci's comment that "bSam yas was intentionally built to be a reflex and a synthesis of the universe itself. It was surrounded by a wall, the Cakravāla, the girdle of mountains that surrounds the universe" (Tucci 1956: 280). Compare also Feiglstorfer 2011a II: 63, sketch 1, where two interpretations of the Buddhist cosmos after the *Abhidharmakośa* based on Brauen 1997: 31 and Sadakata 1997: 27 are juxtaposed. Brauen mentions the surrounding wall as a symbol of the iron mountain that fences off a world system. Sadakata calls the circular range of iron mountains *cakravāḍa*.

[10] Satellite image of Alchi (July 25, 2010; Earth Data Analysis Center, University of Mexico, Albuquerque) (FWF research project P21806-G19).

[11] Part of the enclosing housing structure can be seen on a black-and-white image in Sherring 1906: 206. See also Feiglstorfer 2011a II: 52, plan 54. Plan 46 (*ibid.*: 203) shows these bordering structures as part of the whole sacred site as a reconstruction in a chronological sequence.




6. Tabo temple site plan (H. Feiglstorfer, 2012). The orientation of the structures is based on a satellite image (Sept. 22, 2009, Earth Data Analysis Center, University of Mexico, Albuquerque) provided by the FWF research project P21806-G19. The four-cornered *mchod rten* mark the vertices of the site, probably close to the original structure. The lines connecting the centres of these *mchod rten* intersect in the area of the *'du khang* of the *gtsug lag khang* (1), possibly planned as the site's geometrical centre. The course of the enclosure wall follows the position of these corner *mchod rten*. The position of the gSer khang (2), the 'Brom ston *lha khang* (3), the Byams pa *lha khang* (4) and the 'Brom ston *lha khang chung ba* (5) roughly follows the north-south axis. The dKar chung *lha khang* (6) is located on the western end of the east-west axis, the longitudinal axis through the *gtsug lag khang*. The dKyil khang (7) does not follow this obvious geometry as it is located at the rear side of the gSer khang and the 'Brom ston *lha khang*.

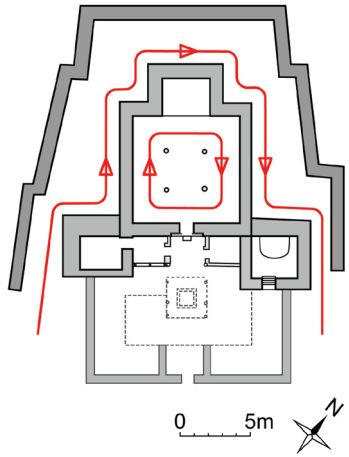
Neither in Tabo nor in Tholing is there any archaeological evidence of the foundation of the enclosure wall being of the same period as the foundation of the original structure of the respective *gtsug lag khang*. The enclosure wall in Tholing follows the orientation of the temples, like the *gtsug lag khang* as the earliest structure founded in 996, and the orientation of the 'Du khang or the lHa khang dkar po ("White Temple") as later additions. It seems to have been built according to the spatial conditions given by the temples inside the temple enclosure.

A somewhat different situation to the one in Tholing can be found with the enclosure wall at Tabo. The ground plan of this wall shows a geometric regularity that is not of a rectangular shape but more like a parallelogram (Fig. 7). The course of the eastern as well as of the western section of the wall faces rather exactly north-east. Unlike these, the northern and southern sections of the wall diverge at about the same angle from the right angle to the western and the eastern sections of the wall. It seems likely that the position of these non-orthogonal walls was forced by the corner *mchod rten*, which may have been part of the original structure, similar to the layout of the four surrounding *mchod rten* located on the inter-cardinal lines meeting in the centre of the main temple in Samye and in Tholing. In each case the course of the wall was determined according to their position.

According to these temple sites, which still show the existence of a *lcags ri*, as well as their different appearance there are also several similarities, but not necessarily general features. The course of the walls at Tabo and at Nyarma follows a regular geometry. At Alchi, the 'Du khang can be described as the ideal and historical centre of the ensemble of temple structures but it is not located in the geometrical centre of the whole compound (Feiglstorfer 2011a II: 53, plan 55).

As can be seen from the site plan (Fig. 6), the position of the walls of Tabo define the *gtsug lag khang* as the geometric centre, which is not the case at Nyarma (see Fig. 5). According to Nyarma's appearance today, its location is defined by the lake to the north, which is a unique feature among the early temples mentioned. In Nyarma there is no specific definition of the geometric centre.

Panglung (1995: 283) cites a description of Thikse monastery by dKa' chen Blo bzang bzod pa, who refers to the enclosure wall in his brief biography of the Great Translator Rin chen bzan po as follows: "The length of the enclosure walls measured on each side 250 *gom pa* with a width of 1.5 *lag khru* and a height of a little bit more than 8 *lag khru*."[12] Converting 250 *gom pa* gives about 155 metres, by converting one *gom pa* ("Schrittlänge", one pace) as 62 centimetres. The length of the remaining enclosure wall, observed on the satellite image (cf. Fig. 8), is about 159 metres. An interesting aspect seems to be his mention of the length of the "main temple" ("Haupttempel", *lha khang che ba*) as 25 *gom pa*, which means a tenth of the length of the enclosure wall, which would further mean that the measuring of the enclosure wall could have taken place in relation to the size of the main temple. In his text he does not mention a number of walls nor whether they were at right angles to each other. Nevertheless, his description mentions a regular but not necessarily orthogonal shape of the enclosure walls.




7. Alchi *nang skor*
(drawing: H. Feiglstorfer, 2012).
(Dark grey hatch:) Probably the original course of the enclosure wall related to the 'Du khang; (light grey hatch:) 'Du khang walls; (light grey lines:) fore court in a simplified and orthogonalised design in front of the entrance to the 'Du khang, probably being of a later phase (cf. Luczanits and Neuwirth 2010: 81 and 82).

8. Nyarma enclosure wall, lineament analysis.
Satellite image: detail of Fig. 1
(drawing: H. Feiglstorfer, 2012).

[12] "Die Umfassungsmauer maß an den Seitenlängen jeweils 250 *gom pa*, ihre Stärke betrug 1,5 *lag khru* und ihre Höhe etwas mehr als 8 *lag khru*." (Panglung 1995: 283).

9. Nyarma *dben sa*. View from the gate of the *gtsug lag khang*, located at its eastern side (H. Feiglstorfer, 2006).

When we compare the remaining parts of the former enclosure wall of Nyarma and put them together on the satellite image we get the two sides of an approximate square (Fig. 8). A lineament analysis of the satellite image of the area of the possible former location of the site of the western section of the wall shows a dividing line between the sandy zone of the temple area and a bushy area on the other side of this dividing line.[13] If we position a wall on this dividing line it would form the third side of this approximately square area of the temple site. Interestingly we do not find a lineament of this kind to the north of the site. On the satellite image, this northern side has much more natural shape, which would coincide with the theory that the northern boundary was formed naturally by the lake.

In the temples from the early phase in the West Tibetan region, we can distinguish between two different kinds of temple enclosure walls. The first is the enclosure of a whole temple complex consisting of different and architecturally separate temple structures as mentioned above. These sites are partially or completely surrounded by an enclosure wall. The second kind of a free-standing temple enclosure can be found at only two sites, namely at Nyarma, surrounding the *gtsug lag khang*, and at Alchi, surrounding the 'Du khang.[14]

Like the one in Nyarma the course of this inner enclosure wall in Alchi is adapted to the course of the outer wall of the temple structure (Fig. 7). Both of these enclosure walls are only partially preserved but can largely be reconstructed. A difference in their course is that the enclosure wall in Nyarma runs parallel to the outer shape of the temple walls while the enclosure wall in Alchi continuously diverges from the wall. Since the ambulatory path of the Alchi 'Du khang was closed by adding further constructions, it can no longer be used in its original form. Thus originally this wall can only be supposed to have been an outer border of an ambulation path. Regarding the relation between the wall and its bordering of an adjoining *skor lam* or "pilgrimage way" as described by Gergan,[15] one can presume that the enclosure wall in Alchi fulfilled a similar function. The course of the enclosure wall in Nyarma is more accurate than the one in Alchi and thus its geometric affiliation to the common structure of the *gtsug lag khang* of Nyarma is more obvious.

### The Proximity: A Hermitage (*dben sa*)

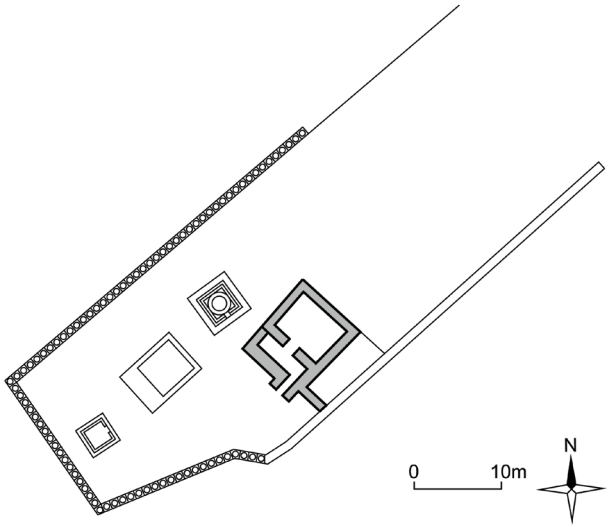
Outside this enclosure wall, especially towards the north, the south and the west, we find various sizes of *mchod rten* scattered over the plain. Towards the east, in the extension of the east-west-axis of the *gtsug lag khang* on the slope of the above-mentioned hill range, there is a hermitage (Fig. 9). It faces about 20 degrees north from the east-west-axis of the *gtsug lag khang*. From the hermitage the whole site of the temples of Nyarma as well as the monastery of Thikse are clearly visible. The enclosure itself can be seen from inside the assembly hall (*'du khang*) of the *gtsug lag khang* through the eastern gate (see Fig. 1: 3b). This small area of about 30 by 15 metres includes two chambers[16] and a row of three *mchod rten*, positioned approximately along one line with an orientation of about 50 degrees to the east (Fig. 11). This site opens towards the east onto the slope

[13] Discussed by Feiglstorfer as part of a joint presentation with Jahoda at the 20th EASAA conference, Vienna, 2010 (Jahoda and Feiglstorfer 2010).

[14] The remains of the enclosure wall flanking the 'Du khang at its lateral and rear side "can be interpreted as fragments of an original ambulatory" (Luczanits and Neuwirth 2010: 80). Compare also Kozicz 2007a: 26, fig. 14.

[15] See Jahoda, "Joseph Thsertan Gergan's report on Nyarma, 1917", this volume, pp. 177–178.

[16] Gergan mentions three chambers ("very small hermitages") surrounding the *dben sa* in his report. See Jahoda, "Joseph Thsertan Gergan's report on Nyarma, 1917", this volume, pp. 183–184.




10. Nyarma *dben sa*.
Picture taken towards the west. Behind the left *mchod rten* the 108-*stūpa* wall is visible. The *gtsug lag khang* of the Nyarma temple site can be seen in the far background (H. Feiglstorfer, 2006).

11. Nyarma *dben sa*.
Ground plan (H. Feiglstorfer, 2012).

of the hill and is closed on the other three sides by a 108-*stūpa* wall roughly constructed of stones (Fig. 10). According to Gergan's records, it is said that in ancient times there was a spring close to this hermitage, which in his time flowed through the village of Nang and was said to be called Murtsemig.[17] Today there is no evidence of a spring in the surroundings of this site. Giving credit to this legend, would mean that unlike the situation today this area around the temples of Nyarma had abundant water.

**The *gtsug lag khang***

As the largest structure in the temple area of Nyarma the *gtsug lag khang* opens towards the lake shore to the east. The whole structure is embedded in a plain, which slopes down slightly into the lake on the eastern side (see Fig. 1 and Fig. 12). The *gtsug lag khang* can be described as an assembly of different parts which could have been built consecutively although the basic design of the core structure seems to be of a common geometrical and proportional system, potentially related to a superordinate proportional concept as discussed by Kozicz (2007b, 2009 and 2010). Even without clarity on this question, we can identify the chronology of the construction sequence of the development of the different parts of the whole *gtsug lag khang* (Fig. 13).

A geometrical analysis of the whole structure of the *gtsug lag khang* (see below, Fig. 51, p. 253; cf. also Feiglstorfer 2011a II: 105, plan 35, and 108, plan 39) shows that the starting point for the construction must have been its central core, the *dri gtsang khang*. Based on this geometrical and constructive centre, the various segments of the compound were erected consecutively, each depending on the position of the previous segment. According to the chronological sequence of the erection of this spatial order, the several layers of the *gtsug lag khang*, from the centre outwards, can be given as follows: *dri gtsang khang*, *nang skor* as the *skor lam* around the *dri gtsang khang*, the *'du khang*, the *skor lam* around the *'du khang* and the adjoining open *skor lam* around the *dri gtsang khang* and the courtyard to the east of the central hall flanked by two *lha khang* (Fig. 13).

**The *dri gtsang khang***

The spatial centre of the *gtsug lag khang* is the *dri gtsang khang* together with the surrounding ambulatory. Because of its niches, which are located as projections along the outer wall, this ambulatory is of a cruciform shape. Based on what was said above, we can proceed on the assumption that this central structure originally formed the first part of the whole. It cannot be said definitely whether this central core was built as an independent structure in the first phase and was later extended to the east with the *'du khang* or whether they were planned and built as a consistent concept at one time.

According to the superordinate geometrical concept it was planned as a proportionally interrelated structure, based on a master plan. Nonetheless, concerning the formally solitary appearance of the structure of the *dri gtsang khang* together with its surrounding ambulatory corridor, this part of the building appears as an autonomous structure. The narrow entrance from the *'du khang* into the *nang skor* of approximately 120 cm, a symmetrical ordering of the two

[17] See Jahoda, "Joseph Thsertan Gergan's report on Nyarma, 1917", this volume, p. 184.

12. Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*. Wide-angle photo with three pictures joined together. (Picture left and centre:) *gtsug lag khang*; (picture right foreground:) edge of temple II; (picture right background:) mountain ridge with *dben sa* on top of a rocky elevation; (picture right centre:) the lake; (picture far left:) road linking the temple site with the Leh-Hemis road (H. Feiglstorfer, 2011).

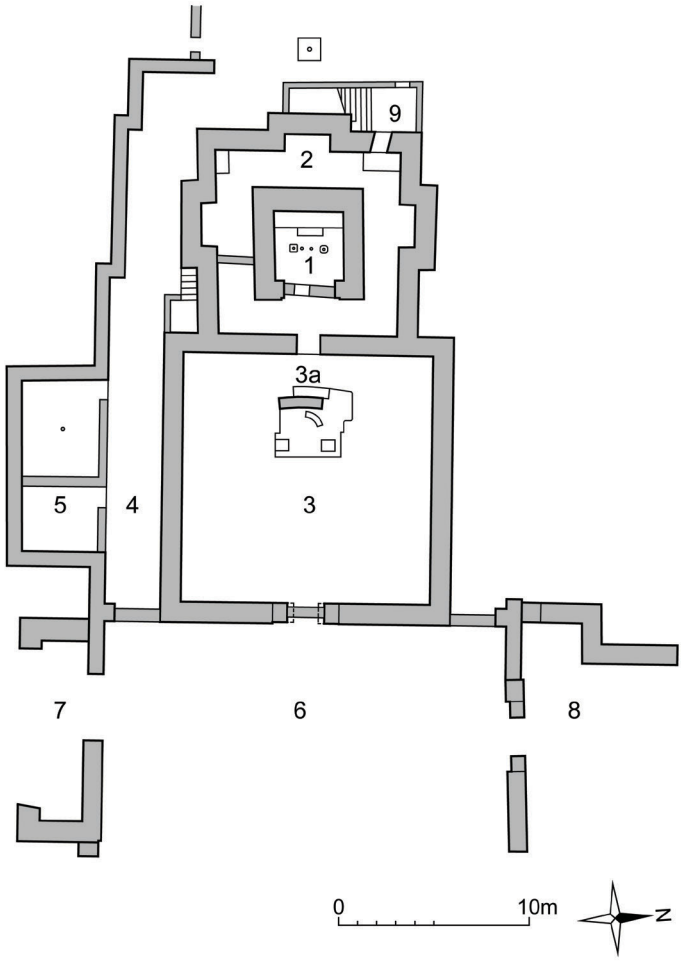
side walls—given that only one can be clearly reconstructed—emphasises this theory. The level of the *nang skor* is raised to the level of the *'du khang* in a way that suggests there must once have been a staircase here. Regarding the left junction of the *'du khang* wall with the *nang skor* wall, which is in such a state of ruin that we can observe the effective bond, we find that the bricks of these walls are weak or partially without bonds. These parameters give the whole constructive body of the enclosed *nang skor* a separate and independent appearance. In this respect the *dri tsang khang* together with the enclosed *nang skor* may also have existed independently of the other parts of the *gtsug lag khang*, similar to one-cella temples with a surrounding ambulatory, such as the Mirkulā Devī temple at Udaipur (Fig. 15) or the Lotsāba *lha khang* at Ribba in Kinnaur (Khu nu).

A feature that emphasises this appearance and thus separates it clearly from the formal organisation of the *dri gtsang khang* in Tabo is the laterally exposed brickwork in the entrance zone into the *dri gtsang khang*. These laterals do not exclude the possibility that there was previously a door here (Fig. 13). In contrast, in Tabo the *dri gtsang khang* was built with a U-shape, completely open along the whole width of the *dri gtsang khang* towards the surrounding ambulatory. With this open connection between the *dri gtsang khang* and the ambulatory in front, a door would not be conceivable. Together with the Tholing *gtsug lag khang* (Khang dmar dpe med lhun gyi grub pa'i gtsug lag khang), these three temples are the only known West Tibetan temples with a *dri gtsang khang* as a cell. The West Tibetan successors such as the 'Du khang in Alchi and later temples have a reduced version of this central cell in the form of a niche or no spatial extension at all, like many of the later Tibetan and north Indian temples.

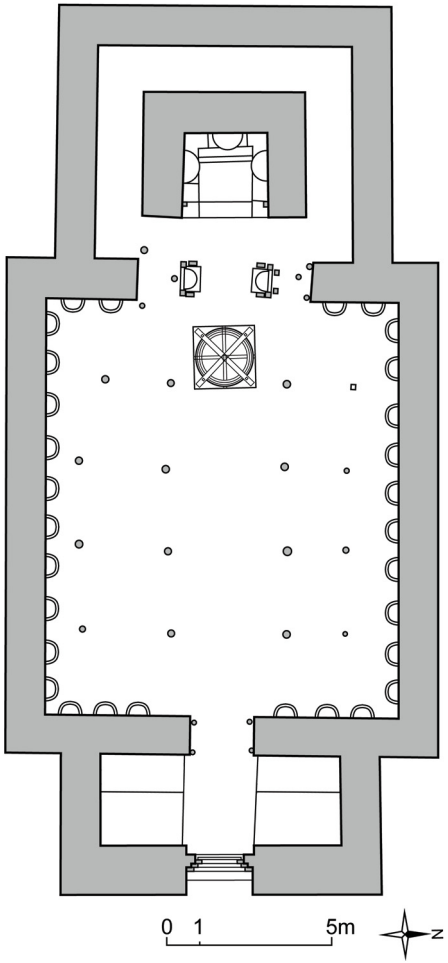
The remaining pillars on stone bases in the *dri gtsang khang* in Nyarma today most probably do not belong to the original phase of the foundation of this temple, as their rough and undecorated dressing does not correspond to other examples of wooden pillars and capitals that we know from the early West Tibetan period. Furthermore, these two pillars would be the only remaining wooden parts of the whole original temple complex, thereby leaving a quite unrealistic picture. Thus the remaining pillars are not of priority interest. The question is far more whether the original form of the *dri gtsang khang* included pillars at all.

Without any supporting pillars, the span of girders would be about 360 cm. This is the upper limit of the average length of girders used in the Western Tibet tradition of temple-building. Statistically the average length is approximately between 240 cm and 360 cm. The girders in the *dri gtsang khang* of Tabo, for example, are about 250 cm while the girders in the *'du khang* in Tabo are up to 360 cm. By comparison, the *dri tsang khang* of Tabo was built without pillars. With regard to the statics and the traditional constructions, in the case of the *dri gtsang khang* of Nyarma a pillar would not be necessary to support its roof.

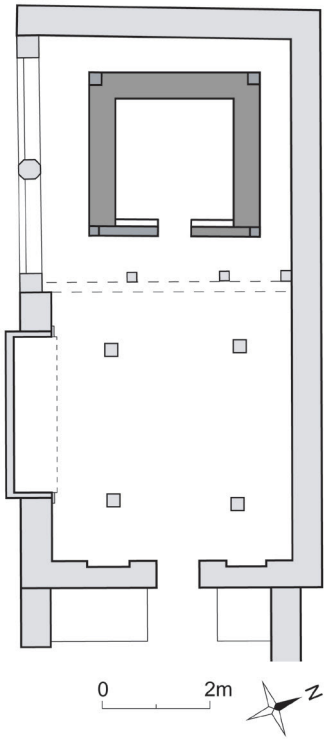
On the contrary we cannot exclude that the original structure may possibly have been built with pillars, possibly with only one central pillar, as we know this from the 'Brom ston *lha khang chung ba* in Tabo (see Fig. 6). Comparing this structure with early one-cella structures in the Western Himalayas such as the Mirkulā Devī temple at Udaipur, the Lotsāba *lha khang* in Ribba or single-cella temples in Pāndrethān or in Narastān—both in today's Jammu and Kashmir, and all built before the *dri gtsang khang* of the *gtsug lag khang* in Nyarma—one can state that none of these temples shows any vertical load-bearing




13. Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*. Status ground plan: (1) *dri tsang khang*, (2) *nang skor*, (3) *'du khang*, (3a) lotus throne, (4) *skor lam*, (5) *lha khang* attached to the *skor lam*, (6) fore court. (7) *lha khang*, (8) *lha khang*, (9) fore court (H. Feiglstorfer, 2012).




14. Tabo *gtsug lag khang*. Ground plan (H. Feiglstorfer, 2012).



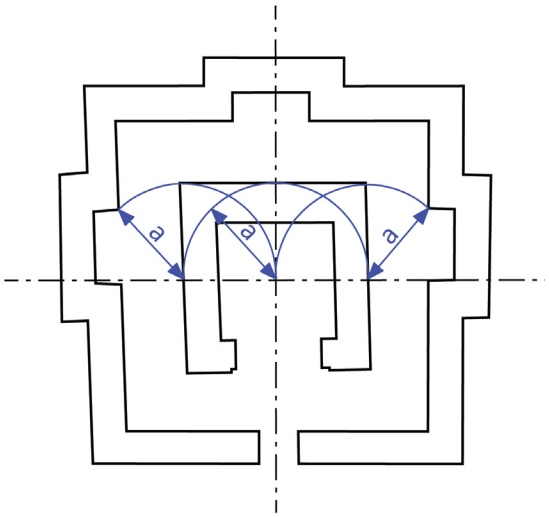

15. Mirkulā Devī temple at Udaipur. Ground plan. (Grey hatch:) The *garbhagṛha* as original core (H. Feiglstorfer, 2012).

structure like a pillar inside the *garbhagṛha*. In this context, pillars in the *dri gtsang khang* in Nyarma, which is in its appearance similar to a Hindu type of a single-cella structure, seem to be a later addition. Probably at the time when a second storey was added on top of the *dri gtsang khang*, a further support for the load of this upper floor became inevitable. The position of the pillars in the *lha khang* in the upper storey in Nyarma was chosen according to the position of the beams and pillars in the *dri tsang khang* below (see Fig. 48).

Like most of the walls of Nyarma, the inner surface of the walls of the *dri gtsang khang* is in a plain and nowadays undecorated state. A closer look at the surfaces shows small remains of particles of a colour to which also Gergan refers in his notes. He was able to witness the existence of clay ornaments on the wall at the rear of the throne (see Jahoda, "Joseph Thsertan Gergan's report on Nyarma, 1917", this volume, p. 176). Parts of an aureole can still be seen in the centre of the rear wall of the *dri tsang khang* above the pedestal. By this we can assume that the existing wall plaster is from the original phase. The same must be the case with the colours mentioned. Also along the lateral walls, holes are evident for a former fixture, possibly of statues. The pedestal below the aureole has partial cracks along the connecting line with the adjoining walls. This fact possibly weakens the hypothesis that this pedestal must necessarily have been part of the original structure. At least it shows that the pedestal was built after the walls had been plastered (Fig. 16). This fact provides important information about the previous existence of a statue fixed to the rear wall in the earlier usual manner by wooden brackets.[18]

[18] The *upaśūla* is used to mount the clay sculpture onto the wall. It is fixed in drilled holes in the clay brick wall, as described at the example of Tabo (Luczanits 2004: 263, fig. 279).

16. Nyarma *dri gtsang khang* (H. Feiglstorfer, 2011). Cracks along the connecting line of the pedestal and the adjoining walls suggest the pedestal was introduced after the wall had been plastered.




17. Nyarma *dri gtsang khang* and *nang skor* (H. Feiglstorfer, 2012). A possible relation between the size of the *dri gtsang khang* and the location of the niches in the *nang skor*.

With the pedestal and the clay ornaments on its rear wall, the *dri gtsang khang* is of the type of a directional room and not focused on a geometrical centre similar to the Hindu temples mentioned, similar to Tabo, but in this case contrary to the central quadripartite sculpture of Vairocana in the central *lha khang* in the Tholing *gtsug lag khang*. This architectural feature in Tholing enables this central statue to be circumambulated, which differs from the other early West Tibetan temples as directionally and not centrally built structures.

**The Inner Ambulatory (*nang skor*)**

The *nang skor* leads around the *dri gtsang khang* and today, except the area in front of the entrance is roofed. The southern, western and northern sections of the surrounding wall of this ambulatory have a projection in the form of a niche. To the east, the entrance to this ambulatory is in the cardinal position of a niche. The *dri gtsang khang* and the structure of the ambulatory are certainly built as a functional unit and probably they were the first structural core built as a single-cella structure. Also in this case, the typology of this cella ambulatory unit (*sāndhāra*) is more similar to Indian predecessors such as the Hindu temple in Udaipur or the Śakti Devī temple in Chatrāṛhī, even if the ambulatory of the Mirkulā Devī temple in Udaipur was possibly not roofed in its original phase.

Regarding the spatial typology with the focus of the ambulatory on its geometrical centre, these *garbhagṛha*s are much closer to the *dri gtsang khang* in Nyarma and in Tabo than to the later Tibetan spatial typology, based on a *'du khang* with an added cella niche at its rear as *nirandhāra*. The development of the Hindu temple is characterised by a *garbagṛha* orientated inwards like a cocoon. It can be entered by the priest and in special cases by the devotees and it has a door that can be closed and locked. This cocooning feature coincides with the situation at Nyarma, where as previously mentioned the wall projections beside the opening to the cella separate it from the surrounding ambulatory.

One difference between the architectural appearance of the *nang skor* in Nyarma and in Tabo is their different geometries. While the ground plan of the interior space of the *dri gtsang khang* at Tabo is a square, the ambulatory is rectangular (see Fig. 14). In contrast, in Nyarma the *dri gtsang khang* and the ambulatory are square. A geometric reason why the ambulatory in Tabo is not square is the integration of the dividing wall between the ambulatory and the *'du khang* with its outer border along the inner limit of the square formed by the outer walls of the ambulatory (Feiglstorfer 2011a I: 146).

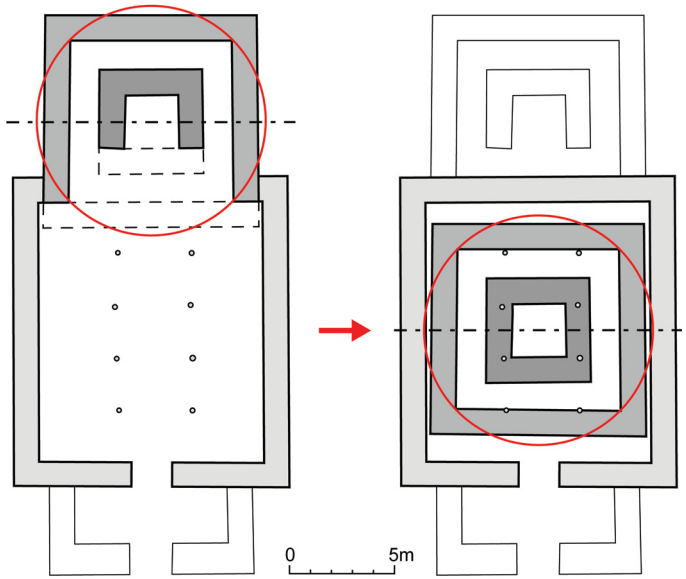
To obtain the same width of the ambulatory path surrounding the *dri gtsang khang* the front wall section with the entrance to the *dri gtsang khang* was shortened by the respective length.[19] As opposed to Tabo, in Nyarma there is a square-in-a-square. Furthermore, in contrast to Tabo the ambulatory is provided with niches and also shows no traces of former clay ornaments. On the north, west and south sides, the axes through the northern and southern niches were shifted westwards, thereby not being congruent with the north-south axis of the *dri gtsang khang*. The location of this niche can be created by drawing a circle with a diameter of the distance between the centre of the *dri gtsang khang* and the outer shape of the wall of the *dri gtsang khang*. The centre of this circle is the intersection

[19] In a proportional analysis, Kozicz (2007b: fig. 8) argues that a reason for this change from a square towards a rectangle shape was the shifting of outer walls by the width of the particular walls towards the centre of the square. Apart of this geometrical fact, one has to note the reason for this shift, as in some temples it was performed and in others it was not. Regarding the central pentalic core of the *gtsug lag khang* in Tholing, one can see the shift of the dividing wall between the rNam par snang mdzad (Vairocana) *lha khang* and the adjoining four *lha khang*, which turns them from squares into rectangles (Feiglstorfer 2011a I: 244–45 and Feiglstorfer 2011a II: 112, plan 43). This is similar to the situation one can find between the *nang skor* and the *'du khang* in Tabo but diverges from the situation in the *gtsug lag khang* in Nyarma. The reason for these decisions cannot primarily be found in certain planning principles as mentioned by Kozicz but they follow a certain intention in defining the two adjoining chambers belonging together or being separated according to a superordinate religious and spatial programme. Besides this geometrical tool it seems to be necessary to include several other parameters such as measuring units, possible proportional relations according to an Indian system, a modular unit or a three-dimensional relation between the individual parts of a temple before being able to give scientific statements of "principles of spatial design". In this context the "principles", given by Kozicz are geometrical tools among several others, and their occasional assessment as *the* principles appears to be an overemphasis.

of the north-south axis with the outer shape of the wall of the *dri gtsang khang*. The eastern edge of the northern and southern niche seems to have been defined by the location of the north-south axis through the centre of the *dri gtsang khang* (Fig. 17).[20]

Another geometrical order to achieve this non-square shape of the ground plan of the ambulatory in Tabo can be mentioned: as many of the early West Tibetan temples have a square modulus of a certain size as their basic measuring tool, according to the desired shape and size of the temple, this feature can also be found in Tabo and in Nyarma. The division of the square shape of the ambulatory into nine squares of same size has a modular system, which we can find in other West Tibetan temples of the early phase. Most of the temples of Nyarma are based on a regular grid. In some cases even the height of the buildings is in proportional relation to this modulus. One of the most common formations is the 3x3 grid which means the division of one square into nine equal ones. In Tabo the generation of a 3x3-grid defines the area of the *nang skor*. It is based on the size of the square which forms the interior ground plan of the *dri gtsang khang*.

Similar to the modulus of the central core in Tabo, as a possible basic measuring tool for creating the inner shape of the ambulatory, in Nyarma too this is related to a 3x3 division. In the case of the Tabo *gtsug lag khang*, the size of the *dri gtsang khang* is proportional to the *'du khang*: The perimeter through the inner corners of the *nang skor* equals the width of the adjoining *'du khang*, unlike the *gtsug lag khang* in Nyarma. In this case the outer width of the *nang skor* equals the inner width of the adjoining *'du khang* (Feiglstorfer 2011a II: 99, plan 22).[21] The inner length of the *'du khang* which, unlike the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* is not a square but a rectangle, equals the external width of the *dri gtsang khang* extended by approximately the width of the outer wall (*ibid.*). Similarly, the external width of the Nyarma *dri gtsang khang* fits into the inner width of the adjoining *'du khang* (Fig. 18). A study of the proportional relation between the *dri gtsang kang* and the *'du khang* of early West Tibetan temples shows it to be one of the main tools for fixing a temple's ground plan. A comparison has revealed




18. Tabo *gtsug lag khang* (H. Feiglstorfer, 2012). The *dri gtsang khang* is shown together with the surrounding *nang skor* in a proportional relation to the adjoining *'du khang*. This corresponds to the proportional patterns IV according to Feiglstorfer 2011a II: 99f., plans 22–29.

four basic patterns to find this relation, as shown in Feiglstorfer 2011a II: 99, plans 22–29.[22]

Concerning early examples of the use of a modulus as the basic unit for further proportional planning decisions, we again have to refer to the layout of the monastery of Samye. The size of the dBu rtse temple of Samye, which is in the shape of a square, can be used as the basic measuring tool for organising the entire layout of the monastery enclosure, including the location of the four intermediate *mchod rten*, the four temples representing the four continents and their side temples in addition.[23]

In the case of Nyarma, the square modulus is based on a 3x3 grid with the interior shape of the *dri gtsang khang* as its outer limit. The length of the interior walls of the ambulatory is equal to the length of eight *moduli* as the smallest element of this grid and also the niche on the western wall of the ambulatory is divided on a 3:2:3 ratio. In this way the length of the niches in the ambulatory is based on the length of two moduli while the width of the entrance to the *dri gtsang khang* is based on the length of one modulus (Fig. 19).[24]

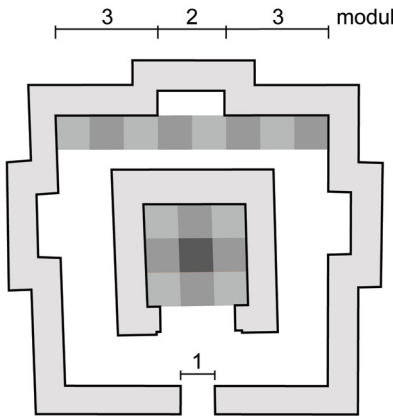
[20] The geometric operation mentioned shows one possibility among others. Also the shifting of the axis by approximately the width of a wall as given by Kozicz (2007b: fig. 7) can be mentioned as a possibility. Unfortunately there is no written evidence for the significance of either of these hypotheses.

[21] According to this study the relationship between the size of the *dri gtsang khang* or the surrounding *nang skor* and the adjoining *'du khang* is mentioned as the proportional type I within four different methods of proportion. This was also discussed and presented by the author at the 12th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Vancouver, Aug. 16, 2010 (Feiglstorfer 2010b).

[22] According to this study the proportional relation between the size of the *dri gtsang khang* or the surrounding *nang skor* and the adjoining *'du khang* is mentioned as the proportional type IV within four different used methods of proportion.

[23] See Feiglstorfer (2013) for a proportional analysis of the layout of Samye based on a satellite image. Compare also Mémet 1988: 32.

[24] The division of the western section of the ambulatory wall into eight parts is mentioned in Kozicz 2007b. In his explanations he does not mention the




19. Nyarma modulus (H. Feiglstorfer, 2012). The modulus as the basic unit for the further determination of the plan of the *dri gtsang khang* and the surrounding *nang skor*, including the adjoining western niche.

**The *'du khang***

The *'du khang* in Nyarma, which is square, is attached to the *nang skor* in the west and opens towards the east onto a courtyard via a doorway that is today bricked up. In the early phase the only possible entrance to the *'du khang* and further to the enclosed *nang skor* and *dri gtsang khang* was through the gate in this doorway. The east-west-orientation follows the orientation of the *dri gtsang khang* and the ambulatory. There is a 60 cm to 80 cm drop between the entrance from the *'du khang* and the *nang skor*, which suggests that there must previously have been some steps here, steps which may be the reason for the slightly raised floor level at the rear of the lotus throne, as mentioned by Gergan.

As parts of the floor have been washed away and others are increased by earthen debris, the measurement of the several levels varies. Nevertheless, the step between the *'du khang* and the *nang skor* obviously separates these two parts and gives this section of the temple a completely different appearance to the levels in Tabo, where the floors of the *'du khang* and the ambulatory are at approximately the same level. On the other hand in Tabo the floor level of the *dri gtsang khang* is raised towards the surrounding *nang skor* (Fig. 20).

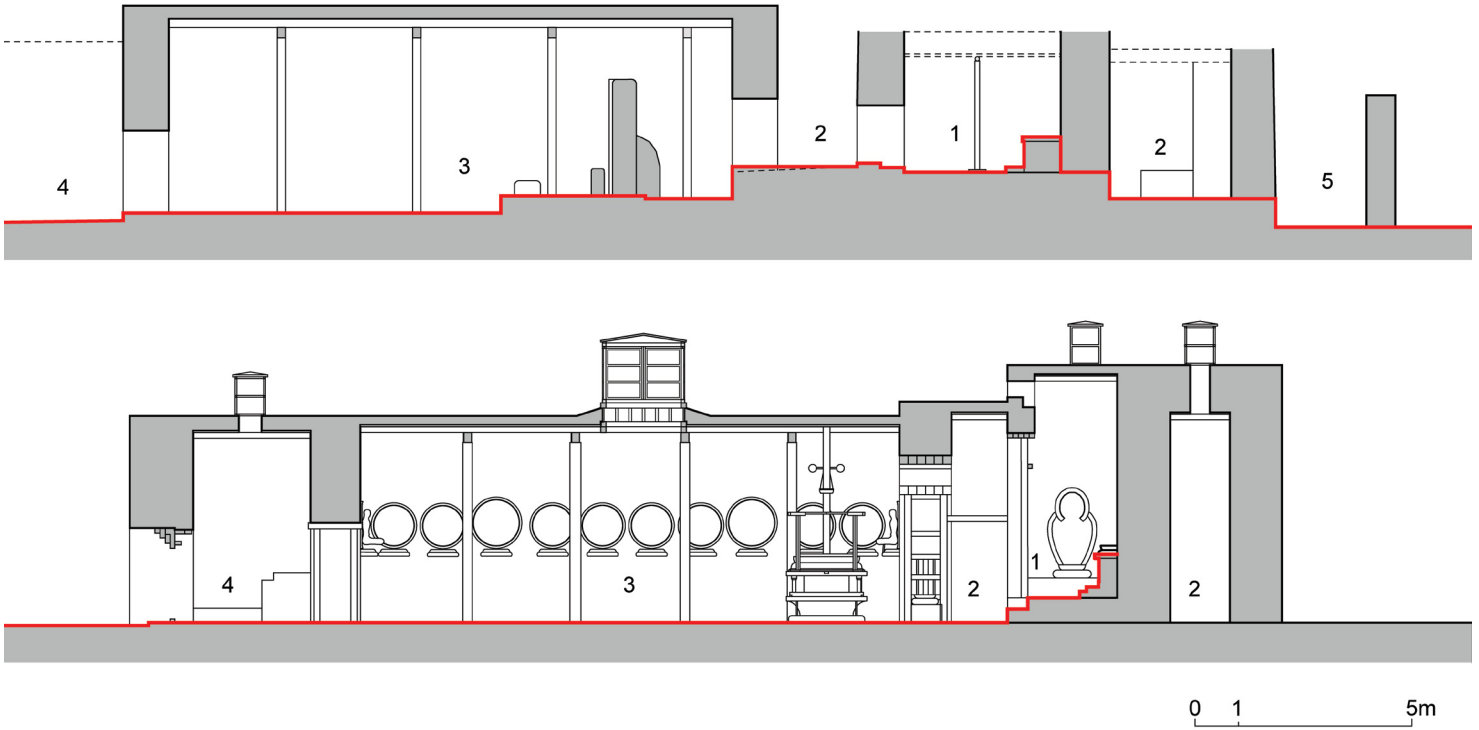
In contrast, in Nyarma the floor level of the *dri gtsang khang*, which is paved with round stones slopes down slightly towards the floor level of the surrounding ambulatory. This may also be owing to the earthen debris in front of the *dri gtsang khang* as demolition material of its upper section. The sloping of the *dri gtsang khang* towards the ambulatory is unknown in West Tibetan temple architecture. On the other hand, according to the today's situation the floor level of the *dri gtsang khang* may not have been much raised towards the ambulatory; rather they must have been on an approximately similar level. The obvious rise in the level is created by the pedestal in the *dri gtsang khang*, whose upper level is the highest in the whole *gtsug lag khang*.

This correlates with most of the West Tibetan temples, excluding those which have no possibility for an ambulation inside the *dri gtsang khang*, such as temples II and IV in Nyarma (Fig. 21), the 'Brom ston *lha khang* and the Byams pa (Maitreya) *lha khang* in Tabo (see Fig. 6) and the Lotsāba *lha khang* in Nako. According to the spatial programme of Nyarma, the *dri gtsang khang* and the surrounding *nang skor* were built as a unit on one level, clearly separated from the *'du khang* in front, which has a completely different spatial programme. In a wider context this feature, which cannot be seen in this way at Tabo, Tholing or any other West Tibetan temple, much more has the special feature of a Hindu temple whose *adhiṣṭhāna* is raised towards the surroundings and supports the *garbhagṛha* at its centre. This fact of separating and unifying two adjoining chambers is related to the above-mentioned integration of a wall into a square, as in Tabo, or the keeping of the squares by separating the adjoining chambers, which is the case in the *gtsug lag khang* in Nyarma.

The passageway between the *'du khang* and the adjoining *nang skor* is laterally limited by projecting walls, with only the right part being partially preserved and the left part being solely part of a hypothetical reconstruction that assumes the projecting walls were constructed symmetrically. The original width of this passageway is unclear. On the right of the passageway a remnant of a wall which slightly surmounts the adjoining platform of the *nang skor* may be evidence of the former width of a quite narrow passageway of roughly 125 cm, as far as it had its position symmetrically in the centre of this wall. This emphasises the hypothesis of the *nang skor* being built as a spatial unit together with the enclosed *dri gtsang khang*. Again, unlike the spatial programme of the *gtsug lag khang* of Tabo with the open corridor between the *'du khang* and the *dri gtsang khang*, not only the *dri gtsang khang* of Nyarma but the whole unit together with the surrounding ambulatory appears as a separate unit accessible through a relatively narrow doorway, probably with a staircase in front, as mentioned before.

On the right-hand wall projection (view towards the *dri gtsang khang*) traces of five shaped aureoles of approximately similar size can be found (Figs. 22 and 23). They are situated as two vertically organised pairs of aureoles above one another so that a sixth aureole

real core of the 8x8-grid, given by the division of the *dri gtsang khang* as the central core, which is responsible for determining the size of the actual smallest measuring tool, i.e. one modulus. The 8x8-grid is not the origin but a result in a further process of using the modulus as a measuring tool.



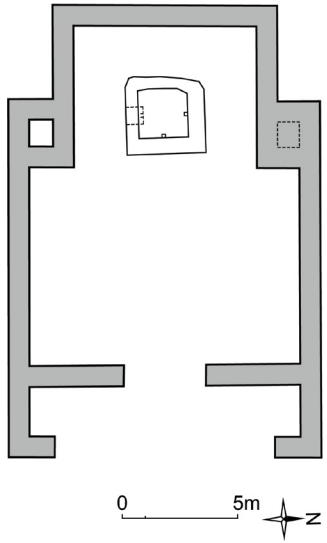

20. The *gtsug lag khang* of Tabo and Nyarma (H. Feiglstorfer, 2012). Longitudinal sections. Top: Nyarma, below: Tabo.
The roof of the Nyarma *'du khang* is reconstructed according to the height of the remaining walls on the north side. The height of the lintel between the *'du khang* and the *nang skor* in Nyarma is freely reconstructed.
The entrances face east, on the plan facing left.
(1) *dri gtsang khang*, (2) *nang skor*, (3) *'du khang*, (4) *sgo khang* in Tabo, and the forecourt in Nyarma; (5) an outer ambulatory along a free-standing enclosure wall.
The red line marks the sequence of different levels from the entrance towards the pedestal in the *dri gtsang khang* as the highest level.

on a part of the wall that is missing today can be suggested to maintain a symmetrical order. As far as the fragments are preserved, each aureole is made of two vertically organised partitions, one for the torso below and one for the head, both oval. Each of these aureoles surrounds several holes in the wall for the former attachment of clay sculptures by wooden sticks (*upaśūla*). The existence of these holes indicates the existence of another row of two vertical aureoles to the left of the fragmentarily preserved aureoles.

On the eastern wall inside the *'du khang*, the doorway is flanked by an aureole on either side. These consist of a lower torus and an upper much smaller head section as well (Fig. 24). The construction holes in the wall indicate the earlier existence of two clay sculptures mounted on the wall, as there is also no trace of pedestals for standing figures. Both these aureoles overlap a straight vertical gap caused by the addition of a part of the wall inside that they reveal, leading to different hypotheses: One of these is that these were added during later renovation, which would mean the aureoles are not from the original building phase. Luczanits (2005: 70) argues the aureoles may possibly be from the early building phase, as he could find no traces of colour below these clay ornaments. According to this discovery, we do not know in which phase these aureoles were moulded, as the walls may also have been added during a very early stage before the surface was painted. Kozicz (2010: 70) sees an explanation in the placing of these wall additions as parts of a general ground plan based on an 8x8 grid[25] and argues with a plan that would lead to structural weaknesses.

According to Gergan, the remains of a lotus throne were located along the east-west axis of the *'du khang*, not in the geometrical centre but close to the entrance from the *'du khang* into the *nang skor*,

[25] According to the geometry of the square and the orthogonality inside the *gtsug lag khang*, the built ground plan is very accurate. This seems to be characteristic for the temples of the early West Tibetan phase. Thus it appears unrealistic that this addition of the wall was based on an alteration during the first building phase. Examples of such changes to a temple's structure in the early building phase are very rare: the lHa khang gong ma in Nako has an alteration by closing a former cella niche, which can probably only be explained by an alteration during an early building phase, an example which does not completely exclude an alteration as mentioned in Nyarma. Furthermore it is not known if in the case of a possible renovation including the addition of clay aureoles parts of the plaster were removed and renewed to provide a better bond with the subsurface for the in situ work. Nevertheless one cannot exclude the idea these joints may have been part of the early building phase. Referring to the example of the Sumtsek (gSum brtsegs) in Wanla (Wan la), given by Kozicz 2010: 71, we cannot exclude the theory of the joints having been planned. Especially the surface of the wall inside the temple of Wanla indicates a later wall addition inside the reveals of the door. A proved clarification of the reason of these vertical cracks remains open.




21. Nyarma temple IV, ground plan (H. Feiglstorfer, 2012).

22. Nyarma *'du khang* (H. Feiglstorfer, 2006). Foreground left: remains of the lotus throne with the back of the throne. Foreground right: remains of the west wall of the *'du khang* showing remains of aureoles. Background centre: *dri gtsang khang* in the ground floor with the first floor as a later addition and the flanking parts covering the *nang skor* in the ground floor.

thus hiding this entrance (see Figs. 13, 20 and 22). The position of a throne inside the *'du khang* is rare among the West Tibetan temples and reminds of the throne of the quadripartite sculpture of rNam par snang mdzad (Vairocana) in the *'du khang* of Tabo, also located in an eccentric position along the east-west axis. As in Nyarma the westernmost fragments of the throne indicate the earlier existence of a protecting throne back, today about 270 cm high; a quadripartite sculpture of the kind found with the Vairocana sculpture in Tabo can be excluded.

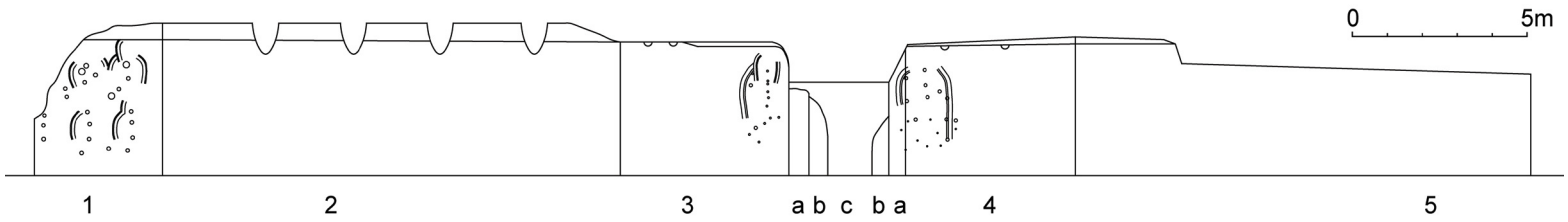
A proportional comparison between the two *gtsug lag khang*s of Tabo and of Nyarma shows the position of the Vairocana sculpture in Tabo and the lotus throne in Nyarma fixed at a similar position inside the *'du khang*. In both cases the position of the sculpture is related to the geometrical centre of the *dri gtsang khang*. In Nyarma the position of the throne back is located on the intersection of the east-west axis with the circum circle around the outer corners of the *nang skor*. In comparison to this in Tabo the centre of the Vairocana sculpture is defined by the intersection of the east-west axis with the circum circle around the inner corners of the *nang skor* surrounding the *dri gtsang khang* (Fig. 25).

The throne itself is in ruins. A pedestal adjoins the curved back of the throne. Next to it a platform supports the left quarter of a round base, probably the former pedestal of the main statue. Towards the east, but still on this pedestal, two symmetrically arranged sockets flank the main statue. In general one hypothesis is that the whole constellation may have been the main statue on a lotus throne in the centre with a relatively high throne back, flanked by two smaller statues. All of this throne is made of earth. A quadripartite structure according to the Tabo Vairocana sculpture can be excluded. This kind of a tripartite organisation of this throne may refer to a constellation of sculptures with a sitting Dīpaṃkara at the centre, flanked by Śākyamuni and Maitreya. The question of Dīpaṃkara as the central deity is also discussed by Jahoda ("The foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, Ladakh", this volume, pp. 284, 287). The size of the platform and the relatively large size of this throne in proportion to the *dri gtsang khang* again raise the question of whether the *'du khang* was part of the original structure. In view of the proportions, it cannot be excluded that with this huge statue the spiritual centre was shifted into the *'du khang* and that the *'du khang* might have been a later adaptation.

The wall of the *'du khang* is about 105 to 110 cm wide, similar to the wall of the *dri gtsang khang*. Gergan mentions the square *'du khang* as being 43 x 43 feet and 14 feet high, which correlates with the existing sizes on the site, the height being a third of the internal length (see Jahoda, "Joseph Thsertan Gergan's report on Nyarma, 1917", this volume, p. 176). Along the coping of the northern wall of the central hall four large notches from the former supports of the main girders are still visible (Fig. 26; see also Fig. 23).

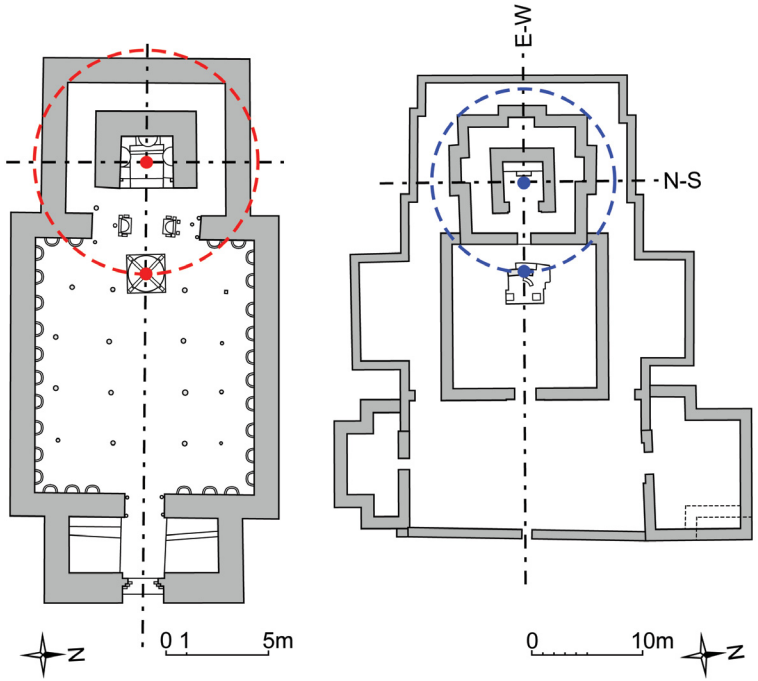
Along the eastern wall and the western wall projections beside the main gate, notches from former rafters remain, but not so clearly that we can reconstruct all their exact locations. The notches on the north wall are relatively similar distance apart and quite clearly show a wall division in five parts. The distances from east to west are approximately 246 cm, 270 cm, 248 cm, 252 cm and 295 cm, which is thus the approximate length of the rafters. The last-mentioned division of 295 cm towards the western end of the north wall is up to 50 cm longer than the others, which should play a role in a further discussion about the location of the lotus throne. This wall division thus equals a sequence of four pillars in east-west direction.

According to the length of the main girders used in the *'du khang* of Tabo, which average 360 cm, a division of the width of the *'du khang* in Nyarma into five equal parts would result in the main girder there being 260 cm long. Technically this length seems to be realistic. The 3D reconstruction was modelled on this hypothesis, although this result has to be qualified with regard to the following considerations (Figs. 27 and 28):



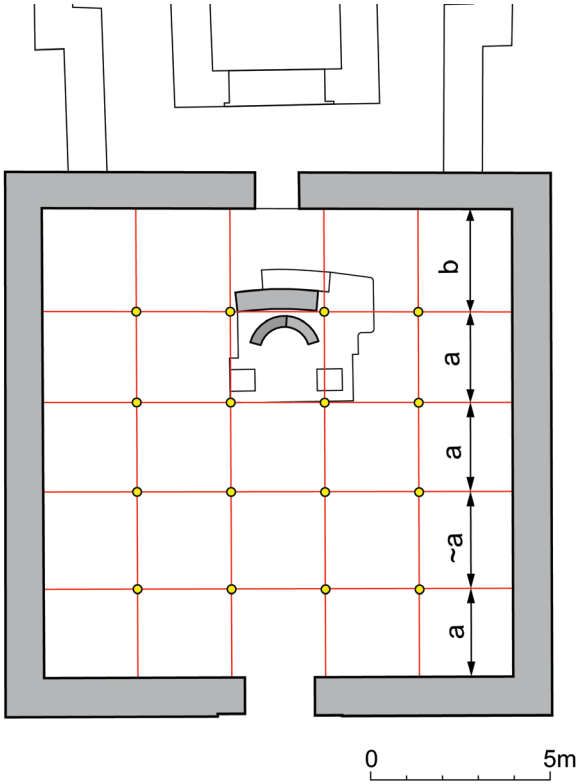

23. Nyarma *'du khang*
(H. Feiglstorfer, 2012).
Wall displays. View from inside.
From left to right: (1) remains of the right wing of the west wall. The left section no longer exists; (2) north wall; (3) left section of the east wall; (a, b) wall additions. (c) infill brickwork as a later addition; (4) right section of the east wall; (5) remains of the north wall.
The elevations (1), (3) and (4) show the position of the remaining aureoles including the fixing holes for the *upaśulas*.

24. Nyarma *'du khang*
(H. Feiglstorfer, 2006).
East wall viewed from inside the *'du khang*.




25. Tabo and Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*
(H. Feiglstorfer, 2012).
The position of main statue in the *'du khang*, i.e. the rNam par snang mdzad (Vairocana) statue in the case of Tabo and a lotus throne in the case of Nyarma can be related in both temples to the geometry related between the *nang skor* and the *'du khang*.

26. Nyarma *'du khang*
(H. Feiglstorfer, 2006).
North wall with notches on top.
To the left: parts of the remains of the lotus throne.




27. Nyarma *'du khang* (H. Feiglstorfer, 2012). Reconstruction of the column grid and of the location of rafters and girders. The distance "b" seems to relate to the position of the lotus throne. The left half section of the circular lotus throne is reconstructed symmetrically with the existing section.

The discussion of the vertical gap on either side of the entrance gate on the eastern wall of the *'du khang* could not make it clear how the two massive column-like wall parts along the gate were fixed to the adjoining sections of the east wall. In any case, if this gap goes right through the wall this would worsen the load-bearing stability of these two wall parts, especially in the case of the division of the width of the *'du khang* to install one row of four columns. The fact is that in this case the rafters would be located over these two column-like wall parts and their installation as a further support cannot be excluded. From a static point of view, this raises the question of how these two wall parts are really fixed to the rest of the wall. All in all this does not exclude the possibility of there being one row of four pillars across the *'du khang*.

Another point to discuss is the position of the lotus throne in relation to the pillars. The existing remains of the lotus throne and the back of the throne would fit well into this concept of a row of four pillars. This reconstruction might resolve some further open questions concerning the lotus throne. The location of the throne fits with the grid of the wooden construction. As the position of the westernmost row of pillars is shifted eastwards to increase the space for the lotus throne, a far more important statement can be made: the location of the throne was not chosen according to the wooden grid construction but was already fixed beforehand, and the wooden construction was adjusted to house its cult object as central spiritual core.[26]

An alternative to the four pillar-concept would be a two pillar-concept, as the three pillar concept would set the central pillars in the axis of the room which is very rare in the West Tibetan temple tradition, apart from one-pillar temples such as Lalung (lHa lung) in Spiti. The concept with two pillars in one row seems to be unrealistic because of the great length of the main beams that would be needed—about 435 cm. This far exceeds the average length of beams used in Western Tibet. The four-by-four-pillar concept (= 16 pillars) seems realistic, concerning the construction itself as well as its relation to the position of the lotus throne.

### Clay Aureoles

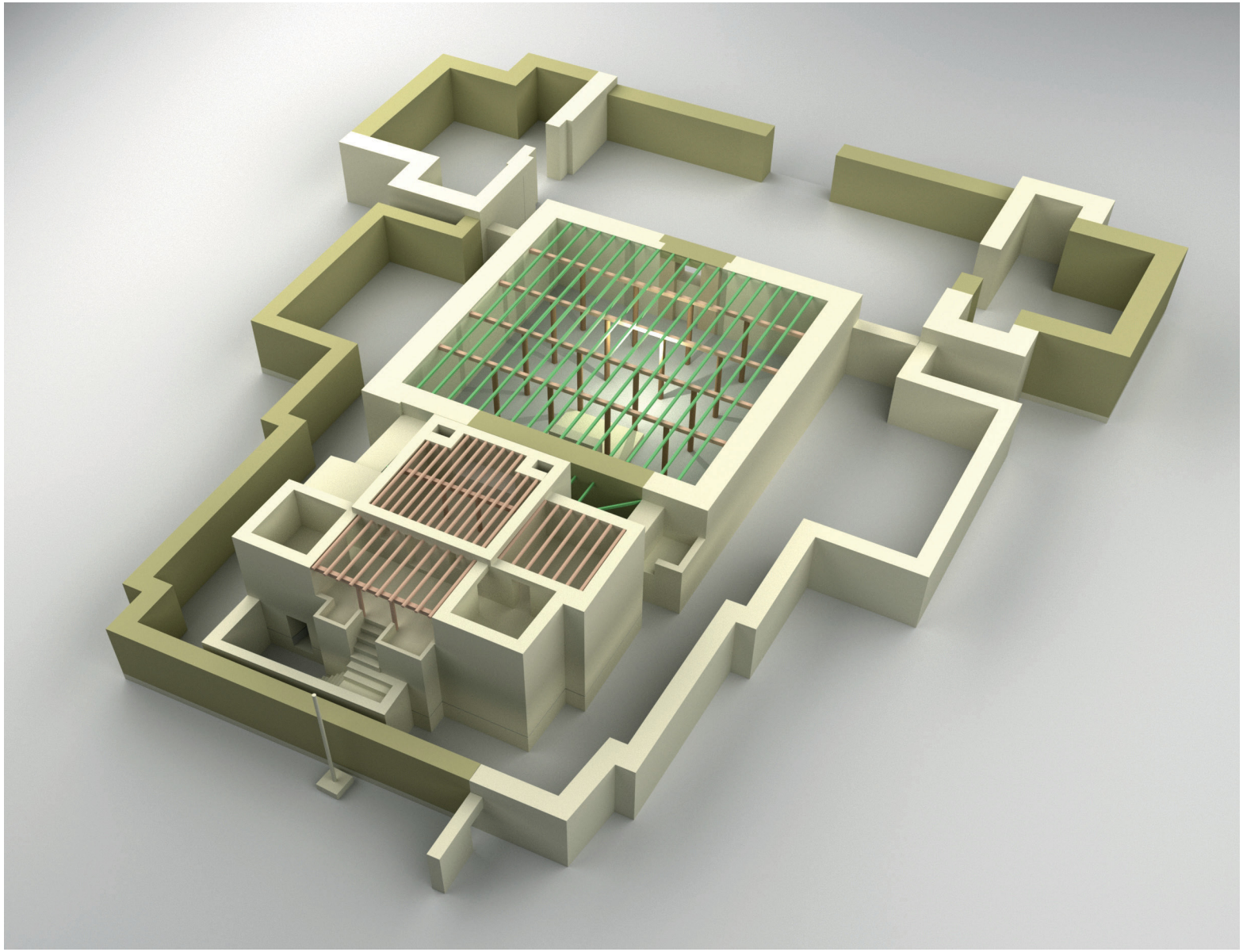
As the aureoles, *'od (s)kor or klong 'khyil* in Tibetan (halo or luminous circle), are generally related to a votive figure; their size, shape and position are dependent on the religious programme to which they are related. Not all early West Tibetan temples contain this kind of aureole, which are moulded out of clay in situ on the wall. In other words, clay aureoles are relatively rare in early West Tibetan temples and more common in later phases. The aureoles are mainly painted directly onto the wall.

The remains of aureoles in the *dri gtsang khang* and in the *'du khang* of Nyarma are in a ruinous state, partially broken off and washed away. Nevertheless, some remains give a clue about their former shape and the way they were moulded. This will be briefly outlined by a comparison with several other early West Tibetan temples.

As a result can be summarized that the aureoles I was able to examine differ in shape and execution in detail. In general they are part of the front of a votive sculpture. The uniform way they are made and a kind of an early West Tibetan style of clay aureole can primarily be seen in the symbolism of Vajrayāna Buddhism used. Regarding the shape and grade of detailing as well as the technical approach, clay aureoles are in most cases specific to each temple and technically executed according to each temple's particular way of expressing a religious figurative programme.

The Jo khang and the lHa khang chen mo temples in Khorchag currently do not contain any clay aureoles. Similarly the 'Du khang in

[26] On the subject of the temple as the vessel for housing a cult object, cf. Feiglstorfer 2011a I: 98.



28. Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, 3D visualisation after reconstruction (H. Feiglstorfer, 2012).

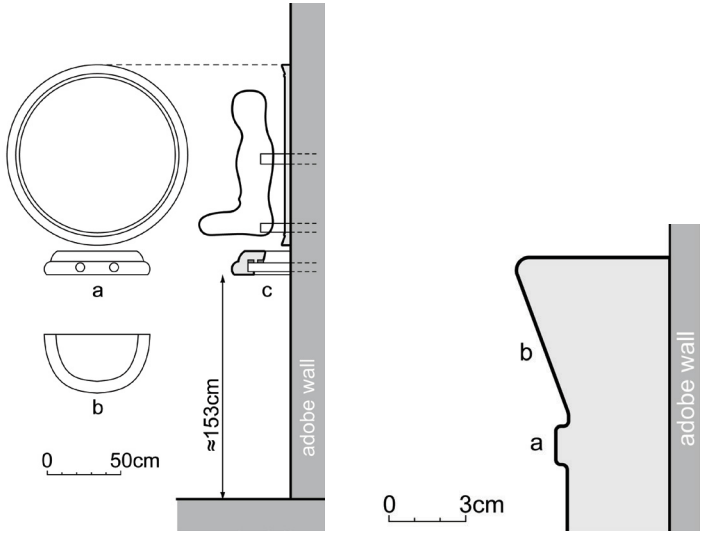
Alchi has no aureoles of this time, as the walls in the 'Du khang are painted and the *dri gtsang khang* contains smaller clay sculptures mounted onto the wall with painted aureoles, as far as I could observe. No such aureoles were to be found in the temples of Nako and in the village temple of Gumrang either.

In Tabo there are moulded aureoles only in the *gtsug lag khang*. Two different shapes of aureole are used—single-piece circular ones, and oval, vertically orientated ones, either as a single piece behind the sculpture's head or bipartite, with the upper part behind the head and a lower part behind the torso. The circular aureoles are not as common as the oval ones.

In Tabo the circular type forms the background to the sculptures mounted on the wall in the *'du khang* (see Fig. 20: section below). They appear in two sizes, the larger ones related to the four Jinas (Luczanits 2004: 43, fig. 30) surrounding the Vairocana statue. The aureoles behind the guardians in the *'du khang* are U-shaped, with

29. Tabo *'du khang*, plan of an aureole, mentioned in Fig. 30 (H. Feiglstorfer, 2012); (a) elevation of the aureole and the pedestal below with wooden wall fixing, (b) ground plan of the pedestal, (c) section of the aureole and the pedestal below.

30. Tabo *'du khang*, detail of a clay aureole, mentioned in Figs. 29 and 31 (H. Feiglstorfer, 2012). Vertical section: upside is the outer boundary and downside the inner boundary of the aureole. (a) ring of pearls, (b) ring of flames.




31. Tabo *'du khang*. Aureoles behind the sculptures belonging to a Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* (H. Feiglstorfer, 2006).

32. Radni (Rad nis) monastery in Western Tibet (K. Tropper, 2010). The aureole is circular, similar to the ones found in the Tabo *'du khang*. The design differs from the one in Tabo as it shows a second inner band, which gives the whole aureole a relatively broad appearance. Another striking difference is the position of the lotus pedestal. In Tabo it is mounted below the aureole without any constructive contact, while in Radni it covers the lower part of the aureole and the statue. Furthermore, in Tabo the statue is only fixed to the wall with a distance to the pedestal below, while in Radni it is fixed to the pedestal as well.

their open side at the bottom. The smaller circular aureoles are about 123 cm in diameter, the larger ones about 136 cm; they are about 8 cm wide, up to 6 cm thick, and covered with flames (Figs. 29, 30 and 31).

Round aureoles can be found in the monastery of Radni (Rad nis) (Fig. 32) or in the Vairocana *lha khang*[27] between Nimmu (sNye mo) and Basgo (Ba sgo/mgo, Bab sgo) in Ladakh (Fig. 33). The examples in Basgo seem to be of a similar type to those in Tabo, regarding the separation of the figure and its base and their circular shape. The relation between the *upaśula* and the aureole with the position of the upper *upaśula* in the aureole's centre is an early Western Himalayan feature, as mentioned by Luczanits (2004: 264). This circular type cannot be found in Nyarma. They belong to the second, oval, either single piece or bipartite type.

In the *dri gtsang khang* of Tabo the aureole of the sitting central Tathāgata is of the second, bipartite type. The heads of the standing Avalokiteśvara and Vajrasattva[28] who flank the central figure are blackened aureoles of a simpler style (see Fig. 20). The aureole behind the central Tathāgata is about 115/115 cm at the upper part, which is open at the bottom, and about 160/130 cm at the lower part which is open both at the bottom and the top. They are 13 cm wide, up to 10 cm thick and covered with flames and pearls, seen from the outside to the inside (Figs. 34 and 35). Other oval shaped aureoles can be found in the *gtsug lag khang* of Tholing. In the Sa

[27] Luczanits (2005: 72) identifies the programme of this *lha khang* as a Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*.

[28] Identification of the sculptures after Luczanits 2004: 36 and 37.

skya court, as shown by Phun tshogs rnam rgyal et al. (2001: 83), the aureole behind the head of a Maitreya Buddha is in relatively high relief, the outer band covering flames of a floral design and the inner band lotus beads. The torso-part of the aureoles behind the standing Buddhas in the north-western *mchod rten* in Tholing, which are also embellished with flames, but not florally, and with adjoining lotus beads are also relatively high relief (see Luczanits 2004: 32, figs. 14 and 15).

Similarly, the relief of the aureoles in cave 2 in Dungkar (Dung dkar) (see Luczanits 2004: 117, fig. 127) is high compared to the western type we find in Spiti and Ladakh. In comparison to the aureoles in Tholing, those in the Dungkar cave appear massive and not as graceful as those in Tholing (see Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po and Kalantari, "Guge kingdom-period murals in the Zhag grotto in mNga' ris, Western Tibet", this volume, Fig. 27, p. 420). This cave also contains the circular type of an aureole.

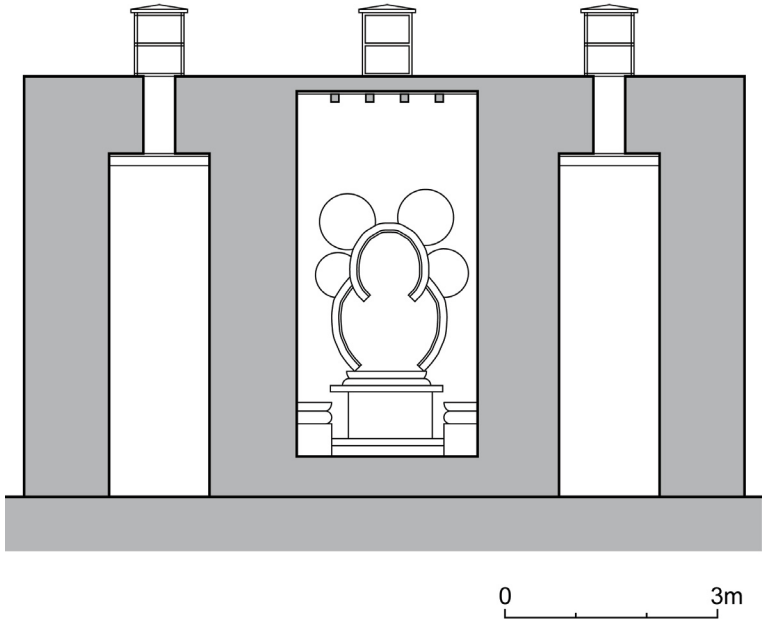
Interestingly, the main sculptures in the Lotsāba *lha khang* in Ropa (Ro dpag) in upper Kinnaur are also bipartite and high

33. Basgo Vairocana *lha khang*. Aureoles along the west wall (H. Feiglstorfer, 2005).

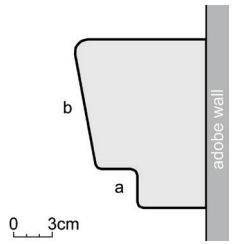
relief (Fig. 36), in contrast to those found further north in Spiti and Ladakh. Their outer bands are covered with flames in a naturalistic style, with both sides adjoined by a plain broad band in between a row of pearls. The shape of the aureoles in Lalung/Spiti behind Śākyamuni and Prajñāpāramitā follow the type found in the Tabo *dri gtsang khang* and in the Nyarma *'du khang* (Fig. 37).

The two examples of aureoles in Lalung have a tripartite ornamentation, with a band of *vajra*s adjoined by a band of pearls and a band of flames from the inside towards the outside. In Basgo, the temple known locally as Lotsāba *lha khang* is completely in ruins. Not enough of the aureole remains to make any further comment in this context. It is interesting to note that the upper part of this bipartite aureole seems to have been fixed to the wall with wooden sticks (Fig. 38).

At the temple site of Nyarma, clay aureoles can only be found in the *gtsug lag khang*. As clay aureoles are relatively rare in West Tibetan temples, and they must have involved considerable effort, they become somewhat special, being reserved for places of a high value, exemplarily in main temples. Although in Nyarma we can find remains of *upaśūla* fixing holes in temple IIIb as well as many of




34. Tabo *dri gtsang khang*. Cross-section (H. Feiglstorfer, 2012). Central view towards the aureoles of the central Tathāgata in sitting position, flanked by the pedestals of Avalokiteśvara and Vajrasattva.




35. Tabo *dri gtsang khang*. Detail of a clay aureole (H. Feiglstorfer, 2012). Vertical section: upside is the outer boundary and downside the inner boundary of the aureole. (a) ring of pearls, (b) ring of flames.

36. Ropa Lotsāba *lha khang*. Aureoles between statues in the central niche (H. Feiglstorfer, 2006).

37. Lalung gSer khang. Aureole surrounding Prajñāpāramitā (H. Feiglstorfer, 2006).

them along the inner wall surfaces in temple II, there are no existent aureoles in these temples. In the side *lha khang* along the southern ambulation path in the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* the former fixing of statues to the wall is obvious, but also without any aureoles.

The aureole in the *dri gtsang khang* in Nyarma is oval and made as a single piece behind an earlier, no longer existent sculpture, probably behind the sculpture's head as the lower part of this aureole is open (Fig. 39). It is interesting to note that the clay was modelled on top of the lower layer of the plaster and not onto the bare wall. The tear line between the different layers of the plaster in the area of the aureole suggests they were added in one step (Fig. 40). This aureole is about 62/72 cm (width/height), with a modelled aureole rim about 12.5 cm wide and about 6 cm thick. In cross-section it appears approximately triangular and severely washed away. The degree of the decay suggests the *dri gtsang khang* was without roof for quite a long time.

The aureoles in the '*du khang*, on the eastern wall as well as on the western wall, are bipartite with a head part and a torso part, both open at the bottom (see Fig. 23). Although washed away they indicate that each flame was modelled in clay. After reconstruction, the aureoles on the western wall of the '*du khang* are about 65/65 cm (width/height) at the upper section and about 110/82 cm at the lower section and about 12 cm wide, and with an aureole rim between 2 cm thick at the outer edge and 5 cm at the inner edge (Fig. 41).

The aureoles flanking the entrance gate on the eastern wall suggest the two sculptures in front were huge, nearly touching the ceiling (Figs. 42 and 43). These aureoles are broader than those on the western wall. After reconstruction, the aureoles are about 74/87 cm (width/height) at the upper section and 160/206 cm at the lower section, whereas the lowest end of the aureole is still about 106 cm above floor level. The highest part of these two aureoles is an impressive 360 cm above the floor. The width of the clay modelling varies between the head and torso sections, at the head measuring about 10 cm and up to 8 cm wide and at the torso measuring about 15.5 cm and about 5 cm high. The aureoles are divided in two bands, the outer one decorated with a ring of flames. The ornamentation of the inner band is too worn to be identified (see Fig. 43).

38. Basgo Lotsāba *lha khang*. Fixing holes for the aureoles (H. Feiglstorfer, 2005).

39. Nyarma *dri gtsang khang* (H. Feiglstorfer, 2011). The only extant aureole in the *dri gtsang khang*, on the west wall between the pedestal and the today's ceiling construction.

40. Nyarma *dri gtsang khang*. Detail of the aureole described in Fig. 39 (H. Feiglstorfer, 2011).

The position of the aureoles mounted on the wall is high enough for pilgrims to pass below the sculptures (see Fig. 20 and Fig. 29: c).[29] This type was used in the *'du khang* of Tabo while those modelled on the western wall of the *'du khang* in Nyarma are too low to pass beneath.

**The Outer Path of Circumambulation**

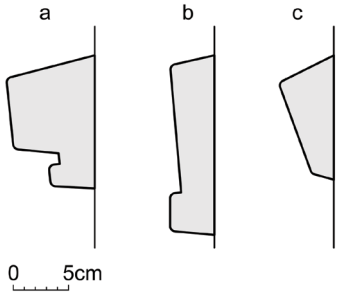
A circumambulation path, closed to its outside by a free-standing enclosure wall, leads around the *'du khang* and the *nang skor*. Today, only the southern section of this wall exists. The rest has completely disappeared. Opposite the *'du khang*, this enclosure wall has a projection formed as a niche. The front of the niche is closed by a recent brick wall, including two doors into a storage room covered with a flat roof. It is the only roofed section of this enclosure wall, which does not preclude the former roofing of the whole outer circumambulation path. Remains of wooden sticks for attaching statues to the wall emphasise that this niche was once a *lha khang*, and thus probably roofed.

As this existing section of the free-standing enclosure wall runs parallel to the wall of the *'du khang* and the *nang skor*, it follows the *maṇḍala* shape of the ground plan of the inner structure. After this wall, a Tibetan-style toilet has recently been built at the intersection of the *'du khang* and the *nang skor*. The coping of the section of the ambulatory wall opposite the wall around the *nang skor* has indentations that may mark the position of a former roof of this outer ambulatory.

The south-eastern corner of this enclosure wall includes a short piece of the western section of the wall. From here onwards towards the north and along the northern section no traces of this enclosure wall remain. In this case, Gergan's notes are helpful in reconstructing this missing section of the outer enclosure wall. He gives measurements of the course of the eastern and northern sections. After a reconstruction, according to Gergan's measurements we can state that the former course of the western section was built without any further wall projection and the course of the northern section was approximately symmetrical to the southern section, mirrored along the east-west axis of the whole *gtsug lag khang* (Fig. 44).

The outer ambulatory is slightly (≈ 30 cm) lower than the level of the *'du khang* and slightly higher than the level outside this ambulation path. This enclosure wall is about 310 cm high. If this ambulatory path were roofed, the walls of the adjoining *'du khang* would have been visible up to about one metre above the roof of the ambulatory, calculating the height of the *'du khang* as about 435 cm.

[29] This aspect of devotional tradition in a temple is discussed by Kalantari (2016) and by Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po and Kalantari ("Guge kingdom-period murals in the Zhag grotto in mNga' ris, Western Tibet", this volume, p. 420).




41. Nyarma *'du khang*, three different types of aureoles (H. Feiglstorfer, 2012). Vertical sections: upside is the outer boundary and downside the inner boundary of the aureole. Details of clay aureoles along the east wall of the *'du khang*: (a) head-aureole, (b) torso-aureole, (c) detail of a clay aureole along the west wall of the *'du khang*.

42. Nyarma *'du khang*. Aureole on the east wall, flanking the entrance gate (H. Feiglstorfer, 2006).

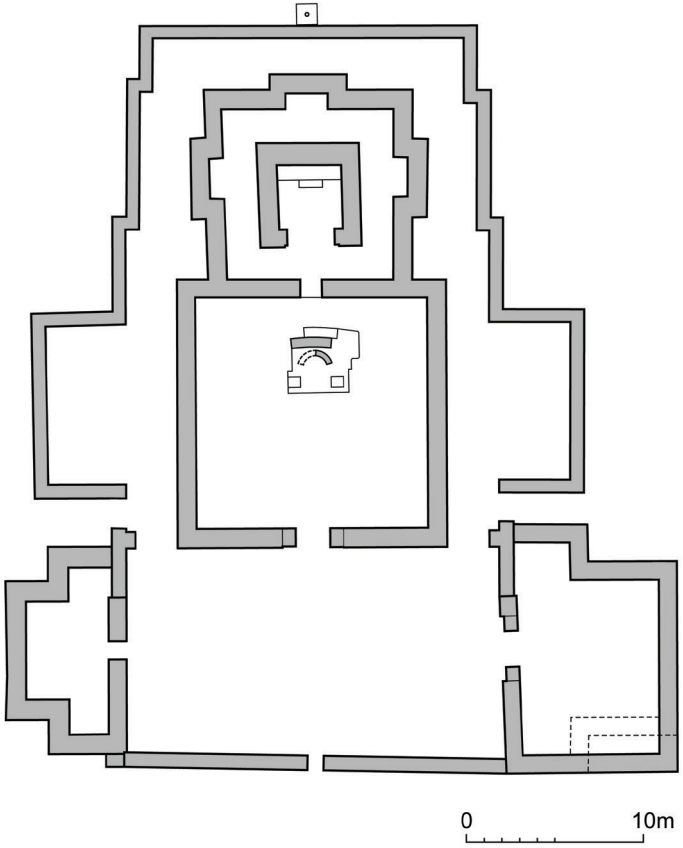
43. Nyarma *'du khang*. Aureole on the east wall, flanking the entrance gate in detail (H. Feiglstorfer, 2006).

**The Courtyard**

At around 290 cm to 300 cm, the distance between the outer walls of the *'du khang* and the walls around the *nang skor* on the one hand and the surrounding enclosure wall on the other is approximately the same along the whole existing section of the wall. The existing eastern projections of the southern and the former northern part of the wall are a similar distance from the outer course of the eastern wall of the *'du khang*. Both these ends of the enclosure wall have been integrated into two later additions probably as *lha khang*. The area enclosed by these two wall projections to the north and to the south as well by the eastern wall of the *'du khang* to the west must have been a forecourt of the whole *gtsug lag khang*, facing the lake in the east.

There are several holes for mounting any objects along the outer surface of the eastern wall of the *'du khang*, some of them still containing wooden remains of former suspension brackets (Fig. 45). As these holes are at about the same level and a similar distance from the doorway, the position of sculptures here, possibly covered by a roof, cannot be excluded, which would mean a quite extraordinary composition in comparison with other early West Tibetan temples. On the other hand, the whole arrangement of this forecourt, including the two openings towards an enclosed ambulatory, has no West Tibetan parallels. Compared to other early temples such as the Jo khang in Khorchag, the *gtsug lag khang* in Tholing and the *gtsug lag khang* in Tabo, which are horizontally organised in three parts—the *dri gtsang khang*, the *'du khang* and the *sgo khang*—in the case of the *gtsug lag khang* in Nyarma the *sgo khang* is missing. Temples II and IV in Nyarma both have two laterally flanking antae as parts of a former porch and as an elongation of the lateral walls of the *'du khang*.

It is interesting that the porches of these two Nyarma temples, temples II and IV, were integrated into the whole proportional concept of each of these temples. In a similar way the forecourt of the *gtsug lag khang* in Nyarma is also organised as a part of the *gtsug lag khang*, proportionally integrated in its whole structure. Constructive evidence at temples II and IV in Nyarma suggest their



44. Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*. Reconstruction of the ground plan after Gergan (1917) (H. Feiglstorfer, 2012).

45. Nyarma *'du khang*. East façade of the *'du khang* (H. Feiglstorfer, 2006).

porches were roofed. At the *gtsug lag khang* the evidence is not as clear. The distance of about 290 cm from the façade of the *'du khang*, which is similar to that between temples II and IV as well to the eastern wall projections of the outer ambulatory wall, would allow for a roof without the need for any supporting pillars.

Along the uppermost part of the eastern wall of the *'du khang* the plaster of the wall has broken off horizontally and the outer surface of the wall is further back. In addition, in places this upper zone has holes to support former wooden beams. If this were the roof zone it would be slightly lower than the roof of the *'du khang*, thus following a common feature of West Tibetan temples, especially the ones in Nyarma, by raising the level of the roof of the *'du khang* to the level of the roof of the porch (Fig. 46).

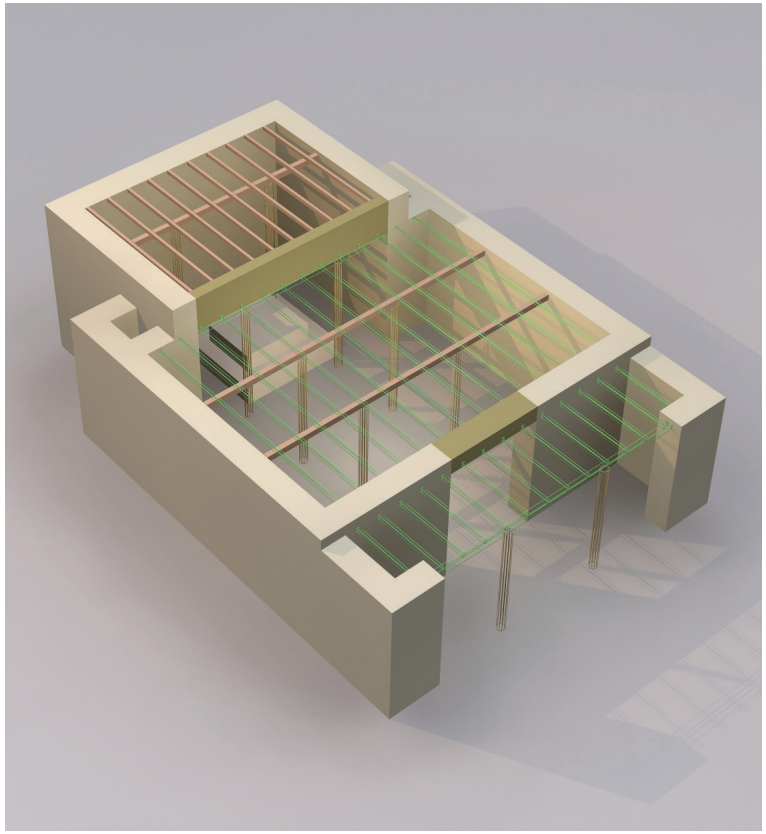
Imagining this porch of the *gtsug lag khang* in Nyarma with pillars approximately four metres high and a porch about 21 metres long, it must have had an imposing appearance. Although several of the early West Tibetan porches, like those at Alchi or Wanla are built in an exquisite manner, none of those appears as a peristyle of this kind. Today this forecourt is flanked by a *lha khang* to the north and south. The outer terrain along the eastern wall of the *'du khang* is slightly below the terrain inside the *'du khang* and slopes down towards the shore of the lake.

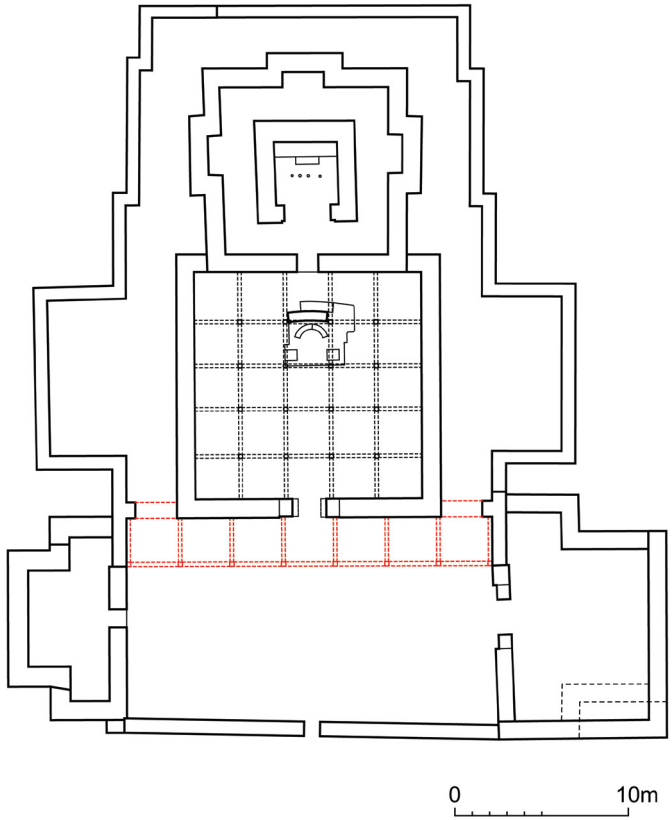
Assuming that the protections of the free-standing wall of the outer ambulation path define the front of the veranda, we can use approximately the same length of rafters as may have been used in the above-mentioned concept of a 20-pillar grid. In this case the position of the rafters would be similar to that of the rafters inside the *'du khang*. The rafters would further constructively correlate with the length of the eastern wall of the *'du khang* as well as with the position of the door opening (Fig. 47). This ideal reconstruction of the veranda in front of the *'du khang* is not shown in the three dimensional model as it is still too hypothetical. Hopefully, further archaeological surveys can solve this question.

According to Gergan's notes this eastern courtyard was closed to the east by a wall, and he estimates the gate inside this wall as being 12 feet wide (see Jahoda, "Joseph Thsertan Gergan's report on Nyarma, 1917", this volume, p. 177). Traces of this wall can still be seen at its southern end. Today, both of these two *lha khang* remain as fragmentary ruins. Of the northern *lha khang* only, the southern and the western walls still exist. The southern wall has holes inside the *lha*

46. Nyarma temple IV. Reconstruction as 3D visualisation (H. Feiglstorfer, 2012).

47. Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* (H. Feiglstorfer, 2012). Hypothetical reconstruction of the veranda in front of the east wall of the *'du khang*: (bold red:) pillars, (dashed red:) beams of the veranda roof.






*khang* which can be associated with support holes for former wooden brackets for mounting sculptures. The south-western corner of this *lha khang* has a wall projection that forms a niche. The whole northern wall and the shape of the eastern wall of this *lha khang* can only be reconstructed hypothetically as there are hardly any traces left.

A hypothetical reconstruction of the eastern wall section follows the course of its western wall, mirrored along the north-south axis of this *lha khang*. According to Gergan's sketch and measurements (see Jahoda, "Joseph Thsertan Gergan's report on Nyarma, 1917" this volume, Fig. 16, p. 186), this niche exists only in the western wall of this northern *lha khang* but not in its eastern wall. The unplastered sections of the wall on either side of the doorway can be interpreted as traces of a former wooden doorframe.

Of the southern of these two *lha khang*, only some parts of the northern and eastern wall can be identified. The niche of the eastern wall is similar in form to the western niche in the northern *lha khang*. The only remains of the southern wall of the southern *lha khang* is a heap of earth. The reconstruction of this *lha khang* is similar to the reconstruction of the northern *lha khang*, mirroring its eastern niche along the north-south axis of this *lha khang*, always on the hypothetical assumption that this side temple was planned with a symmetrical shape.

### The rDo rje chen mo *lha khang*

A new *lha khang*, nowadays commonly referred to as rDo rje chen mo *lha khang*, was built on top of the original walls of the *dri gtsang khang* and of the *nang skor* (most probably after 1842; see Jahoda, "Joseph Thsertan Gergan's report on Nyarma, 1917", this volume, p. 175). The coping of the original walls had to be levelled in order to construct a new storey on an existing earth construction. Unfortunately, because of this later addition we do not know the original height of the walls of the *dri gtsang khang* and of the adjoining *nang skor*. The shape of the central *lha khang* on the second floor follows the location of the walls of the *dri gtsang khang* below.

The walls of this new storey were set flush with the outer boundary of the walls in the lower storey, continuing the sloping of the original walls. The new pillars on the first floor may have been necessary to support the pillars of the central chamber of the new *lha khang*

(Fig. 48). The cella niche of this *lha khang* is on the right above the doorway below. The niche in this *lha khang* contains a statue of rDo rje chen mo, today protected in a glass case, located in the east of this *lha khang* opposite the west-facing entrance. With the lantern on top of the roof of the central *lha khang*, the two windows and this proportion of a veranda on its western side, this *lha khang* follows a more recent type of architecture. The two pillars in the upper *lha khang* are located above the pillars and the beams below.

On its lateral sides this veranda is flanked by two other approximately square chambers, the southern one linked to another and bigger chamber. The northern chamber is used for butter lamps; the two adjoined chambers to the south are used as a store room and a kitchen. To the west the veranda can be accessed via a staircase. The two western projections of the veranda flanking the upper part of the staircase are located on the walls of the western niche of the inner ambulatory of the former construction below. This niche in the ground floor has been closed at the front to provide further support. The access to the staircase is located in a small forecourt enclosed by a wall. A gate to the west connects this forecourt with the surrounding garden and a doorway to the east, i.e. a hole in the former walls of the ambulatory which connects this forecourt with the central part of the original construction of the *gtsug lag khang*.

**Constructive and Spatial Changes**

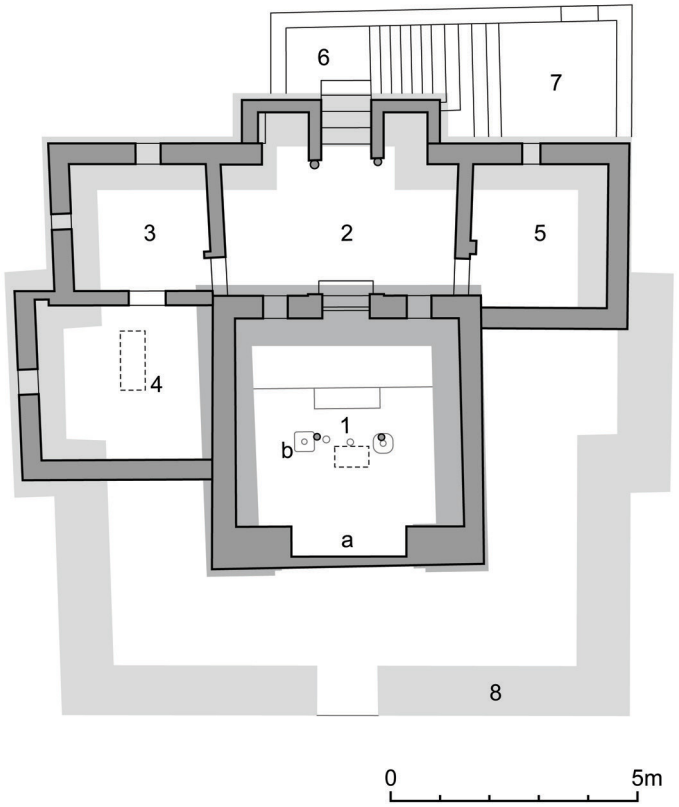
Alongside these many perceptions in the field of early West Tibetan temple architecture, which were enabled by the *gtsug lag khang* as a construction that was possibly never reconstructed or renovated, later changes give an insight in possibilities of later additions. As well as the already mentioned later additions of the forecourt to the east of the *'du khang* and of a second storey, one can find several other smaller important changes (Fig. 50).

As a transit gate from the ambulatory space to the staircase, the transition was enabled by breaking a hole into the western wall of this ambulatory path. (1) The space including the staircase to the upper storey was separated by the erection of a wall with an entrance gate. A small forecourt as a transition zone links the western access with the eastern *nang skor* via a passageway as a wall breakthrough, also as a later addition. (2) The opening into the *dri gtsang khang*, was reduced in its size by erecting a brick wall with a small door and a window. (3) According to several materials inside the former *nang skor* as well as inside the *dri gtsang khang*, recently these chambers have not been used for spiritual purposes rather than as a store room. The ambulatory around the *dri gtsang khang* was closed on the southern side by a brick wall which made its use as ambulatory path impossible and the former function as such was lost. (4)

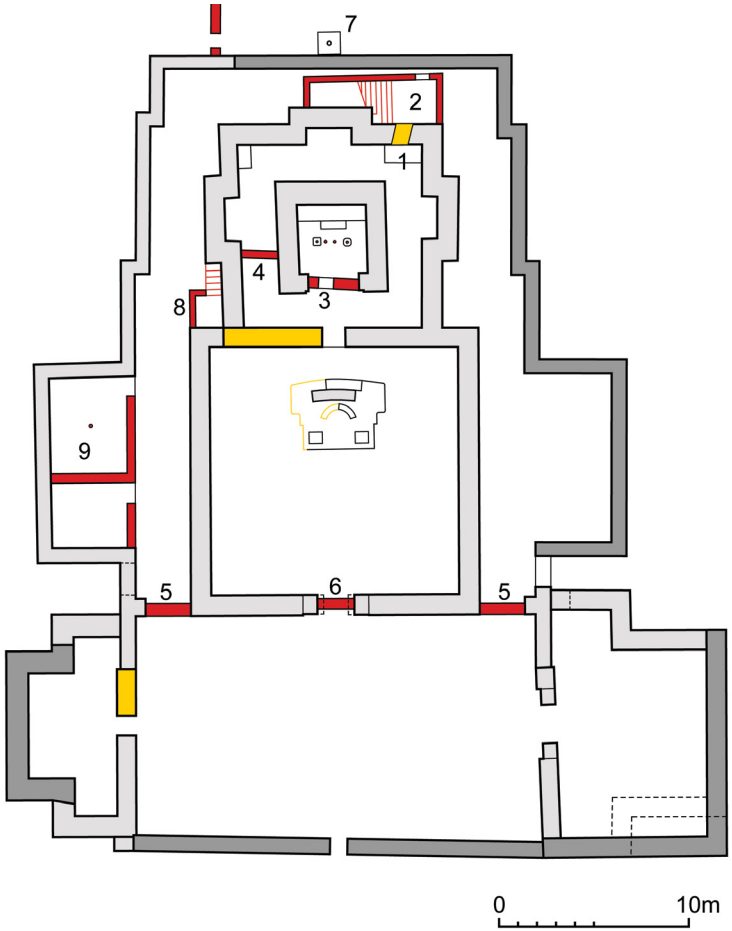
The outer ambulatory was closed at both eastern ends by a brick wall on either side in addition to the original wall projections. (5) This action must have been taken after Gergan's visit in 1917, the ambulation was then part of his description. After the ambulatory was closed it could no longer be used for its original purpose. The eastern gate of the central hall was closed with a brick wall. (6) This measure could only have taken place after breaking a hole inside the western wall of the ambulatory to enable a further access to the *'du khang*-area. A flagpole was erected in front of the steps on the western side of the *gtsug lag khang*. (7) As flag poles are generally erected in front of a *lha khang* rather than behind it, it was probably not on this side before the upper *lha khang* was built, as the *gtsug lag khang* originally faced east.

A Tibetan style toilet was built in the outer *skor lam*, at the intersection of the *'du khang*-walls and the *nang skor*-walls. (8) The *lha khang* along the outer *skor lam* was closed at the front and divided into two rooms, in the present state both used as storage rooms. (9)

At this point has to be stated that relatively high building precision was a specific feature of the early West Tibetan temples. Building the




48. Nyarma rDo rje chen mo *lha khang* (H. Feiglstorfer, 2012). (1) *lha khang*, (a) position of the statue of rDo rje chen mo, (2) veranda, (3) kitchen, (4) store room, (5) butter-lamp room, (6) stairs, (7) forecourt linking the *nang skor* and the access from the garden, (8) light grey hatch and light grey lines: original structure of the *dri gtsang khang* and the *nang skor* in the ground floor.




49. Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* reconstruction (H. Feiglstorfer, 2012); (light grey hatch:) walls according to the present state of documentation, (dark grey hatch:) walls according to a reconstruction after Gergan (1917), (red hatch:) elements added in a later phase, (yellow hatch:) elements no longer extant, either because they were demolished or they disintegrated. (1) a hole broken into the western wall of the *nang skor*, (2) stairs and forecourt, (3) a brick wall with a small door and a window at the entrance of the dri *gtsang khang*, (4) closing the *nang skor* by erecting a brick wall, (5) the outer *skor lam* closed by a brick wall on either side in addition to the original wall projections, (6) the eastern gate of the central hall was closed by a brick wall, (7) a flagpole was erected in front of the stairs on the western side of the *gtsug lag khang*, (8) toilet, (9) additional walls in the side *lha khang*.

corners of these massive walls of clay bricks close to a right angle is a result of the geometric programme that the whole structure is based on. In this context the right angle has to be mentioned as a result of a superordinate geometric concept and is not primarily autotelic. The precision with which these clay structures are geometrically based indicates that the master builders and workers must have been highly skilled. The opposite can be seen in the above-mentioned constructive and spatial changes, which are all far from any precision in building and maintaining right angles.

### The Vertical Shaping

With regard to the above-mentioned different levels of the several parts of the *gtsug lag khang*, i.e. the forecourt and the outer ambulation path and the *'du khang* and the *dri gtsang khang*, a continuous vertical shaping of the whole *gtsug lag khang* from its outer zones towards its central core, with the pedestal in the *dri gtsang khang* becomes apparent. The whole construction of the *gtsug lag khang* seems to have been built as several platforms at different heights along the level of the natural ground, which was actually the lowest level of the whole construction (Fig. 51).

A planning sequence according to a proportional system of each part of the building linked to the proportion and geometry of the *dri gtsang khang* was most probably the centre of a further proportional development. For a construction sequence of the several layers, the lowest level must have been erected first and finally the *dri gtsang khang*. Thus the setting of the marking points on the site, before starting the construction must have been decided and defined at the lowest level, followed by a complement of the marking points on each newly built level. A longitudinal section through the whole *gtsug lag khang* shows a rise in the individual layers between the lake on the one side and the garden on the other towards the spiritual centre, and gives it the appearance of an artificial temple mountain.

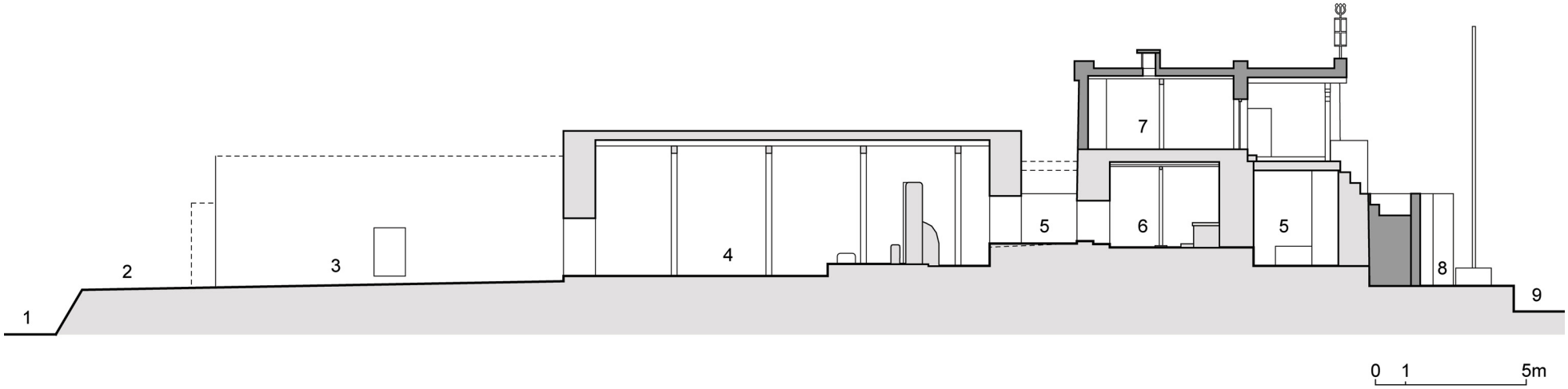
According to this work sequence, the whole proportional concept must have been fixed at the lowest level, the terrain, and then refixed at each level. For the master builder this process requires a precise knowledge both of the geometrical and proportional interrelations and the of related religious programme as well as the method of construction itself (Fig. 50).

This understanding would be indicative of the whole sequence of levelling the individual platforms having been planned as one geometric concept, not excluding the possibility that the *'du khang* and the surrounding structures of the *gtsug lag khang* were erected at a later stage.

### The Circumambulation Paths

As the practice of circumambulation inside the *gtsug lag khang* is no longer possible because of the deliberate closure of the ambulation paths with brick walls, we are reliant on historical sources for the reconstruction of the former ambulatory concept. So far, the oldest available information according to a practice of *skor lam* in Nyarma is provided by Joseph Gergan's account, recorded in 1917 (see Jahoda, "Joseph Thsertan Gergan's report on Nyarma, 1917", this volume, pp. 177–178). This mentions four different ways of ambulating the *gtsug lag khang*, which today can no longer be followed owing to several later additional walls blocking the way (see Fig. 49). Although we cannot say that his remarks are completely identical with the ambulation paths used about a thousand years ago, they give a great insight into the way this temple was used by pilgrims for the ritual circumambulation. In his report he mentions four pilgrimage paths (cf. *ibid.*: 177–178) (Fig. 52):

(1) The inner ambulatory (*nang skor*) leads around the central core,




namely the *dri gtsang khang*. Its path is defined by the course of the walls of the inner ambulatory. To reach this ambulatory one had to pass through the gate of the *'du khang*, which is on its eastern side.

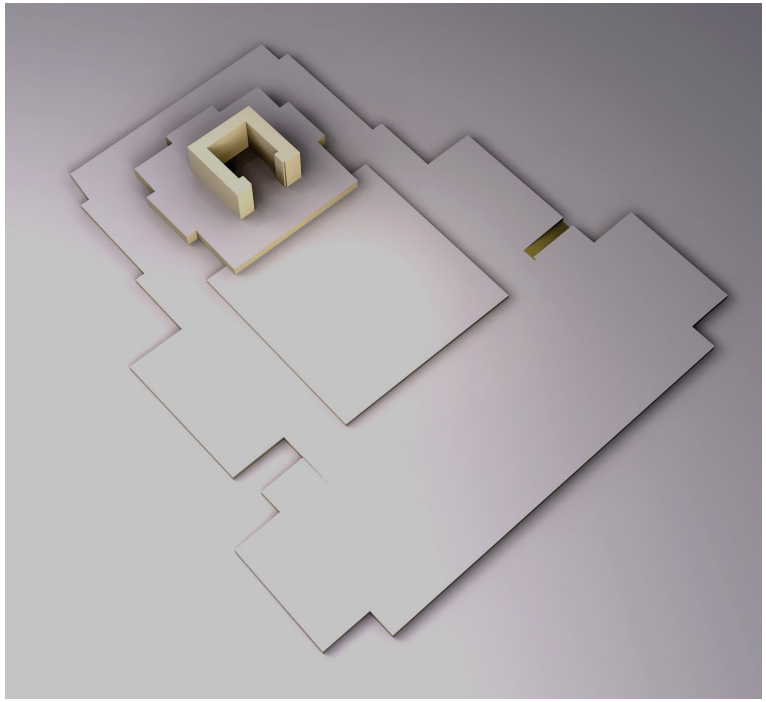
(2) The second ambulatory includes the ambulation along the inner border of the *'du khang* and combines it with the above-mentioned *nang skor*.

(3) The third ambulatory leads around the *dri gtsang khang* and the *'du khang*. To the south, the west and the north this *skor lam* was defined by the inner boundary of the free-standing enclosure wall. Parts of this path were possibly formerly roofed. To the east, this ambulation path passes the forecourt with the gate of the *'du khang*.

(4) The fourth ambulatory mentioned by Gergan surrounds the whole structure of the *gtsug lag khang* and is defined by the outer shape of the free-standing enclosure wall. For this *skor lam* he describes a passageway through an opening leading from outside the *gtsug lag khang* into the third ambulatory.

Gergan describes this as a narrow three by four foot opening (see Jahoda, this volume, p. 178) in the southern and northern sections of this free-standing enclosure wall. His description may explain today's slope in the terrain in the area of the passageway described in the northern section of the wall. In this context this slope may concern a former earthen stair or slope leading from the outside of the northern wall into the ambulatory around the central hall. The eastern section of this *skor lam* follows the course of the third ambulation path.

For the devotee, the *skor lam* is defined by the shape of the architecture that leads through the materialisation of a religious programme. The outer or inner shape of walls guides through this programme along its different levels. The number of ambulation paths



in a temple depends on the particular religious programme defined at the time of a temple's foundation.[30]

For comparison, in the *gtsug lag khang* in Tholing the inner ambulation path leads around the Vairocana sculpture in the

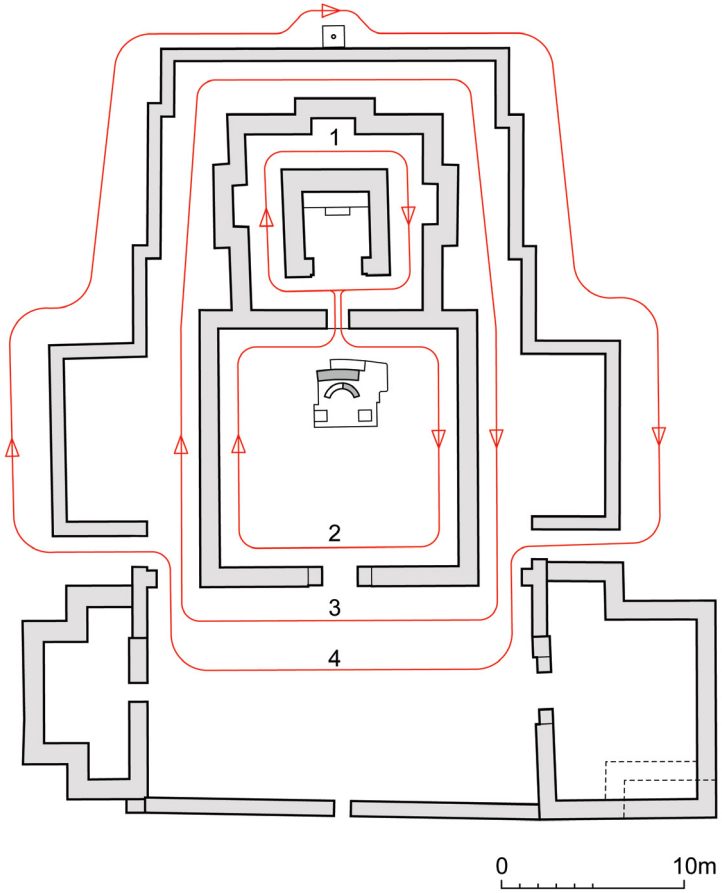
[30] Personal communication by Tashi Tsering at the 12th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies in Vancouver (August 2010).

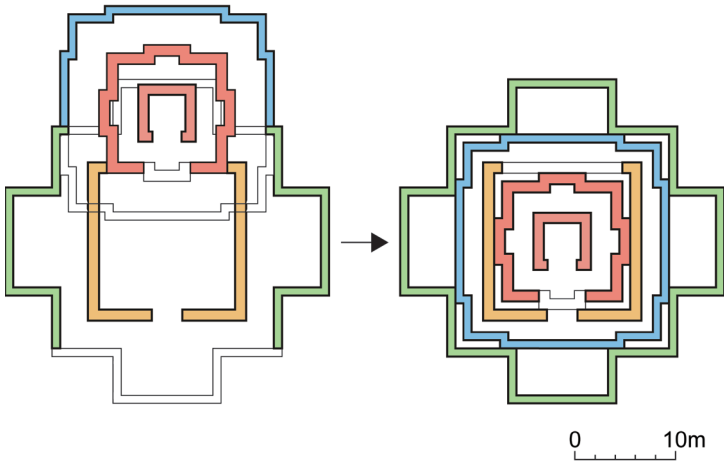
50. Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* longitudinal section and the vertical shaping (H. Feiglstorfer, 2011).
(1) lake, (2) lake shore, (3) eastern forecourt, (4) *'du khang*, (5) *nang skor*, (6) *dri gtsang khang*, (7) rDo rje chen mo *lha khang*, (8) former free-standing wall, today circumambulation of the flag pole, (9) garden.

51. Vertical shaping of the single levels of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* (H. Feiglstorfer, 2011).
The individual zones of the circumambulation scheme described by Gergan (1917) follow the vertical shape of the "temple mountain". The levels described from outside towards the innermost core: Surrounding terrain – outer *skor lam* – *'du khang* – *nang skor* together with *dri gtsang khang*. This shape shows the innermost core, i.e. the *nang skor* together with the *dri gtsang khang* as a spatial unit, which cannot be excluded as having existed on its own in an early phase as an independent temple.

52. Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*. Circumambulation paths according to Gergan (1917) (H. Feiglstorfer, 2010).

53. Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*. Horizontal layering (H. Feiglstorfer, 2010).




central *lha khang*. A further *skor lam* leads around the pentalic core, passing the various *lha khang* of the brGya rtsa (see Vitali 1999: 79). In Tabo, today the *nang skor* leads around the *dri gtsang khang* and along the inner shape of the *'du khang*.[31] An ambulatory around the *gtsug lag khang* probably ceased to exist when the gap between the 'Brom ston *lha khang* and the *gtsug lag khang* was closed (see Fig. 6). In the Jo khang in Khorchag the innermost ambulatory leads around the sculptures of the Rigs gsum mgon po (or Jo bo dngul sku mched gsum, "Three Silver Brothers"). The circumambulation of the Jo khang along its outer walls is described locally as the *nang skor*. The *nang skor* in the lHa khang chen mo in Khorchag surrounds the innermost tripartite structure, the Byams pa (Maitreya) *lha khang* in the centre, flanked by the sGrol ma (Tārā) *lha khang* to its left and the *mgon khang* (Protectors' Temple) to its right. Since several walls have been built it is no longer possible to follow this path.

In Nyarma the original circumambulation path (*pradakṣiṇapatha*) around the temple area follows the borders of a sacred space, and at this time was probably based on a new religious programme associated with new translations of tantric texts (for which the designation *gsar ma*, "new", or gSang sngags gsar ma, "Secret New Mantra", was coined), commonly considered as having started with the translation work of Rin chen bzang po (958–1055) (see Jahoda, "The foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, Ladakh", this volume, p. 284). These tantric concepts and practices have defined the architectural space of the temple plan. The location of the *skor lam* thereby at the same time becomes the concept of space for the popular movement of the devotee who becomes involved in the rhythm of a clearly defined spatial sequence.

## Vertical Interlacing

Having described several architectural features of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, namely the horizontal interlacing, the vertical shaping and the pilgrims' ritual of circumambulation, the question of a spatial model including all these aspects arises. The *gtsug lag khang* in general was built as a horizontally organised structure (see also Feiglstorfer 2010a: 126, 131 and 132).[32] Each of its individual parts

[31] Based on information by Sonam Tsering, a local informant from Tabo (personal communication by Veronika Hein, July 2010).

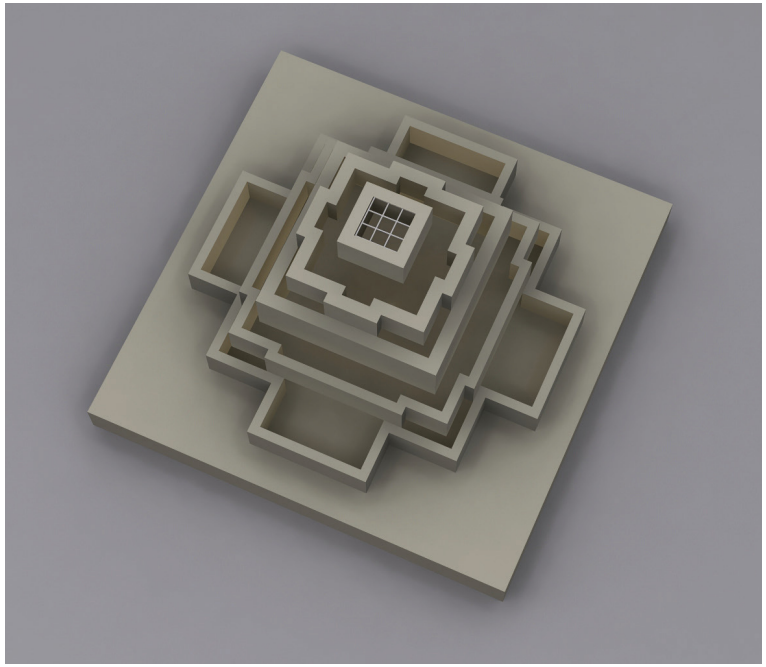
[32] The horizontal organisation of a centralised West Tibetan temple structure was discussed in Feiglstorfer 2010a in the context of a spatial development related to centrally organised structures such as the dBu rtse in Samye or the Somapura *vihāra* in Pāhārpur. The vertical interlacing including a description of the several components was presented by the author at the 20th EASAA Conference 2010 in Vienna. Prior to this a sketch was shown in Kozicz 2010: fig. 1 without giving any further empirically proven explanation. According to this sketch

fits into the shape of a concentric order. The size of the square inner ambulatory is linked to the size of the *dri gtsang khang* by using its modulus of a 3x3 grid. The square outer shape of the inner ambulatory, including its wall extensions, fits into the inner shape of the square *'du khang*. The inner border of the free-standing ambulation wall can be defined by the inner width of the *dri gtsang khang*, measured from the *dri gtsang khang*'s centre.

In the same way, the outer shape of the inner ambulatory fits into the inner shape of the adjoining *'du khang*, the outer shape of the free-standing enclosure wall around the inner ambulatory of the *dri gtsang khang* fits into the inner shape of the adjoining free-standing enclosure wall opposite the *'du khang* (Fig. 53). The two *lha khang* to the east fit into the whole structure as their geometrical centre is located on an equilateral triangle.[33] A similar interrelation between the *dri gtsang khang* and the two flanking towers can be found at the 'Du khang of Alchi. These geometrical interrelations are elements of several proportional interrelations. Their existence shows the interrelation of several layers in material form.

Interestingly, from a constructive point of view the two *lha khang* are obviously a later addition to the *gtsug lag khang*, but on the other hand they fit into this common geometrical concept. Raising the question of whether they belong to an original proportional concept or whether the original concept was extended by these two *lha khang* keeps the hypothesis alive that the whole proportional concept of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* is a succession of several structures in the following chronological sequence: *dri gtsang khang*—*'du khang* and outer ambulation path—two *lha khang* flanking the *'du khang* on the eastern side.

The several layers used for the concentrically horizontal shape find their parallels in the vertical shape of the structure of the *gtsug lag khang*. Each layer of the horizontal shape matches a particular level, which increases as it approaches the centre. From the lowest to the highest layer, the several horizontal zones can be mentioned as: the outer terrain—the outer ambulatory—the *'du khang*—the *nang skor* and the *dri gtsang khang* (Feiglstorfer 2011a II: 104, plan 33). Comparing these horizontal and vertical zones with the space



54. Vertical interlacing of the individual layers (H. Feiglstorfer, 2010). An hypothetical reconstruction of a *maṇḍala*-shaped space, following the vertical shape of the temple mountain given in Fig. 51 and the system of circumambulation as recorded by Gergan (1917).

used by pilgrims for their ritual circumambulation results in an interrelated accordance. The several zones described by Gergan can be described in the same spatial way, namely: the outer terrain—the outer ambulatory—the *'du khang*—the inner ambulatory and the *dri gtsang khang*. According to the vertical shape, the movement of the pilgrim rises towards the innermost centre.

Thus, the features mentioned show a proportional and geometrical as well as a functional interdependency according to a certain superordinate religious programme. The vertical interlacing of the several features shows the materialisation of a three-dimensional proportional structure in a horizontal order (Jahoda and Feiglstorfer 2010) (Fig. 54). This means that the individual layers of this structure are not built in a centralised manner, as can be found at the *gtsug lag khang* in Tholing, but that the layers of the centralised structure were organised horizontally beside and around each other. In this regard, we can note similarities between the *gtsug lag khang* of Nyarma and the one at Tabo but also with the *gtsug lag khang* at Tholing and the Jo khang at Khorchag (Feiglstorfer 2011a II: 95, plan 18).[34] This concept would also coincide with a superordinate tripartite sacred

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the theory leads to an obviously different result (see Feiglstorfer 2010a: 136). Kozicz refers to the geometric possibility of fitting several parts of the *gtsug lag khang* into one another and thereby creates a three-dimensional model (Kozicz 2007b, 2009 and 2010).

[33] This triangular geometry was shown as a sketch in Kozicz 2009: 18, plate 1.10 without any further explanation. In Feiglstorfer 2011a II: 103, plans 17, 28 and 29, the triangular concept is compared to temples whose layout has a similar feature of a triangular relation between particular parts of the guilding, i.e. the *gtsug lag khang* in Nyarma, the 'Du khang in Alchi and the Rameśvara temple in Ellora.

[34] The reconstruction of the original shape of the Jo khang in Khorchag shows a possible cruciform shape, not only of the exterior as it is today but also of the interior shape. See also the ground plan of the Jo khang by the author in Feiglstorfer and Jahoda (2012: 81).

concept over the territory of the early West Tibetan Empire, with the *gtsug lag khang* of Nyarma, Tholing and Khorchag as its centres. A possible association of these temples with Dīpaṃkara, Śākyamuni and Maitreya would refer to a superordinate religious concept (Feiglstorfer 2011b; see also Jahoda, "The foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, Ladakh", this volume, pp. 286–287), each temple characterised by its own proportional and geometrical concept. In a broader sense this concept may be mentioned as a basic structure for a further development in early West Tibetan temple architecture. By talking of a three-dimensional *maṇḍala*, if this was ever the intention of the master-builders, the *dri gtsang khang* could be understood as its central core on top of the spiritual mount embedded in a spatial and ritual concept as a part of a superordinate religious concept marking one of the three spiritual centres of the West Tibetan Empire.

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Christiane Kalantari

# Note on the Spatial Iconography of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* in Context

In recent years more material and documentation of early Buddhist temples in the Western Himalayas from the period of the 10th–13th centuries has been published, allowing a study of typologies of structures and an interpretation of functions and meanings of different architectural themes as well as their relation to religious ideas and forms of devotion.

However, existing monographs on early Buddhist temples in the Western Himalayas centre on isolated religious monuments and their artefacts, with little study of interrelations between the different sites. In addition, important examples from this phase, namely the ensembles of three major foundations of Nyarma (Nyar ma, etc.), Tholing (mTho gling, etc.) and Khorchag ('Khor chags, etc.), have received little attention up to now due the political conditions limiting access to the latter two temples. Their ruinous condition or altered state is one of the additional major reasons for this situation. Collating data from different perspectives such as built reality, ritual practice and iconographic function as a single corpus provides a fresh perspective on the evolutionary history of the temples and their symbolism.

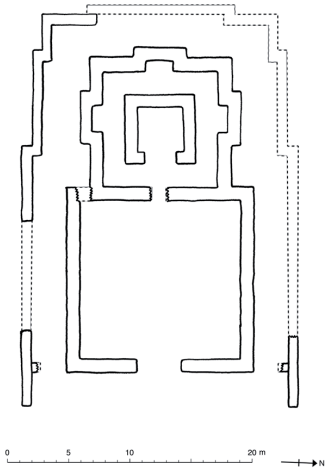
This study will discuss new data from the historically linked major royal temple foundations of the period around the first millennium CE, in particular specific features of the programme and of the spatial configuration of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* and will attempt to embed the temple in its artistic-cultural as well as in its ritual context.[1] The basis of the comparative perspective is extensive field research in areas of historical Western Tibet since 2007 and the collection of data on hitherto little-studied monuments of the West Tibet kingdom. The analysis will include questions of the historicity of the form and symbolism of the site, through comparative analysis of

1. Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*: view from south-west (C. Kalantari, 2009).

[1] Field research in Ladakh has been conducted by the author since 2000; studies on site in Nyarma were carried out on initiative and in collaboration with Christian Jahoda in 2009. I wish to thank the nuns and the abbess of the nunnery at Nyarma in particular for their hospitality, support and valuable information.

2. Nyarma, general view of sacred site (C. Kalantari, 2009).

3. Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*: view from the courtyard (Q. Devers, 2009).




4. Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*: "original" structures from the 10th/11th century phase (plan by Q. Devers, 2012).

the temple art and architecture in the neighbouring and historically linked regions of Central Tibet, Ladakh,[2] Himachal Pradesh and the Indian plains, as well as Kashmir.[3]

Focusing now on the royal foundation at Nyarma, the main temple or *gtsug lag khang* impresses—despite its ruinous state—because of the monumentality of the walls, the precision of the layout and outstanding quality of the construction. Furthermore it is of central importance for religious-artistic and architectural studies because it provides an almost intact original layout of an early sacred space in the region (Figs. 1–3).

The temple lies on an east-west axis with the main hall (*'du khang*) and a shrine-chamber-cum-ambulatory at its west end (Fig. 4). The present structures clearly convey that one of the main forms of devotion, i.e. a circumambulation, or meditative walk outside and inside the temple, is expressed in the architectonic layout, namely as corridors around the main hall (*'du khang*) and the sanctum (*dri gtsang khang*) as well as an entrance hall (*sgo khang*). Gergan was the first to show the relationship between the architectural structure and the ritual practice as discussed by Jahoda ("Joseph Thsertan Gergan's report on Nyarma, 1917", this volume, pp. 171–199). A comparable spatial configuration with an outer ambulatory can be found in the Alchi 'Du khang, as already observed by Luczanits and Neuwirth (2010: 80; see below, Fig. 13). Luczanits (2004: 307, n. 118) also described the typological link between Nyarma's core structures and the Tabo *gtsug lag khang*. While Tabo has no outer ambulatory path, the assembly hall features raised sculptures (dating from the renovation phase, ca. mid-11th century) attached to the walls at a height of ca. 160 cm from the current ground level, indicating a form of worship through a meditative walk under these sculptures and thus giving a lead to the ritual circumambulation of the temple and dynamic perception of its programme (Kalantari 2016);[4] the latter is a contrasting feature to Nyarma (see below). With regard to the original function of the biggest structure at Nyarma, Gergan suggested that—in addition to the size and complex shape—the pilgrimage paths in and around this temple indicate the original function of this structure as *gtsug lag khang* ("main temple"), also designated by him as *chos skor*. The physical dynamic perception of sacred space representing the progression within an inner spiritual development is a typical feature of Vajrayāna Buddhism (see below).

[2] Few studies have as yet focused on the historic context of the early Buddhist building forms in Ladakh; pioneers in this field are Romi Khosla (1975, 1979) and Roger Goepper (1996).

[3] A short description of the architectural remains and of the interior decoration of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* ("Main Temple") is provided by Christian Luczanits (2004: 29ff), who also published some results of comparative research focusing on the early monuments at Alchi (Luczanits and Neuwirth 2010). Holger Neuwirth provided a general map of the sacred site of Nyarma as well as detailed plans of ground plans and elevations (see www.archresearch.tugraz.at/results/Nyarma/nyarma3.html; accessed April 29, 2013). More comprehensive research on the remaining structures of Nyarma are by Gerald Kozicz (2007, 2009, 2010a and 2010b) and Feiglstorfer (2010). Kozicz provided detailed floor plans of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* and various other monuments of the compound. (For further plans by Kozicz see also: http://www.tibetheritagefund.org/media/forum/Berlin_conf_paper07/kozicz_ berlinpap.pdf.)

[4] The narrative programmes in the different spaces represents increasing spiritual levels as described by Luczanits (2010). I am grateful to Eva Allinger for discussions on this topic.

An additional new perspective—as already mentioned—is provided by recent archaeological research. Nyarma has been surveyed in detail by the archaeologist Quentin Devers, who was the first to chart the remains (residential buildings and religious structures) of that site.[5] The data of archaeologists are required to specify the historical stratigraphy of the remains of the main temple and to analyse the temple's wider layout.[6] In this article some aspects of the analysis of the entrance space—which has been modified, enlarged and transformed in later periods—as well as questions regarding the remains of the interior decoration are results of discussions with Devers.[7]

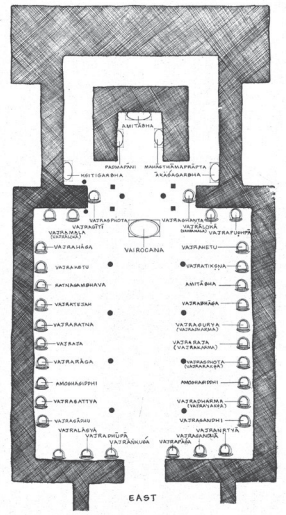
**The "Shrine-Chamber": "*garbhagṛha*" Versus "*caityagṛha*"**

The *gtsug lag khang* of Tabo (Figs. 5–6) and Nyarma are exemplary of composite religious functions in the tradition of classical tripartite *vihāra* structures, i.e. longitudinal temples with entrance hall, assembly hall and shrine at the rear. However, while their religious symbolisms and functions may be comparable, the sizes and shapes of the individual structures within each of the two temples at Tabo and Nyarma differ considerably, suggesting diverging cultural contexts.

As regards the spatial concept, the shrine chamber (*dri gtsang khang*) of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* is comparable to that of the Tabo *gtsug lag khang* (Fig. 7) as already observed by several authors.

5. Tabo *gtsug lag khang*: *'du khang* clay sculpures attached on the walls (C. Kalantari, 2009).

6. Tabo *gtsug lag khang*: *'du khang* (C. Kalantari, 2002).




7. Tabo *gtsug lag khang* (plan after R. Khosla 1979: fig. 2 on p. 44).

[5] Quentin Devers included the remains of residential architecture in his archaeological research and survey on Nyarma (see Devers, "An archaeological account of Nyarma and its surroundings, Ladakh", this volume, pp. 214–216), both featuring all-stone corbelled structures. The all-stone building at Nyarma was first described by Neil Howard in 1989. See for images also "Flight of the Khyung" by John V. Bellezza (http://www.tibetarchaeology.com; accessed May 7, 2013).

[6] In addition, fragments of sculptures and wall-paintings might perhaps be found in the debris in future, providing important clues for questions of chronology.

[7] I am grateful to Quentin Devers for his generosity in sharing his insights with me.

8. Udaipur, Mirkulā Devī temple, Lahaul: view of the *garbagṛha* with the sheltering *toraṇa* (C. Kalantari, 2002; WHAV).

9. Tabo *gtsug lag khang*: detail of decorative elements on passage from assembly hall (*'du khang*) to sanctum (*dri gtsang khang* and *skor lam*) (H. Feiglstorfer, 2019).

Luczanits (2004: 307, n. 118) summarised the main features as follows: "The ground plan of the inner part of the temple at Nyarma is very similar to that of the Tabo Main Temple (gTsug-lag-khang; […]), but niches were added to the three sides of the ambulatory, and the opening between the main hall and the apse is comparatively narrow. One of the niches preserves the remains of a large circular aureole and a pointed nimbus which project considerably beyond its upper edge."

The architectonic arrangement of both temples features spaces along a main axis and a horizontal hierarchy of sacred spaces leading to a cella. While the Tabo sanctum's walls are higher, Nyarma is placed on a raised platform as observed by Feiglstorfer ("The architecture of the Buddhist temple complex of Nyarma", this volume, Fig. 50, p. 253) both features signifying that the cella is imagined as spiritually elevated. The horizontal, axial orientation in the inner core leading to a cella stands in clear contrast to the—roughly contemporaneous—centralised plan of the so-called Ye shes 'od temple (or Gyatsa [brGya rtsa]) at Tholing, with a cult image at its centre—the latter appears to have a different iconographic and cultic function. The oblong tripartite shape also differs from the multi-storey structure of Shalu (Zhwa lu) in Central Tibet (ca. 1030), having a vertical hierarchy, described as a *maṇḍala* and representation of Mount Sumeru (Chayet 1988: 23). The longitudinal-type of temples at Nyarma and Tabo combine a monastic function with a ritual function for public and congregational forms of devotion. In particular, the longitudinal shape and the spatial order at Tabo recalls the axial succession of halls (entrance hall, assembly hall) leading to a *sanctum sanctorum* or shrine-chamber (*garbhagṛha*, or womb chamber) for perambulation, recalling the Buddhist and Hindu religious landscape of Lahaul and Chamba known for their wooden temples complete with magnificent *toraṇa*s as a lead-in and gateway to the sanctum. In this context it has to be mentioned that as regards the internal programme at Tabo, featuring a distinctive hierarchy in the religious programme, there are commonalities with cave temples of Ajanta (Ajaṇṭā), e.g. Cave XVII (see below),[8] although no direct genetic link is postulated here. The Hindu and Buddhist wooden temples in the bordering regions of Himachal Pradesh are in close geographical and historical proximity. Examinations of the structures of the latter—typically featuring a *garbhagṛha* with sheltering *toraṇa*s (gateways) combined with a *maṇḍapa* (a pillared hall for public rituals)—and their decorations reveal significant commonalities with Tabo (Papa-Kalantari 2007).

[8] The latter consisting of entrance hall, assembly hall and sanctum at the rear of the temple.

As a characteristic element, the ceiling programme of the cella at Tabo has a centralised, mandalic layout, featuring airborne offering divinities venerating the cult image below between large lotus rosettes, and auspicious symbols in the corners, giving this space a vertical direction of ascent, almost reminiscent of a *śikhara*[9] typically positioned above the *garbagṛha*. This ceiling design is opposed to the decoration of the wooden planks above the main hall, with its ornamental depictions imitating a textile cover protecting a pillared hall, recalling the *maṇḍapa* in Indian temples.[10] The wall above the Tabo cella's entrance portal features Indic and Hindu deities (stemming from the mid-11th-century renovation phase) in their function as protectors, who typically occupy the entrance wall of a temple. Accordingly, a hierarchy of divinities is shown in this room, indicating that the shrine chamber with its perambulation is perceived as a separate unified sacred space.[11]

At Tabo much of the ceiling decoration above the shrine and ambulatory are reminiscent of the architectural ornamentation in Himachal Pradesh, such as at Udaipur[12] and Ribba (Lotsāba *lha khang*), the latter featuring large lotus rosettes and airborne spirits on the ambulatory's ceiling. In general, along the processional axis to the shrine chamber a progression in elaboration and size of ceiling decorations is observable, and their motifs indicate how these spaces were conceived. Particularly significant for comparison are the elements on the transition zone between the assembly hall and the sanctum at Tabo, featuring a complex tripartite doorway with pilasters (Fig. 9). The surface decorations in this area have the most elaborate detailed ornamentation in the temple. They do not appear to imitate textiles but rather architectural decorations such as the woodcarvings on *toraṇa*s (monumental gateways), which are a constant feature in the wooden temples mentioned (Fig. 8; cf. Kalantari, "Shaping space, constructing identity. The illuminated *Yum chen mo* manuscript at Pooh, Kinnaur", this volume, Fig. 22, p. 373). At Tabo characteristic features of such richly carved portals seem to be translated into the medium of painting with the aim of sacralising and spiritually elevating the sanctum[13] intended to lead into spaces of increasing sacredness.

While the decorations of the various spaces at Tabo indicate a hierarchic relationship leading through a *toraṇa* into a (dark) enclosure or shrine chamber for the focus of worship, at Nyarma these units of assembly hall and shrine chamber are more clearly distinguished at the level of the architectonic layout—as already observed by Luczanits (2004).

The shrine at Nyarma—with a central (square) chamber (*dri gtsang khang*) and surrounding ambulatory (*skor lam*)—has a distinctive contrasting feature, namely projections or niches on three sides of the ambulatory, vesting the space with a cosmological dimension. Various authors have described this fact but without tracing its architectonic context and meaning. Luczanits (*ibid*.) mentions that one of the niches preserves the remains of a large circular aureole. Thus Nyarma's programme of the shrine must have been considerably more complex than the ambulatory of the small enclosure at Tabo, where no niches can be found.

Nyarma shares this type of projections in particular with Buddhist cult buildings in the Trans-Indus region and in particular in Kashmir and Lower Ladakh, i.e. zones geographically and culturally closely linked. Also the sanctum and its relation to the assembly hall has characteristic features recalling building traditions of that region.[14]

One example is the Buddhist complex of Parihāsapura, an enclosed monastic compound near Srinagar related to royal patronage of Lalitāditya (Mukhtāpīḍa) from the Kārkoṭa dynasty in the 8th century.[15] Parihāsapura is in particular renowned for a colossal Buddha image in the *vihāra*, which still existed in Kalhaṇa's time (12th century) and which according to some scholars is perhaps depicted inside a pent-roof structure in the Alchi Sumtsek (Goepper 1996: 83).[16] At Parihāsapura the buildings for worship (*stūpa*, *caitya*) and

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[9] The *śikhara*, a tower or spire, a dominant feature in North Indian temple structures, is imagined as equated with the central deity in Indian temple architecture.

[10] In an attempt to trace the evolutionary history of this architectural theme, a relationship to the Indic traditions in Himachal Pradesh and the Indian plains has been suggested (cf. Papa-Kalantari 2007: 154ff.).

[11] Cf. also Luczanits and Neuwirth (2010: 81) who found a parallel interpretation of the different storeys of the Alchi Sumtsek (gSum brtsegs).

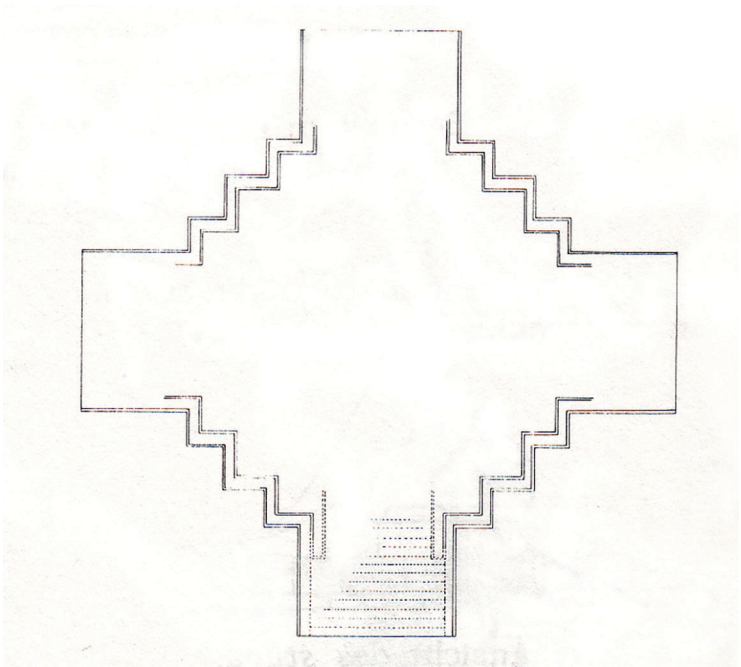
[12] Udaipur (Mirkulā Devī temple, Lahaul) has a lantern ceiling with elaborate figural and ornamental woodcarvings above the *maṇḍapa* (Papa-Kalantari 2007). I wish to thank Rob Linrothe (2003) for discussions on this topic.

[13] The magnificent portal of Khorchag attests to the continuation and significance of this tradition in the overall designs of temples in Western Tibet (see Kalantari 2012b: 150f).

[14] Meister and Dhaky (1988: 356) describe the main features of Kashmir temples thus: "The plan of a Kashmir temple is characterized by an open rectangular courtyard surrounded by cells and an elevated […] shrine at the centre facing a prominent entrance gateway. […] The typical pent-roofed central structure of a Kashmiri temple has pedimented entries on four sides, three of which are often closed off or turned into niches."

[15] Romi Khosla was among the first architecture historians to point to the relationship between architectural motifs of that site with the Alchi Sumtsek, in particular the trefoil arches, a leitmotif of Kashmir architecture (1979: 57; cf. also Meister and Dhaky 1988: figs. 724–726).

[16] R. C. Kak (2002: 52–53) described the Buddhist monastery at Parihāsapura: "Of the monasteries there is little to be said, as only one example survives—



10. Parihāsapura *stūpa* (after Fisher 1989: fig. 11).

11. Parihāsapura *stūpa* (after Kottkamp 1992: fig. 161).

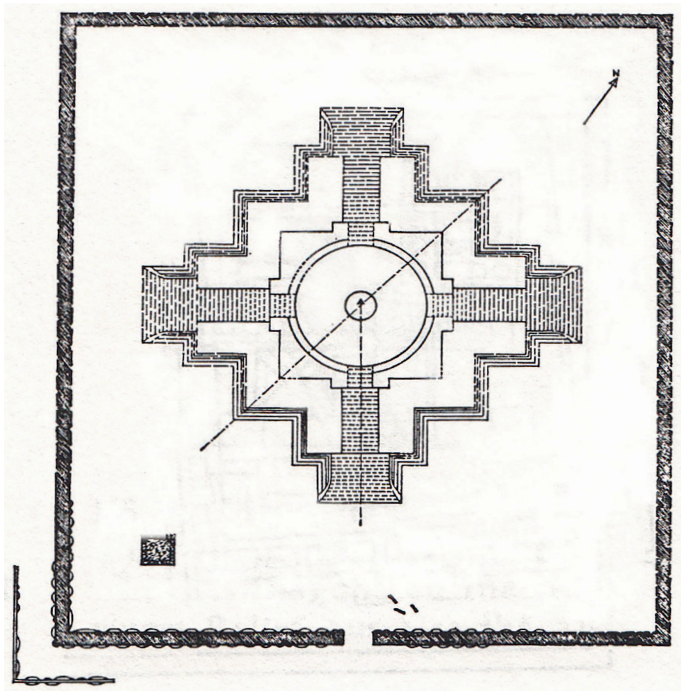
namely, the Rajavihara of Parihasapura. In plan it is a cellular quadrangle facing a rectangular courtyard. The cells were preceded by an open veranda. In the middle of one side was the flight of steps which afforded an entrance and exit. The central cell on this side served as the vestibule. In the range of cells on the opposite side is a set of more spacious rooms which served either as a refectory or as the abbot's private apartments. Externally, and probably internally also, the walls were plain. The roof was probably sloping, and gabled like modern roofs in Kashmir. Parihasapura has also bequeathed to us the only surviving example of a Buddhist chaitya, or temple. It is a square chamber built upon a square base similar to that of the stupa, save for the offsets and three stairs, and is enclosed by a plain wall, with entrance facing the temple stairs. The stairs lead up to the portico which gave admission to the sanctum. The latter was an open chamber surrounded on all sides by a narrow corridor which served as a circumambulatory path. At the four corners of the sanctum are bases of pillars which no doubt held some sort of screen designed partly to conceal the Holy of Holies from profane eyes. As the external wall of the corridor has been almost razed to the ground, it is very difficult to say whether there were openings in it for admission of light and air; probably there were."

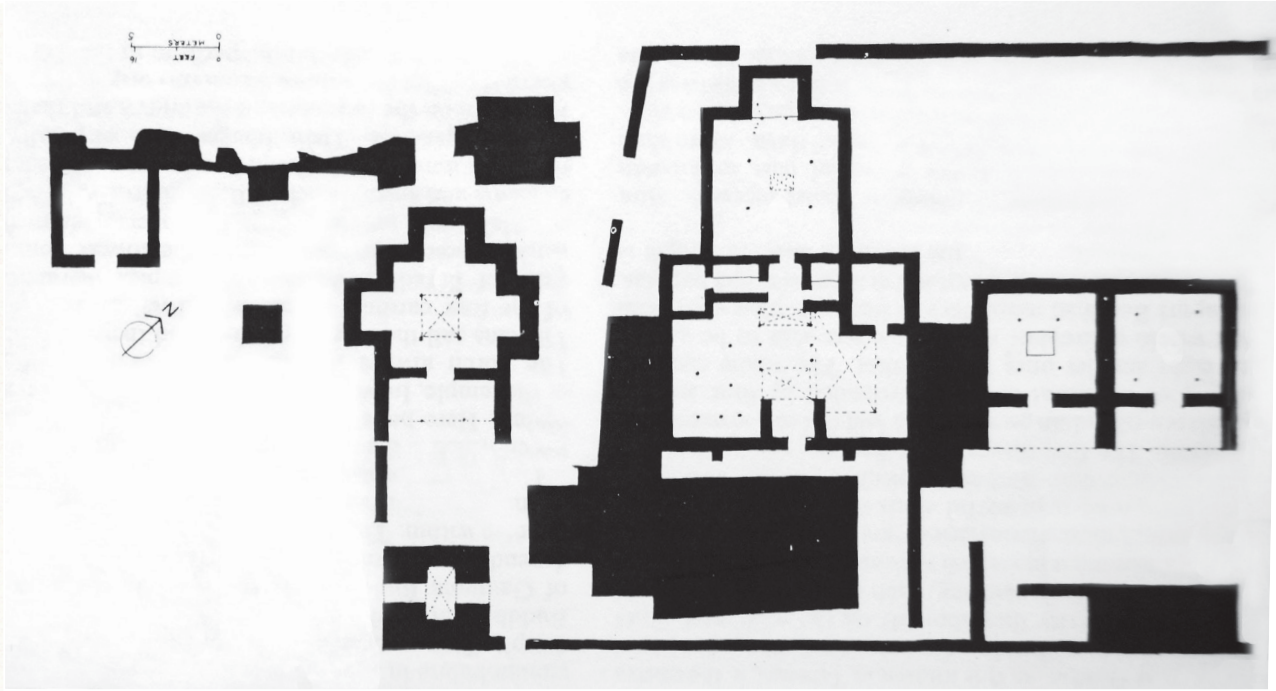
R. Fisher (1989: 22) describes Parihāsapura as "evidence of the creation of a new, composite structure where the traditionally separate buildings used for worship (*chaityas*–halls) and residences for monks (viharas) are joined into one." The *stūpa* of cruciform plan, and monks cells around it created a composite structure. "The stupa was thus moved inside the vihara, occupying the centre position and thereby creating a temple." (*ibid*.: 23). On the Ushkur *stūpa* (5th century) Fisher (ibid.: 23) writes it "is cruciform in plan [or rather a square centre with projections; my addition, CK], with stairs on each of the four sides", on a high plinth, the "configuration, featuring the four stairs, high plinth and cells built into the enclosure, constitutes a distinct, regional type. It is seldom found on the Indian subcontinent, where the single stairway and circular-plinth types dominate. Some similarity can be found in the late eighth-century eastern India Buddhist vihara at Paharpur, which does use this type of platform, but this is not typical, and the Paharpur platform, with its small shrines, attached, is different from any found in Kashmir. The geographically closest parallel (…) is found in the nearby Central Asian site of Khotan. The Rawak vihara, dated to the fourth or fifth century, exhibits the same structural features", i.e. cells within the surrounding wall (*ibid*.: 23–24).

Several authors have remarked that *stūpa*s with four projecting stairs are often found in Gandhāra, and became popular in the Trans-Indus regions including Kashmir, Central Asia and Afghanistan (Tepe Rustam in Balkh, Rawak in Khotan; cf. Fig. 12), a type which continued in Ladakh and Tibet (Kuwayama 2008: 170ff.).

the residence/congregation of monks (*vihāra*) are joined into one temple area (Fisher 1989: 22ff). Particularly significant is the "star-shape"[17] of the *stūpa* at this site—representing a distinctive feature in this region—as focus of devotion through circumambulation and internal worship. The characteristic form consists of a square

[17] The term star-form is more appropriate, while the frequent designation as "cross or cruciform" should be avoided, as the association with Christian-Byzantine building forms is misleading; the *stūpa* is a centralised space with lateral projections which are not part of the actual shrine. The sanctum in the church is not at the centre but at the rear, in the apse, while the transept has the function of additional space for monks and emphasises the sacrality of the apse; also the Christian catholic connotation of the cross and its relation to the building form appears to be misplaced in a Buddhist context.





12. Khotan, Rawak *stūpa* (after Kottkamp 1992: fig. 156).

13. Alchi, monastic compound (after Khosla 1975: fig. on p. 75).

space or chamber with lateral niches or stairs (and recessing corners) symbolically allowing access for the devotee from all directions of the world (cf. Figs. 10–11).[18] The Caṅkuṇa *stūpa* (of *pāñcaratha* design) features a rectangular base or plinth with offset projections for the steps on the four sides recalling this universal, cosmic orientation also found at Nyarma, the latter featuring niches in the ambulatory.[19]

The combination of *stūpa* worship and assembly of monks is also reflected in the *caitya* hall of Parihāsapura, featuring a shrine on a square base with lateral niches on three sides.[20] A related composite function has a "caitya hall" at Nyarma (cf. Devers, "An archaeological account of Nyarma and its surroundings, Ladakh", this volume, Fig. 5, p. 204, and Fig. 26, p. 212; cf. also Kozicz 2010b: fig. 6, who calls this composite structure the "Stūpa (Chorten) Temple"). There a *stūpa* occupies the space at the rear of the hall of this smaller structure, which may stem from a slightly later phase than the main temple.

**The Spatial Symbolism of the *stūpa*: from Monolithic Structure to Cultic Space**[21]

Of crucial importance for the reconstruction of the architectonic context of the Nyarma shrine complex is the development of the *stūpa* and *stūpa* temples of Ladakh in particular. Kottkamp (1992: 420ff) described the evolutionary history of the *stūpa* from a monolithic structure for circumambulation to a cultic space with integrated, centrally organised internal shrines for external and internal worship. In his retracing of the transformation of the spatial symbolism of the *stūpa* in India, the placing of niches (with cult images placed in the respective position in the cardinal directions) attached to the dome or plinth can be regarded as an intermediary phase, which gradually led to an intrusion of cult images into the dome (*ibid*.: 421).

The extent to which building forms of sacred structures in Ladakh are related to the spatial idea of the *stūpa* with internal shrines or *stūpa*s can be seen in the entrance *stūpa/kakani (ka ka ni) stūpa* or "Great Stūpa" at Alchi as well as the "Four-Image *mchod rten*" at Mangyu (Fig. 17);[22] the latter featuring projecting niches inside and

[18] For further images see Fisher 1989: 26ff; Meister and Dhaky 1988: 366.

[19] Maillard (1983: 170) assumed that the form of the central shrine with four stairways, the 'star-shaped *stūpa*' developed between the 6th and 8th centuries in border regions between Central Asia and north-west India (such as Khotan) in connection with the propagation of tantric teachings and rituals.

[20] The latter, of course, is in the tradition of a classical building type of early Mahāyāna cult in India such as at Ajanta.

[21] I wish to thank Eva Allinger (2012) and Gerald Kozicz (2009) for discussion on this topic.

[22] A variety of Kashmir-style building forms for shrines and sacred spaces for cult images can be found on the *dhotī* of the Sumtsek's Avalokiteśvara featuring

14. Nyarma: *mchod rten* (10th/11th century) in the Nyarma compound (C. Kalantari, 2009).

15. Nyarma: Temple 4 (ca. 11th century), view from back side (C. Kalantari, 2009).

16. Nyarma: *mchod rten* (13th–14th century) with internal decorations (C. Kalantari, 2009).

an inner *stūpa* for circumambulation. These structures are typically covered with internal decorations like those of temples.[23] An example at Nyarma of this type is a still intact *stūpa* temple, presumably from the 13th–14th century (Fig. 16).[24]

Concerning the presumptive ritual use and forms of devotion associated with the *stūpa* at that time it is important to note that the *stūpa* was not only associated with the relics of the Buddha but above all represented a form par excellence to materialise Vajrayāna ideas. In tantric Buddhism the interiors of shrines in *stūpa*s are perceived as a *dharmadhātu* circle used for ritual actions and for symbolic "entry" into the *dharmadhātu*. Such ideas can be found in relevant tantric texts, e.g. in the *Kriyāsaṃgraha* (12th century; cf. Kottkamp 1992: 423). As Goepper put it (1979: 252), while in Exoteric Buddhism pagodas and cult-halls are dwelling places of the Buddhas, in Esoteric Buddhism, they are symbolic embodiments of the realization within oneself; the movement inside is equal to a realisation of *buddhatā*; Goepper (*ibid*.) describes these spaces as representations of the "absolute reality of mind".

As described by Kottkamp (1992: 462) in the late tantric form of Buddhism, the Vajrayāna, the *stūpa* was perceived as a *yantra*, i.e. as a tool or instrument for the religious path, realised as actual paths, surrounding the *stūpa* as corridors and as ambulation paths, which serves the devotee for the physical understanding of the stages of meditation, which has an equivalent in the two-dimensional form of the *maṇḍala* (*dkyil 'khor*).[25]

A building form that is typologically related to the star-shaped *stūpa* are structures with three projecting niches and a central *stūpa* for ambulation. As can be seen in the Alchi Sumtsek (gSum brtsegs) (Fig. 13) the latter are occupied by monumental bodhisattvas in clay.

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temples with pyramidical or pent-roofs and a single-chamber temple of *pāñcayātana* type similar to the five-towered *kakani stūpa* at Alchi (cf. Goepper 1996: 55). Cf. also a ca. 14th-century *stūpa* at Nyarma with a lantern roof and painted programme (Fig. 16.)

[23] The "Four-Image *mchod rten*" at Mangyu contains a large chamber with paintings and sculptures. The latter feature Protectors of the Three Families (*rigs gsum mgon po*) placed in four niches in the upper section of the side walls (cf. Luczanits 2004: 170).

[24] A comparison with a *stūpa* at Nyarma (Fig. 14), denominated as "Stupa 4" by Kozicz, is also relevant for the reconstruction of the typology and meaning of the shrine chamber of the Nyarma main temple and its star shape with inner and outer ambulatory (for images and a description see http://stupa.arch-research.at/cms/index.php?id=111; accessed May 2, 2013). In his short presentation of the site the author describes a plinth of cruciform plan and two flights of steps, again in cruciform or star shape.

[25] Cf. also Snodgrass (1985: 126ff) for examples of *stūpa*s as *maṇḍala*s; furthermore Tucci 1988a: xviiff.

In the Nyarma compound is situated a structure (Fig. 15; cf. Devers, "An archaeological account of Nyarma and its surroundings, Ladakh", this volume, Fig. 6: Temples 3 and 4, p. 204; classified as an "Initiation Temple" by Kozicz 2010b: fig. 6) one square and one with lateral niches recalling the Alchi Sumtsek. Thus the functions of worship related to the star-shaped temple (Temple 4) and the assembly hall (Temple 3) appear to be separated and represented in two single buildings. The dates of these two constructions are unknown, but they may perhaps be from the 11th century. Interestingly, although the two spaces are positioned in close relation to each other, they are not erected on one axis, and thus show no consideration of a symbolic alignment or relationship.

A feature indicative for the comparison with Nyarma can also be seen in the *vihāra* at the Kashmiri Buddhist complex of Parihāsapura. Like the Nyarma assembly hall, the latter has a square ground plan contrasting to the oblong shape of Tabo, which also contrasts on account to its much smaller size. The Kashmiri *vihāra* is situated immediately to the south of the *stūpa* and has a shrine at the rear wall vaguely comparable to the main image in the *'du khang* of Nyarma.

As a working hypothesis it can be proposed that early Buddhist Kashmiri building forms of ensembles of *vihāra*s and related shrines or *stūpa* types with internal shrines (on raised platforms) in a sacred compound, reflecting traditions of devotion consecrated through tradition—i.e. the cult of the *stūpa* for public and congregational worship—have to be considered among the possible forerunners of early West Tibetan building forms in Ladakh. Also the outstanding quality and precision of the temple recalls the fine masonry of ancient Kashmir. In the earliest phase of temple architecture in this region, Kashmiri Buddhist temples associated with prestigious royal foundations, representing distinct regional types of building forms, may have been translated into indigenous West Tibetan construction techniques of mud bricks and timber.

The complex layouts of early constructions at Tabo and Nyarma appear to feature rather conservative architectonic ensembles and forms of devotion with shrine chambers as foci of worship. Successive structures show a unification and systematisation of sacred space, featuring centralised architectonic concepts. This coincides with the appearance of Five-Family group configurations around Vairocana. Exemplary is the free-standing, four-fold Vairocana image (ca. mid-11th century) in the assembly hall at Tabo.[26] In this centralised conception

17. Mangyu: Decorated *mchod rten* (after Luczanits 2004: fig. 185).

[26] This concept contrasts to the older Three-Family configuration in the cella of Tabo from the foundation period.

The adoption of conservative building types in this early phase is in line with internal decorative programmes and the emphasis on early Mahāyāna concepts and Yoga Tantra teachings in this period of "translation and transformation": e.g. the entrance hall of Tabo features a complex programme of protectors, local spirits and donors engaged in rituals of consecration and a Wheel of Rebirth and cosmological imagery, as prescribed in Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*. Extensive narratives are shown in the main hall, representing higher spiritual attainments of didactic purpose. The latter are rendered prominently and are designed to bring different forms of virtuous life to the mind of the devotee, characteristic of this early phase of establishment of Buddhist ideas in the region. In contrast, in later phases of this architectural tradition, single-chamber structures with niches at the opposite side of the portal emerge transforming the complex composite structures to single-chamber temples with a niche in the rear wall of the *'du khang* featuring the main theme of the overall programme. Thus, in the same way as the internal programmes show a shift from Three-Family configurations (with a central Buddha and flanking bodhisattvas) to Five-Buddha-Family configurations in this period, with Vairocana as the core deity presiding over the Vajradhātu *mahāmaṇḍala*, the spatial layouts of temples are also gradually systematised and transformed to single-chamber structures. This period of systematisation coincides with the reduction of narrative didactic scenes, while fully developed *maṇḍala* palaces for ritual and initiation depicted on the side walls of the assembly halls become a dominant feature of interior programmes. This transformation of space and programme may also indicate a change and division of functions related to different types of spaces: one reserved for monastic use, thereby conservative forms of devotion such as the worship of the Buddha through a meditative circumambulation and honouring of the Buddha with offerings of the cult image in shrines, appears to lose importance, and iconographic programmes leading the practitioner around the

18. Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* (Q. Devers, 2009).

sacred space spreads from the centre to the cardinal four directions. Often positioned below an opening or lantern, allowing light to come in, such configurations recall the meaning of the name Vairocana "resplendent, exceedingly bright" and forms of his representation as Sūrya, the sun-god at Lalung and Khorchag (Kalantari 2012b: 157; cf. also Luczanits 2004: 208). This spatial concept contrasts with the (dark) shrine chamber in the previous period, in which the cult image is a focus of devotion protected from direct gaze of the devotee. In a later phase of the evolutionary history, small structures reserved for a three-dimensional free-standing cult image emerge (Lalung, Alchi and perhaps Nyarma), while in contemporary assembly halls the old form of the "shrine chamber" is "condensed" into shallow niches in which there are typically complex Five-Family clay configurations virtually covering all the three walls of the niche (Nako, Alchi 'Du khang), thus generating a three-dimensional configuration.

The evolutionary history and the intermediary phases of transfer and transformation leading to the specific formulation of the shrine-cum-*vihāra* type in the earliest foundations of Nyarma have to be established in future research.[27]

### The Assembly Hall

As already mentioned, the square ground plan differs from the oblong assembly hall at Tabo, vaguely recalling the Parihāsapura *vihāra* in Kashmir with a chamber at rear for worship.

Concerning the internal programme, little has been preserved of the original decoration in the main temple. In the middle of a floor covered with debris there is a throne[28] (Figs. 18–20) on which Gergan was still able to identify a lotus pedestal. The throne is placed on the main axis, shifted towards the western end of the main hall, and consists of a flat backdrop which is strengthened by layers of additional bricks behind and a pedestal placed in front of it. Thus the cult image was once orientated towards the main hall, virtually heading the assembly of monks during ceremonies. As already mentioned, this concept contrasts with the fourfold Vairocana of the renovation phase (11th century) in the Tabo assembly hall presiding over the thirty-two sculptures along the walls representing the main deities of a Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*.

Clay sculptures decorating the walls at Nyarma were reserved for the entrance wall and the one leading to the cella. On these walls are remains of nimbs and aureoles (*prabhāmaṇḍala*) and the holes (Figs. 18; 22–23) where these sculptures were fixed. The fragments of reliefs appear to be of considerable antiquity. As already observed

temple in a dynamic way are also less prominent, which made it possible to pay homage to the cult images of the side walls of the temple and by bowing down or walking below them. At that time a division of the ritual-cultic functions is observable in Nyarma and Ladakh. At Alchi specific types of building forms, namely small multi-storey sanctuaries, "*stūpa* shrines" and small sanctuaries with a cult image at the centre, are focus of public and congregational worship, which are found in one monastic complex with large assembly-halls-cum-veranda or a courtyard for monastic use and rituals involving the community in larger ceremonies and festivals.

[27] An important question of future research is the definition of a typology of different structural themes, their function and symbolism. This study requires a plurality of approaches in order to arrive at a definition of the interrelation of built realities and more abstract ideals and religious concepts and their developments, which also have consequences for the changing meanings of building forms. Thus future research on Nyarma certainly has to combine historic sources and data from different disciplines: historiography, religious studies, architecture, art history and archaeology. We also require more evidence on the ancient political and religious affiliations, and the possible consequences it had on the choice of architectural types and spiritual programmes.

[28] According to local saying the base is regarded as a former *stūpa* (cf. Devers, "An archaeological account of Nyarma and its surroundings, Ladakh", this volume, p. 207).

by Luczanits (2004: 30), the absence of mural traces underneath may indicate that they derive from the foundation period of the temple itself. The shape with characteristic flames encircling a pearl border is comparable to the aureoles on the walls of the Tholing Gyatsa documented by Tucci. The holes and fragments of aureoles on the rear wall flanking the portal are arranged in two registers. There are four halos on each side (cf. Devers, "An archaeological account of Nyarma and its surroundings, Ladakh", this volume, p. 207). It is possible that they once were subordinate to the image on the throne in the centre (see below).[29]

As already mentioned, the Tabo *'du khang* has sculptures attached to both the rear and the side walls (Fig. 5), which is not the case at Nyarma. The Tabo sculptures are raised ca. 160 cm from the current ground level, indicating a form of worship through a meditative walk under these sculptures—paying homage and receiving their blessings—and thus giving a lead to the circumambulation of the temple and dynamic perception of its programme (Kalantari 2016).[30] The practice of veneration through respectful greeting and bowing down in front of the image in veneration, touching the feet of the sculpture, can be found in relevant texts such as the *Divyāvadāna*, describing different sets of efficacious rituals in the temple (cf. Rotman 2009: 53). The shrine or niche as well as the *stūpa* are typically the focus of the cult of the Buddha, where his image is venerated and honoured through circumambulation as well as through offerings to achieve merits. In later Vajrayāna Buddhism the shrine chamber represents the *dharma* body of the Buddha.[31] Measurements by Devers show that the nimbs on the wall leading to the shrine-chamber are ca. 120 cm from the original ground level, thus a ritual function of meditative walk below these images is rather unlikely (cf. Fig. 23).[32]

19. Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*: side view of central throne (C. Kalantari, 2009).

20. Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*: assembly hall (*'du khang*), back view of central throne (C. Kalantari, 2009).

21. Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*: view from assembly hall (*'du khang*) to entrance wall (C. Kalantari, 2009).

[29] The ensemble perhaps featured the Eight Bodhisattvas surrounding a central Buddha, but this must remain speculation.

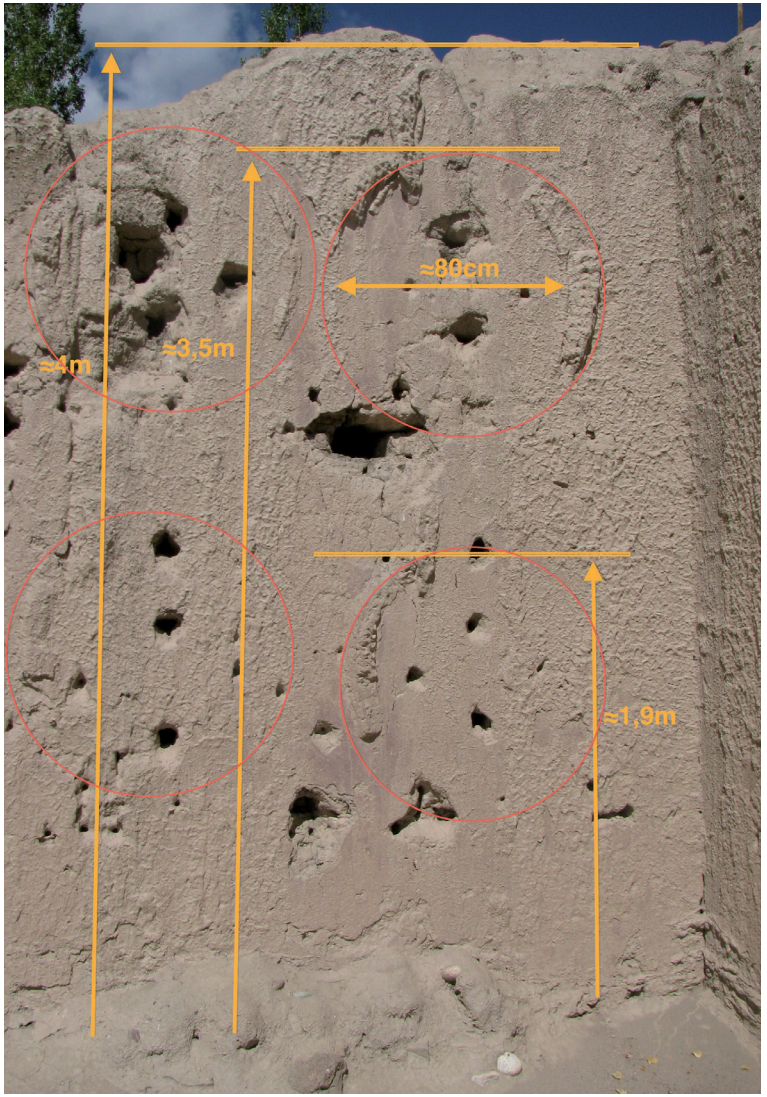
[30] The narrative programme has increasing spiritual levels as described by Luczanits (2010).

[31] The offerings are laid in front of or placed on a small altar. As described by Gombrich (1995: 145ff) this gesture of respect shows that the gods are perceived as being present in the sculptures, and live in the cult image from the moment of its consecration. Donor images reflecting these "conservative" ritual actions are typically depicted in close relation to respective cult images. Examples are images in the Tabo sanctum, showing donations of flowers, while donor images at Nako and Alchi include incense, ceremonial scarves and jewels.

[32] Comparisons with earlier traditions of Buddhist temples predating Western Himalayan temples in Kinnaur (Ribba, Lotsāba *lha khang*, 9th century) are also relevant in this context: the wooden temple of Ribba features a *garbhagṛha* with outer ambulatory path; the shrine shows sculptures attached in elevated position on side walls: they comprise seven clay sculptures, which in 2002 were in a massively altered state. Some of them are perhaps later additions. Only the main deity is perhaps an original, featuring Avalokiteśvara like the central deity

22. Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*: assembly hall (*'du khang*): view on rear wall of assembly hall (passage to sanctum) showing fragments of aureoles and nimbs (C. Kalantari, 2009).

23. Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*: assembly hall (*'du khang*): view on rear wall of assembly hall (passage to sanctum) with graphic illustration of sizes and position of aureoles for clay sculptures (photo and drawing Q. Devers, 2012).




On the entrance wall there are large halos with nimbs. The position recalls the usual configurations of monumental gate-keepers, who typically live near the entrance. Comparable early examples are found in many places, such as in the Nyag cave temple at Khartse (mKhar rtse, etc.) (Tshe ring rgyal po and Papa-Kalantari 2009).

The cella or apse (Figs. 24–25) to the west of the throne in the main hall is empty with the exception of a pedestal, which was used in former times as the throne of the local territorial deity, identified by Gergan's informants as Dorje Chenmo (rDo rje chen mo).[33] Spots

on the portal. The sculptures perhaps give impression of an original programme and ritual use of the cella: the seven clay sculptures are 120–140 cm from the current ground, giving a lead for the devotee to a inner circumambulation; the height may indicate the form of devotion as veneration in clockwise direction, either bowing in front or walking under it. This construction form is seldom found in temples post-dating Tabo. It may be derived from wooden sculptures as frequently found in other early temples. The temple also shares elements of the ceiling composition, namely aerial deities combined with lotus rosettes with the Tabo ambulatory and cella ceiling. The portal is in many ways reminiscent of the Khorchag door frame (cf. Kalantari 2012b: 149f).

[33] See Jahoda, "Joseph Thsertan Gergan's report on Nyarma, 1917", this volume, pp. 175, A small temple—built on top of the remains of the cella dedicated to this local protectress—is still in use up to the present day (Figs. 26–27).

of colour in the small room, as described by Gergan, seem to have disappeared and also the halo behind and above the throne mentioned in his account was not visible to the author in 2009.[34] The age of the throne is unclear and also its original function. Archaeological information might help in the future. The niches of the ambulatory around the cella contain further remains of halos (Luczanits 2004) indicating that there must once have been sculptures for worship during circumambulation, perhaps protector gods. The latter were no longer visible to the author either.

**The Veranda**

From the existence of sections of the ambulatory that project from the level of the temple (ca. 2.8 m, Quentin Devers, verbal communication) we can relatively safely conclude that there was once an entrance hall or a niche, recalling the entrance hall at Tabo (cf. Kalantari, "Hārītī and Pāñcika at Tabo", this volume, Fig. 3, p. 303).[35] In general, the size and complexity of the temple suggests that the entrance to the temple may once have been protected. At Nyarma characteristic holes on the entrance wall can be identified, confirming this hypothesis. Typically, the timber beams of a vestibule are positioned in holes of this type and position, indicating a covered space in front of the main hall. However, according to Devers, the age of these holes is uncertain. In addition. recesses on the uppermost zone of the wall can be observed—although not as pronounced as in front of the lateral temples—serving as a further indication of a former roof in front of the main hall. Due to the fact that the entrance wall underwent massive modifications it is impossible to arrive at a final conclusion on this point. Closer examination of the floor in this area is necessary in future to arrive at a better understanding of the original shape of the entrance hall, and it could perhaps reveal the bases of columns.[36] This entrance space may have once been protected by a wooden "portal-wall" comparable to the monumental wooden structure of the Khorchag lHa khang chen mo temple, although the latter was perhaps never free-standing, as can be concluded from the relatively unaltered condition of its surface. Considering the width of this space at Nyarma, the existence of a wooden veranda protecting the façade is more likely, comparable to that found in front of the Alchi 'Du khang's entrance wall combined with a courtyard. At Alchi, however, the side-walls of the veranda are projections of the temple's side walls, which is not the case at Nyarma. At present we have to rely on typological comparative information until we can obtain further detailed data from this site.[37]

24. Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*: shrine-chamber with additional storey (later addition to historic layout) (C. Kalantari, 2009).

25. Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*: shrine-chamber (C. Kalantari, 2009).

[34] Kozicz (2007: 41) writes about fragments of paint, but a documentation of these is unknown to the author.

[35] Of interest for a comparison in future research is also the veranda and courtyard attached to the *rājavihāra* in Parihāsapura (cf. Kak 2002: 53).

[36] According to Quentin Devers (verbal communication) the original wall projected 2.8 m in front of the temple. On both sides, the end of the wall is still there and the coat is still visible, showing that the wall was not destroyed in order to be extended. The later extensions were built directly against the original wall without modifying it. There are two tiny walls projecting from the ambulatory wall: however, the way they are preserved does not permit any conclusion as to whether they are original or not.

[37] Archaeological research (Quentin Devers, verbal communication) cannot identify traces on the top of the entrance wall showing recesses, that is, the

26. The *lha khang* above the old sanctum with the local protectress as the focus of devotion: nun of Nyarma and ritual offerings (C. Kalantari, 2009).

Though little can be said about the shape and, of course, nothing about the interior programme of this space at Nyarma, the entrance hall at Nyarma is an important early example of a consistent spatial and iconographical theme in Western Himalayan temples. It constitutes a component of a specific type of temple design and overall spiritual programme. The Tabo main temple (which perhaps had a comparable ritual function to the Nyarma main temple), with the dominant theme of the entrance hall and its interior painted programme intact, is a paradigm for the role of this space, reflecting an early stage of a tripartite system of entrance hall, main hall and sanctum. This spatial configuration is an expression of a specific, early Buddhist iconographic programme and of ritual practices of the period (see Kalantari, "Hārītī and Pāñcika at Tabo: On the metamorphosis of the protective couple in early Western Tibetan Buddhist temples", this volume, pp. 301–325).[38]

Typically, in the entrance halls of Tabo and Shalu in Central Tibet (the latter has the most complex form; ca. 1030) lay assemblies and didactic images are shown together with "lower spirits" and Indic deities in their function as protectors, headed by local territorial deities who watch over the portal to the sacred space of the *maṇḍala*. The donors or ruling elites are depicted as engaged in ritual actions and in various forms of devotion, perhaps commemorating the consecration of the temples.

The entrance wall of the Tabo *sgo khang* (or entrance hall) features a Wheel of Life as prescribed in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* concerning the decoration of the entrance hall of a temple flanked by a representation of the Buddha in *bhūmisparśamudrā*. The accompanying text encourages the conversion to Buddhism and the following of the teaching of the Buddha. Another important function is related to the consecration of the temple as depicted at Tabo. The related rituals, perhaps carried out in this transition zone between the mundane and the sacred sphere, also appear to have involved rituals appeasing indigenous spirits depicted on the entrance wall of the Nyag cave temple at Khartse and in the corridor of the Zhag cave, and inviting the local spirits to act as guardians. Such rituals are mentioned in relevant tantric Buddhist texts (*Kriyāsaṃgraha*), which describe efficacious actions before erecting the temple and generating the *maṇḍala* (cf. Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po and Kalantari, "Guge kingdom-period murals in the Zhag grotto in mNga' ris, Western Tibet", this volume, pp. 413–414).

On the level of devotional practice, the tripartite structure also appears to reflect specific forms of Buddhist devotion, namely the practice of offerings, typically taking place in the entrance hall, which has a public function, and the courtyard in front. Lay persons were usually not present in the main hall during ceremonies by the

negative print of the timbers of the former roof protecting the vestibule or entrance hall (in contrast, on the right-hand side the top of the wall is wavy and punctuated with recesses where the timbers used to be). But, as Quentin Devers informed me, the top of the entrance wall is more blurred, because it was converted into the entrance hall, and also because it has more recently been flattened, so the question can only remain unanswered.

[38] The space of the entrance hall occupies an important position in the symbolism of the temple's structure and ritual life comparable to a narthex in Byzantine tradition.

monastic community. Donor depictions on the opposite side of the consecration scene in the Tabo entrance hall perhaps reflect such a form of devotion (cf. Kalantari, "Hārītī and Pāñcika at Tabo: On the metamorphosis of the protective couple in early Western Tibetan Buddhist temples", this volume, Fig. 6, p. 305).[39]

In contrast to the simpler longitudinal ground plan at Tabo, where the devotee is led through the spaces of increasing sacrality along a horizontal axis, the practitioner at Nyarma is first led from the entrance hall to the ambulatory path around the inner core of the sacred site. He then enters the main hall, from where he can proceed to the sanctum, which lies hidden behind the main icon in the main hall. There, a clear separation of the entrance hall plus ambulatory path and the main hall-cum-sanctum can be observed, perhaps reflecting different ritual functions and practices of devotion, recalling Vajrayāna perceptions of sacred space as tools for the spiritual path, as already mentioned. The addition of a large courtyard in front of the main hall in later periods flanked by side temples that can be reached from this open space is an indication that the public function of the temple reflected in the entrance hall continued in later periods and was even expanded.

In contrast, in the later monastic Buddhist tradition religious culture was transformed into more systematised forms with centralised layouts of assembly halls. Here the programme of the former entrance hall is partly depicted in a condensed form above the portals as shown at Khartse in the Nyag cave temple, and later integrated into the outer spheres of the *maṇḍala* depicted on the side walls of temples such as in the Nako Lotsāba *lha khang*. The entrance hall appears to have gradually lost its (iconographic) importance, coinciding with the tendency towards single-chamber centralised rooms with shallow niches at the rear end of the temple opposite the portal. In the evolutionary history of spatial unification of temples all dimensions of space are integrated into the overall programme. In this new development the temple's accoutrements—including the ceilings as vertical openings to heaven as shown at Dungkar and Zhag—represent the Buddhist system of the universe (see Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po and Kalantari, "Guge kingdom-period murals in the Zhag grotto in mNga' ris, Western Tibet", this volume, pp. 421–422).

The theme of the veranda is a constant feature during various phases. An interesting example is the Alchi Sumtsek, which Luczanits (2010) described as three superimposed temples each with a veranda. A comparable construction appears to have existed at Nyarma (cf. Kozicz 2010b: fig. 6, IT 1, IT2).

The complex architectural layout of Nyarma only features a niche in front of the temple façade (perhaps protected by a veranda as found inter alia at Alchi) reflecting the spatial, iconographic and ritual tradition of the entrance hall but in a different shape. However, the fact has to be acknowledged that Nyarma is typologically more closely linked to Lower Ladakh and Kashmir, and also that Tabo was a minor foundation. Accordingly, the meaningfulness of comparative studies between Tabo and the three great royal foundations (Nyarma, Khorchag and Tholing) is somewhat restricted.

With regard to the evolutionary history of West Tibetan temples, the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* stands typologically between the *gtsug lag khang* of Tabo and the Alchi 'Du khang. While Nyarma shares with Tabo the mixed function of assembly hall and shrine for public and congregational worship featuring a longitudinal shape with a horizontal hierarchy plus a cella-cum-ambulatory, it also has features typical of structures in Lower Ladakh—namely an ambulation path around the temple and projecting niches in the ambulatory around the shrine. In contrast, the 'Du khang at Alchi—of a later phase—has the usual tripartite system of a shallow entrance hall or niche, main hall and shallow sanctum featuring a configuration around

27. The *lha khang* above the old sanctum with the local protectress as the focus of devotion (C. Kalantari, 2009).

[39] Christian Jahoda observed that the depictions of lay imagery in the Tabo entrance hall may reflect this practice. He also noted that this form of Buddhist devotion can still be observed in the entrance hall of the Jo khang of Khorchag during specific festivals.

Vairocana on its main and side walls, thus oriented virtually towards all the cardinal directions. In these later phases a separation of cultic functions is observable, as also shown in the Nyarma Temples 3 and 4 (facing each other; see the article by Quentin Devers, "An archaeological account of Nyarma and its surroundings, Ladakh" this volume, Figs. 21–24, p. 211).[40]

The ambulatory paths around this core complex at Nyarma have a corridor with a niche to the south (see Fig. 4). It is likely that there was also a niche on the northern side, thus forming a symmetrical arrangement of side extensions, which is a contrasting feature to Tabo but which several authors have compared with Alchi. In addition, at present there is a courtyard with lateral temples in front of the main hall. We can conclude from the interpretation of architectural remains by Feiglstorfer in combination with Quentin Devers' archaeological research that the lateral chapels flanking the courtyard definitely *do not* belong to the original temple and that, due to the different composition of the bricks (see Devers, "An archaeological account of Nyarma and its surroundings, Ladakh", this volume, p. 205), the niches flanking the main hall cannot be safely attributed to the earliest structure (*ibid*.: Fig. 15, p. 208).[41] Thus an interpretation of its meaning in the context of a discussion of the evolutionary history of the oldest remaining structures does not appear to be useful.[42]

**The Overall Programme**

Important information on the iconography of the three major royal foundations are given in literary sources, in particular in the *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* (cf. Vitali 1996: 259ff.). According to these sources the deity on the throne of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* may have represented Buddha Dīpaṃkara (the Buddha of the Past). This theme often occurs in Gandhāran art and in Ajanta, but it appears to be highly unusual in the iconography of early Western Himalayan art. A configuration of a single Buddha or a group of the Buddhas of the Three Ages presiding the iconography was a common programme in Central Tibet in the 11th century. Examples are in the temples of Yemar (g.Ye dmar) and Thig phyis (Southern Tibet; cf. Neumann 2008). The latter features Buddhas of the Three Ages flanked by the Eight Bodhisattvas on the side walls, while sculptures of protectors on the entrance wall guard the portal, and there is a *stūpa* at the centre. The comparatively early (9th century) Buddhist temple at Keru in the 'On valley features Śākyamuni, flanked by bodhisattvas and large protectors on the entrance wall (cf. Jahoda and Kalantari 2009, and Jahoda and Kalantari, "Power and religion in pre-modern Western Tibet", this volume, p. 37). Of interest is also a 14th-century Tibetan Buddhist historiography describing the erection of the Samye (bSam yas) temple, according to which there is a self-orginated image of Śākyamuni flanked by the Eight Bodhisattvas on the ground floor of the great Central Cupola temple (dBu rtse chen po), while the upper storeys feature Vairocana and Sarvavid Vairocana in their respective centres (Sørensen 1994: 376–78). A comparable hierarchic stratification of spaces can perhaps be found at Nyarma.

The same sources also say that the future Buddha Maitreya was the main image at Khorchag (Vitali 1996: 259) while the Buddha of the Present, Śākyamuni, is represented at Tholing (*ibid*.: 258). Thus the three temples may have once been connected in terms of an overall spiritual programme featuring a triad consisting of the Past, the Present and the Future Buddha. This may have shaped a supra-regional sacred topography as earlier suggested by C. Jahoda and Tsering Gyalpo (verbal communication; see also Jahoda, "The foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, Ladakh", this volume, pp. 286–287); however, the identification of underlying textual sources is necessary to define the religious-doctrinal context of such a configuration. Thus while the iconographic ensemble is unusual in this region, the idea of ensembles of temples defining a territorial order is a topos in Tibetan culture. Exemplary, as Sørensen and Hazod (2005) have shown, are the Border Taming Temples of the dynastic period, with Lhasa at their centre, as described in a Tibetan chronicle by Nel pa Paṇḍita (ca. 13th century; cf. also Uebach 1987). This constellation of temples is at the same time an emblem of the civilising of the untamed land, embodied as a demoness (Sørensen and Hazod 2005: fig. 94).[43]

While the throne at the western end of the main hall at Nyarma perhaps once accommodated a Dīpaṃkara (Mar me mdzad) image,[44]

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[40] Concerning the date of Temples 3 and 4, the star-shaped and the rectangular buildings have "old" brick sizes (i.e. indicative of early periods), but according to Devers they may stem from different phases; the *stūpa* temple is also old, but if the *stūpa* positioned in the niche is original cannot be said with certainty according to archaeological research (*ibid*.).

[41] In his article Kozicz (2009: 18) proposes that the niches flanking the main hall do not belong to the original concept, while he includes those flanking the courtyard, although they can safely be excluded.

[42] At Parihāsapura the *vihāra* quadrangle is preceded by an open courtyard and an open veranda (Kak 2002: 53). A flight of steps afforded an entrance, to a certain extent recalling the raised position of the courtyard at Nyarma.

[43] I am grateful to Eva Allinger for discussions on this topic.

In this context Yarlung *stūpa*s, forming groups of "the three sacred *stūpa*-domes" (*'bum gsum*), classified according to the *trikāya*, are also of interest. They represent iconographic ensembles defining a territorial order. They also represent complex multi-storey structures with internal shrines (cf. Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 103).

[44] The position corresponds to that of the Vajradhātu Vairocana, as the centre of the Vajradhātu *mahāmaṇḍala* in the zone between assembly hall and

the shrine chamber may have originally represented the highest spiritual level. As a consistent feature from the earliest phase in the 10th century onwards, in Western Tibet religious orientation was dominated by religious traditions with the presence of Vairocana presiding over the programme as seen in the Tabo sanctum (in the early form as a meditating Vairocana)[45] and in the Nyag cave temple. As already mentioned, the spatial layout alluding to the shape of a *stūpa* with lateral niches projecting from the side walls of the ambulatory path provides this space with a cosmic dimension. Another consistent feature of the hierarchisation of the programme in this phase is the concept of three bodies of the Buddha—reflecting main ideals of Mahāyāna Buddhism—described by Schopen (1997: 258) as "each thought of in ever-increasing abstract terms; that finally, the real Buddha was thought to be 'the Dharmakāya' which has no flesh or blood or bones". While the walls in the entrance hall or in the assembly hall may have been once adorned with images of the *nirmāṇakāya* (the "apparitional or emanational body", the *saṃbhogakāya* may have been represented by the Buddha (Dīpaṃkara) and bodhisattvas in the main hall, while the *dharmakāya,* the "absolute body" of the Buddha, his teaching, and the highest sphere of wisdom is perhaps related to the sanctum, in which Vairocana may originally have dwelled, representing in a particular context the absolute nature of a Buddha (Luczanits 2004: 2).[46] Although this must remain a speculation, the symbol of the *dharma*-body par excellence is the *stūpa*. The *stūpa*, and related spatial types, as a cosmological symbol of and substitute for the Buddha, is of course the architectural form par excellence to represent the *dharmakāya*.[47]

The evolutionary history of early Buddhist temples in Western Tibet is a complex process of transferring traditional building types from India, Kashmir and Central Tibet and their translation into a unique local idiom. The latter was constantly transformed under the influence of changing religious ideas, forms of worship, the context of donorship and artistic interactions. These processes need to be examined further from a multi-disciplinary approach in the future.[48]

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cella at Tabo. However, the latter is chronologically later than the foundation phase, when perhaps a Vairocana in the cella presided over the iconographic programme of the temple.

[45] In the Tabo cella are seated figures placed against the walls featuring an ancient form Vairocana (represented with hands held in meditation gesture) on a pedestal flanked by two bodhisattvas.

For a discussion of this iconographic theme: see Luczanits 2004: 38f. The author points out that the archaic type of Vairocana configuration was not in use later than the 11th century (*ibid*..: 42). A comparable configuration can be found in the apse at Ropa (*ibid*.: figs. 51, 52). This early form is derived from the Caryā Tantra literature (Luczanits 2004: 35) and contrasts to the Mahāvairocana or Vajradhātu Vairocana found in the central image of the assembly hall.

[46] At Tabo the representation of the Three Bodies are reflected both in a vertical hierarchy in the assembly hall (featuring different levels of spiritual development with the worldly realm in the lowest zone) as well as in a horizontal hierarchy leading the practitioner to ever higher spheres of perfection of wisdom a devotee can achieve, represented in the sanctum (cf. Luczanits 2010).

[47] It is of major interest if and at what stage of this evolutionary process the concepts of the *maṇḍala*—which were of course a dominant idea in Western Tibet from early on—also found their way into building forms and were materialised in architecture in Western Tibet. Different suggestions in this direction have been made by Kozicz (2007, 2009, 2010 a, b) and Feiglstorfer (2010, and "The architecture of the Buddhist temple complex of Nyarma", this volume, pp. 225–257).

Linrothe (1996) tried to interpret the overall programme of the Alchi Sumtsek as a mandalic site. One cave temple in the Dungkar (Dung dkar) site, and the Great Alchi *stūpa* feature *maṇḍala*s realised as a three-dimensional configuration carved into the ceiling which alludes to such conception of space, but concentrated on the ceiling only.

[48] Concerning the overall spatial arrangement of the *gtsug lag khang* Kozicz (2007, 2009, 2010a, 2010b) analysed the iconometric patterns based on a proportional system superimposing the layout of the "Main Temple" (*gtsug lag khang*) and the '*Stūpa* Temple' and a smaller structure (the two latter are of a later date). His formal studies on proportional relations led him to the assumption of an abstract "mandalic" design as the basis of the main temple's layout. Kozicz's models are based on earlier assumptions by Tucci (1988b [1935]) and Khosla (1975, 1979), who were among the first to pose the important questions of the underlying proportional systems, the symbolism of Western Himalayan temples and the question of architecture as materialisation of religious ideas. Rob Linrothe (1996, 1999) was the first to analyse the iconographic programme of the Alchi Sumtsek (Ladakh) assuming that the underlying conception is the cosmological topography of the *maṇḍala*.

With the help of a survey of the ground plans of different building complexes Kozicz (2007) was able to demonstrate a proportional system based on a grid of squares of equal size. On the basis of the latter he developed ideas concerning the symbolism of space. He proposed a vertical arrangement of spaces in the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, which could simultaneously be perceived as a *maṇḍala* if one imagines the single spaces shifted along the main axis and superimposed shaping a single structure with the sanctum in the centre.

It is well-known that in Indian philosophy mathematics is regarded as an expression of the structure of the universe and a tool to shape a link between man and the universe. Accordingly, cosmological symbolism and proportionate systems play a crucial role in Tibetan temple architecture. Stella Kramrisch, an eminent scholar of Asian art (1887–1993), who studied art history at the University of Vienna, was a pioneer in the study of the form and meaning of Indian temple architecture. In her monumental work *The Hindu Temple* (1946), she defined the sources and basic concepts of Indian temple art. According to her mainly text-based analysis, all the architecture is a representation of the cosmos, and its principles are based on the same plan, the Vāstupuruṣa *maṇḍala*, and proportionate measurements around which are gathered the multitudes of architectural themes. See also Michael Meister (1989) on Śāstric traditions in Indian arts their relation to actual practice based on plans and built structures.

Previous studies in the field of West Tibetan temple architecture to a certain extent lack the dimension of historicity of built forms and their symbolisms. Future studies on the meaning of the building forms need to combine formal studies with analyses of the internal programme. It is significant to note that none of the early West Tibetan temples' interior decorations represent fully

## The Three Major Foundations in Context

In this preliminary summary, characteristic features with regard to the artistic remains of the ensembles of the three major foundations can be observed. At Khorchag two structures may stem from the earliest period (i.e. the founding phase in the 10th century or beginning of the 11th century). One of them, the lHa khang chen mo, has a Maitreya statue as a cultic centre—as mentioned in sources—while the sanctum of the Jo khang temple is occupied by the "Three Jobo Silver Brothers" (*jo bo dngul sku mched gsum*). However, the original program perhaps featured a monumental Avalokiteśvara. The Jo khang has a tripartite, longitudinal structure comparable to the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, with a cultic centre at the south end with a niche and an entrance hall recalling that of Tabo. No sculptures from the earliest phase have so far been found, and until now the monumental wooden door frame of the lHa khang chen mo has been considered as the only remains from the early period. However, during field research in 2010, paintings from the earliest phase were re-discovered on the walls of the ambulatory in the Khorchag Jo khang as well as a niche projecting from the rear wall.[49] The newly discovered wall-paintings are not only the largest remains of paintings from the earliest phase of the West Tibetan kingdom, they also feature the first known *maṇḍala* configuration in a geometric shape in the period of the Second Diffusion of Buddhism in the region, featuring the Eight Bodhisattvas surrounding a central Buddha. Distinctive painting styles (of outstanding technical and artistic quality suggesting royal workshops) also appear to be indicative of this early group of temples. The ambulatory paintings under discussion represent a unique artistic tradition with strong Newari elements reminiscent of mid-11th century book-paintings from Nepal (Kalantari 2012a: 113). Small fragments of early paintings in the Gyatsa temple of Tholing,[50] which hitherto were thought to be the only early paintings extant from the West Tibetan kingdom, appear to show comparable stylistic features. However, the remains are too small to arrive at a final conclusion at this point. Certainly, both painting styles differ from contemporaneous paintings in the entrance hall at Tabo. The latter represent a different local stylistic idiom related to early Tibetan art in Central Tibet, which emerged in the 9th century and is first identifiable in the region in a stone stele at Purang (Jahoda and Papa-Kalantari 2009).[51]

We can thus find significant indications of shared characteristics and innovative features that appear to be distinctive of the major royal foundations. The fact that the constructions, paintings and woodcarvings at Nyarma, Khorchag, Tholing and Tabo were royal commissions indicates not only that some of the best available craftsmen in the realm were involved in their creation but that also new aspects of building forms adapted to the religious demands were being developed as well as complex combinations of complementing temple types and functions. In an attempt to define the context of the earliest temples at Nyarma, the tradition of royal foundations of outstanding Buddhist temples in Kashmir in particular, predating Nyarma, is perhaps relevant. The well-preserved portal at Khorchag[52] is particularly interesting for the artistic context of the tradition of *toraṇa*s in this region. The magnificent door frame is closely related to the rich and lasting tradition of wooden temples in Himachal Pradesh. The Khorchag portal and its complex spatial layout clearly demonstrates the various contributions of the rich religious-cultural and "material" milieu of Himachal Pradesh and Kashmir in the Trans-Himalayan regions near the Tibetan plateau, giving impetus to the development of independent and creative artistic traditions in the Western Himalayas from the 10th century onwards.[53]

All the artistic media discussed in this short description of the three complexes reflect a high level of artistic and technical skill, monumentality, and an intense exchange with centres in north India,

developed *maṇḍala*s with iconographical fixed position of the deities in the *maṇḍala*, like the sKu 'bum of Gyantse (rGyal rtse).

[49] Furthermore art historical evidence suggests the existence of a niche in the present ambulatory of the Khorchag Jo khang, which was later filled with mud bricks. Thus we perhaps find comparable architectonic themes used for the royal foundations of Khorchag and Nyarma which differ from that in the contemporary Tabo *gtsug lag khang*, which, as already stated, has a simpler layout; However, the proportions of the niche at Khorchag are hard to define because walls have been added inside the *skor lam*. It is also not clear if the present sanctum at Khorchag is a later addition or a part of the original configuration. The reconstruction of the context of the structures of Khorchag is a task of future interdisciplinary research.

[50] Little of a larger ensemble at Tholing is preserved today: the Main Temple (*gtsug lag khang*), the White Temple (lHa khang dkar po), and the largely restored three-storey Serkhang (gSer khang). See for images and a short description of the remains Luczanits 1996: 76–77. The paintings in the Gyatsa (end of the 10th century) were regarded as the largest group of paintings and as the oldest preserved so far belonging to the original decoration of temples from the West Tibetan kingdom. Significant in the Gyatsa paintings is the wavy outline of the eyes, with high eyebrows and the characteristic shape of the mouth. Aureoles can also be seen on the walls of the Gyatsa at Tholing in addition.

[51] The spatial layout of the Tholing Gyatsa temple is unique, with a centralised layout and a central space around which are chapels facing in the four cardinal directions.

[52] Concerning the cultural-religious context of the woodcarvings, the portal's programme at Khorchag and the early paintings in the entrance hall at Tabo are characterized by the fusion of Hindu, non-Buddhist and Buddhist religious ideas.

[53] As wall-paintings do not play an important role in wooden temple art, it does not surprise that wall paintings at Khorchag just discussed show completely different stylistic characteristics and appear to derive from different artistic traditions and from different regions in Nepal.

Nepal and Kashmir. Perhaps one may imagine a situation of local monastic workshops with the continuous input of masters from the Indian plains, Nepal and Kashmir working together. These workshops under the guidance of Tibetan masterminds defining the spiritual programme and the spatial layout had the genius to integrate very diverse elements in an original way, thereby creating a distinctive, indigenous cultural-religious expression that contributed to the renaissance of Buddhism in the Western Himalayas.[54]

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[54] In a short closing remark it should also be delineated that the significance of the—still impressing—site of Nyarma would make it urgently necessary that the temples be protected and preserved.

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Christian Jahoda

# On the Foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, Ladakh*

Despite its significance as a major historical and archaeological religious site attesting to the appropriation of Indo-Buddhist civilisation in Ladakh around the turn of the 10th/11th century CE,[1] no detailed comprehensive and comparative study of the Buddhist temple complex of Nyarma[2] has yet been carried out, a circumstance that is certainly also due to the fact that the majority of the original structure has long been ruined. There are only a small number of works that deal with Nyarma, such as publications by David Snellgrove and Tadeusz Skorupski (1977, 1980), Jampa Losang Panglung (1995 [1983]), Roberto Vitali (1996) and Gerald Kozicz (2007, 2010, 2014). Most are confined to certain aspects of the archaeological remains and architecture of Nyarma and provide a partial (re-)evaluation of various historical evidence relating to this site.

Based on field research on the archaeological, architectural and art historical remains of the site and the discovery of a hitherto unknown substantive report, including drawings and measurements, by Joseph Gergan from 1917, the archaeology, architecture, art and religious traditions of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* are discussed in distinct contributions in this volume.[3] The gist is a reassessment of the archaeological, architectural and art-history evidence, with the aim of arriving as far as possible at a sound reconstruction of the main temple or *gtsug lag khang* in its original setting and the contemporary religio-political context from an integrated interdisciplinary perspective comprising archaeological, architectural, art-history and historical approaches. Based on this and in addition to these findings, the present contribution looks into the foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* from an historical social anthropological view by re-evaluating relevant textual materials and through a comparative analysis of the historical processes during the period in question.

The earliest references to Nyarma as one of the first and major ground-breaking Buddhist foundations in the period of the Later Diffusion of Buddhism (*bstan pa phyi dar*) in mNga' ris skor gsum are found in religio-historical texts and inscriptions. The *Biography of the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po*[4] is probably the oldest

* I want to thank Guntram Hazod and Tsering Drongshar for their comments on an earlier version of this contribution.

1 See Seyfort Ruegg 2010 for a discussion of this process in a wider historical context of the creative absorption of Buddhism in Tibet.

2 Throughout the text, the popular modern spelling Nyarma is used. In Tibetan sources, various spellings are found, such as Myar ma (*Rin chen bzang po rnam thar*, f. 29b2), Nyar ma (*Nyang ral chos 'byung B*: 463.13; *lHa bla ma ye shes 'od kyi rnam thar rgyas pa*, see Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan*: The Tibetan text", this volume, p. 140; see also Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011: 305 and Do rgya dBang drag rdo rje 2013: 22), Nya mar (*Nyang ral chos 'byung A*: 336.1.2) and Nyer ma (*gDung rabs zam 'phreng*, cited in Yo seb dGe rgan 1976: 338.16).

3 See Jahoda, "Joseph Thsertan Gergan's *Report on Nyarma*, 1917", pp. 171–199; Devers, "An archaeological account of Nyarma and its surroundings, Ladakh", pp. 201–224; Feiglstorfer, "The architecture of the Buddhist temple complex of Nyarma", pp. 225–257; Kalantari, "Note on the spatial iconography of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* in context", pp. 259–278.

4 Of this biography, a couple of what are known as medium-length versions (*rnam thar 'bring po*, a designation found at the end of these texts) have come down to us which agree to a large extent with one another in terms of content and structure despite some significant variations in terms of language, orthography and certain details of the account. In addition to these explicitly designated medium-length versions, several shorter versions exist whose extent is about half of that of the medium-length versions or even less (see, for example, CBM 1977: 230-278 and Tucci 1988: 103–121). It is not clear whether

and also most reliable source in terms of the validity of the historical information contained in it.[5] In the various extant versions of this text the founding of Nyarma in Mar yul[6] is related in conjunction with that of the 'Khor chags[7] *gtsug lag khang* in Pu hrangs[8] and the "Twelve Isles" (*gling phran bcu gnyis*) of Tho ling[9] in Gu ge. It is even

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they can be identified as short or abbreviated versions (*rnam thar bsdud pa*). The only available example of such an abbreviated version is contained in CBM 1977: 147–229, which is an extract from a history of mGur gyi mgon po and in fact much longer than the medium-length versions. Tucci referred to a short or "modest" version which consisted just of a few folios that came into the possession of Joseph Gergan in 1926 (and which he made available to August Hermann Francke) (Tucci 1933: 53; Tucci 1988 53).

According to this and other information, it was only in 1926 "when Francke was 'enabled to study the biography of this famous lama, which had been discovered, copied and translated by Joseph Gergan.' (cited from Francke's manuscript of his Preface to Shuttleworth 1929 […]). This accords with Shuttleworth who mentions in his unpublished work 'History of Spiti' that 'R[in chen bzang po]'s biography […] was found in 1924/5' […]." (Jahoda 2007: 372, n. 35).

The version possessed by Gergan and used by Francke is not available at present. Tucci considered it as an abbreviation of a longer version, such as the medium-length version sent to him in 1932 from Pooh in Upper Kinnaur (held in the Tucci Archive of the IsIAO in Rome; see *Rin chen bzang po rnam thar*). Questions related to the possible origin of these short or "concise" versions remain to be clarified, as well as other questions of interest in relation to the middle-length version authored by Ye shes dpal from Khyi thang (see also Martin 2008: 17, n. 12). The existence of a long or extended version of Rin chen bzang po's biography is mentioned in the medium-length versions, where it is referred to as *rnam thar chen mo*. So far, this long version has not come to light, although its existence was indicated to the author by several informants in Western Tibet in 2010.

Unpublished versions are Gu ge'i Khyi dang ba dPal ye shes, *Lo tsha tsa ba rin chen bzang po'i rnam thar* (see under *Rin chen bzang po rnam thar* in the bibliography), 58 folios, *dbu can* MS, Tucci Archive, IsIAO, Rome (shelf number 654; see De Rossi Filibeck 2003: 330) which is mainly used here. Zhang zhung ba Chos dbang grags pa's *Gangs can gyi skad gnyis smra ba thams cad kyi gtsug gi rgyan lo chen thams cad mkhyen pa rin chen bzang po'i rnam thar snyan dngags puṇḍa rī ka'i phreng ba*, 6 folios, woodblock print (Amnye Machen Institute, McLeod Ganj; see Martin 2008: 30–47), in addition also *Gangs can gyi skad gnyis smra ba thams cad kyi gtsug gi rgyan lo chen thams cad mkhyen pa rin chen bzang po'i rnam thar snyan dngags puṇḍarīka'i phreng ba*, 6 folios, *dbu can* blockprint (Tucci Archive, IsIAO, Rome, shelf number 653; see De Rossi Filibeck 2003: 330); *'Jig rten mig gyur lo chen rin chen bzang po'i rnam thar gsol 'debs*, 9 folios (incomplete text), *dbu can* blockprint (Tucci Archive, IsIAO, Rome, shelf number 655; see De Rossi Filibeck 2003: 330). Further unpublished versions are mentioned in the Drepung Catalogue 2004 II: 1529 and 1563.

Published versions are contained in Thub bstan dpal ldan/Thupstan Paldan 1976: 55–83; CBM 1977: 51–128; CBM 1977: 147–229; CBM 1977: 230–278; in Snellgrove and Skorupski 1980: 101–111 (a comparison of a version microfilmed in Likir in 1974 and the versions published in CBM 1977: 51–128, 147–229 and 230–278; in Tucci 1988: 103–121; *'Jig rten mig gyur lo chen rin chen bzang po'i rnam thar gsol 'debs*, in *Bod ljongs nang bstan*, 7/1: 131–133; in Gu ge Khyi rang Dznyānashrī 1990: 134–148; Gu ge Khyi thang Dznyānashrī 1996: 11–33; in Gu ge Khyi thang Dznyānashrī 1996: 37–57 (cf. also Martin 2008: 30–47 for a published version of the larger part of this text); in Gu ge Khyi thang Dznyānashrī 1996: 65–71; in Negi 1996.

[5] Some scholars like Tucci and Snellgrove expressed doubts regarding the antiquity of this biography or treated the existing versions as later redactions (see Tucci 1932: 27–28, 55; see also Tucci 1988: 27–28, 55; Snellgrove 1987: 477–478), Dan Martin holds this text to be "genuinely old and preserved today in a form reasonably close to the original" (Martin 1996: 177 [n. 24]) and "dating as early as 1060 A.D." (*ibid*.; see also Martin 2008: 17). Jampa L. Panglung expressed the view that although the existing written versions cannot be dated to the 11th century, they contain a high degree reliable information going back to the 11th century (Panglung, personal communication, Vienna, May 2002) (see also Jahoda 2006: 23–24, n. 20).

[6] Mar yul refers to the area which can be identified to a large degree, at least with its core region, with that of the later kingdom of Ladakh (see also Vitali 1996: 156). Vitali (2005: 99–100) defined it with reference to the 13th–14th centuries as the "upper side" of the region of La dwags, with a dynasty or lineage of rulers centred in Shel (also She ye). Vitali ("Territory and Trends in land control", this volume, p. 2) follows Cunningham, Francke and Pelliot in identifying Mar yul with "Mo-lo-so" (Moluosuo) in the report by the 8th-century Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang (see also Zeisler 2010: 432–436 for a critical discussion and the likelihood of this identification). Pre-12th-century Tibetan inscriptional evidence for the use of Mar yul seems to be missing. Also it does not occur in *Yig rnying*, where, however, *yul* is only used with reference to countries outside of sTod mNga' ris and only a few place names appear, without reference to a specific region. In Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's chapter on the history of mNga' ris in *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes*, Mar yul appears as the main inherited land which dPal gyi mgon received from this father sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon. The reference to Mar yul, which appears five times in this chapter seems to refer to an area along the river valley plain of the Indus. She ye (Shel) and dPe dug (dPe thub) are explicitly mentioned as places belonging to Mar yul (see Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, "Relating the history of mNga' ris as as set down in writing in Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes*: The Tibetan text (with variant readings by Tsering Drongshar and Christian Jahoda)", this volume, pp. 101, 103, 104, 109, 111). According to Nils Martin, Mar yul (stod) is mentioned in a 12th-century manuscript of Matho in Ladakh as the region where the temple of Nyarma was erected. His assumption that "by the 11th or 12th century, *mar yul* designated primarily a region lying along the Indus River, extending westward at least down to Alchi" (2019: 222, n. 105) seems reasonable.

[7] Various spellings such as Kha char, Khwa char, Kha phyar, Kho char, etc. are found in historical texts.

[8] Also in this case various spellings such as Pu hrangs, sPu hrangs, Pu hrang, Pu rang, sPu rangs appear in written sources. According to Dan Martin, "the name of Pu-hrang, like many other place names in Western Tibet, is in pure Zhang-zhung language. The *pu* means 'head,' while the *hrang* means 'horse.' Hence it corresponds to Tibetan **Rta-mgo*, and means the 'head' [of the river that comes from the mouth of the] 'horse.'" (Martin 2008: 47).

[9] As stated by Vitali, this description that the *gtsug lag khang* consisted of a central temple surrounded by four major buildings, to which eight lesser buildings——*gling phran*, "temple divisions"——were attached, agrees with the notion found in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* (see Vitali 256–257, n. 374; see also Vitali 1999: 119). In later sources, such as in *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i yid 'phrog*, this classification is also found and specific names are given for these temples, which is different from the corresponding classification in the *Tho ling rten deb* (see Vitali 2012: 17). Variant spellings such as mTho gling (used, for example, predominantly in the *Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od*; see Tsering

said that their foundations were laid on one (that is, the same) day. It is also mentioned that after these three big *gtsug lag khang* were completed, their religious consecration (*rab gnas*) and inauguration (*zhal bsro*) was executed in a detailed and extended manner. At a later time, referring to years or even decades after the work on the temples was finished and the opening ceremonies had been carried out, it is reported, that the sPu rang people said, that "the Great Lama Translator was here and founded our temple and consecrated it", while the Gu ge people said that he stayed at Tho ling and the Mar yul people said the same of Nyarma (Snellgrove and Skorupski 1980: 92). It seems that this piece of information was part of oral traditions which were perhaps based on early contemporary oral accounts and which were still prevalent at the time when Gu ge Khyi thang pa composed the Great Translator's *rnam thar*. In the version of the *Biography of the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po* from Pooh, which in style and language possibly represents one of the earliest redactions available at present, the description of the foundation of Nyarma and the other two *gtsug lag khang* is given in the following words:

> de nas bla chen po lha ldes/ kha char kyi gtsug lag khang bzhengs su gsol pa dang/ gu ge ru 'phebs pa dang/ lha bla ma ye shes 'od kyis tho ling gi gling phran bcu gnyis bzhengs pa dang/ mar yul du myar ma bzhengs pa dang/ gsum gi smang zhag cig la 'things pa yin no/[10] (*Rin chen bzang po rnam thar*, f. 29a3–f. 29b3)
>
> After that the Great Superior One (*bla chen po*)[11] lHa lde requested [Rin chen bzang po] to build the *gtsug lag khang* of Kha char ['Khor chags], and [then Rin chen bzang po] went to Gu ge, and [there] the Twelve Isles of Tho ling were built by the Royal Lama (*lha bla ma*)[12] Ye shes 'od, and in Mar yul Myar ma [Nyarma] was built [by him?]. The foundations of [these] three were laid on one [that is, the same] day.

Based on the *Biography of the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po* contained in CBM this passage was translated by Roberto Vitali as follows:

> de nas bla chen po lha ldes/ kha char kyis gtsug lag khang bzhengs su gsol ba dang/ gu ge ru 'phebs pa dang_lha bla ma ye shes 'od kyis tho ling gi gling phran bcu gnyis bzhengs pa dang/ mar yul du nyar ma bzhengs pa dang_gsum gyis smang zhag gcig la btsugs pa yin no/ (CBM 1977: 88.5–89.2; different readings are underlined)
>
> "'Then bla.chen lHa.lde requested [Rin.chen bzang.po] to build Khwa.char gtsug.lag.khang. [The latter] went to Gu.ge and b u i l t the twelve mTho.lding *gling.phran*-s w i t h lha.bla.ma Ye.shes.'od. T h e y built Nyar.ma in Mar.yul, these three. Their foundations were laid in one day.'" (Vitali 1996: 262; my emphases).

Vitali's translation as well as his résumé[13] differ from the above one in several points, which is not due to the slight variations or variant readings in the case of a few words. The biggest difference is that, according to his translation, Rin chen bzang po is regarded as having built the Tho ling *gtsug lag khang* together with the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od, and moreover he also names them as having built the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*. In my view, it is necessary to pay attention to the final passage, which mentions that the foundations of the three temples were laid on the same day. This makes it impossible for Rin chen bzang po to have been present in a physical sense at the three places at the same time. In my view, the meaning of the introductory words of the passage cited therefore need to be interpreted with regard to the foundation. It is basically a statement about the builder (in the sense of the initiating person/power-holder/donor) of the *gtsug lag khang* at 'Khor chags (explicit mention of lHa lde) and the one at Tho ling (explicit mention of Ye shes 'od). In my view this text does not explicitly state who was responsible for initiating the building of the *gtsug lag khang* at Nyarma, although Vitali's interpretation to read the phrase "*mar yul du myar ma bzhengs pa dang*" as a continuation of the one before (and in relation with Ye shes 'od) is likewise maintainable. The text mentions Rin chen bzang po's appointment to build the *gtsug lag khang* in the case of 'Khor chags. On the basis that the passage

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Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan*: The Tibetan text", this volume, pp. 124, 138, 140, 141, 142, 143, 146, 148, 149, 151, 168; see also Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011: 278, 301, 305, 306, 309, 311, 317, 319, 320, 321, 323, 355), Tho gling, mTho lding, 'Thon 'thing, etc. are found.

[10] Gu ge Khyi rang Dznyanashrī 1990: 141 has "*.. dang gsum gyi rmang zhag gcig la btsugs pa yin no/*".

[11] For a discussion of this and other titles see Appendix I: A note on some titles of rulers and other members of the West Tibetan royal family according to 10th- and 11th-century inscriptions and the "Old Manuscript" (*Yig rnying*) from Tholing.

[12] According to the *Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od* this was his title upon his ordination as a monk (*gcung srong nge rab tu byung ba ni/ lha bla ma ye shes 'od di nyid do/*" (see Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan*: The Tibetan text", this volume, p. 122; see also Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011: 275). This agrees with *Yig rnying*, p. 37 ("*thard par gshegs te/ lha bla ma ye shes od du mtshan gsol//*". See also Appendix I, p. 290.

[13] In a summarising statement later in the text, Vitali says that "*Rin.chen bzang. po rnam.thar 'bring.po* attributes Kha.char to lHa.lde, Tho.ling and Nyar.ma to Ye.shes.'od, somewhat eulogistically adding that they were all built with the collaboration of Rin.chen bzang.po (p. 88 line 5-p. 89 line 2)." (Vitali 1996: 259).

related relevant oral accounts in this regard (see below), we can assume without much doubt that he was not only responsible for laying the foundation but also for the architectural building activities as well as the final consecration of this temple. In contrast to this, in the case of Tho ling, it is (only) said that he went there, and from this we can assume that he was involved in the (building and/or other) works there at least at some point in time.[14] As regards Nyarma, in the above passage relating to the foundation, based on a strict reading of the text, nothing is really stated explicitly about the initiator/donor or about Rin chen bzang po's participation.

A few lines further on in the same text, again taking the *Biography of the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po* from Pooh as reference, the topic of the foundation of the three *gtsug lag khang* and Rin chen bzang po's participation in each case is continued, this time with the focus on the phase(s)[15] after the work on/in all three *gtsug lag khang* was finished and the ritual consecration and formal opening had been concluded:

> de nas pu hrangs kyi 'kha 'char/ gu ge'i tho ling/ mar yul gi myar ma dang gsum ste/ /gtsug lag khang chen po gsum po de 'tshar nas/ rab gnas dang zhal spros[16] rgyas par mdzad do[17]/ /de nas pu hrangs pa zer bas bla ma lo tsha ba chen po 'dir bzhugs nas gtsug lag khang bzhengs zhing rab gnas mdzad ces zer/ gu ge ba 'dir bzhugs zer/ mar yul ba 'dir bzhugs ces zer/ bla ma lo tsha ba la zhus pas/ /de gsum dkar na yang nga[18] yod pa bden gsungs so/ (*Rin chen bzang po rnam thar*, f. 30b1–f. 31a3)
>
> Then 'Kha 'char ['Khor chags] of [in] Purang, Tho ling of [in] Guge, Myar ma [Nyarma] of [in] Mar yul and [as regards these] three, after the three great *gtsug lag khang* were completed, the consecration and inauguration took place in an extended way. Then the sPu rang people said, "the Great Lama Translator stayed here, built this temple and performed the consecration ritual", the Gu ge people said, "(he) [that is, the Great Lama Translator] stayed here [in Gu ge]", the Mar yul people said, "(he) [that is, the Great Lama Translator] stayed here [in Mar yul]". When the Lama Translator was asked he said: "At all these three [places] actually, it is true that I was there."

What the statement cited by Rin chen bzang po makes explicitly clear is that he stayed in all three places, which can be implicitly understood as confirmation that to some degree——the extent and focus of which is difficult to assess on the basis of the textual evidence——he took part in the activities at Tho ling and Nyarma, in addition to the essential role he is mentioned as having fulfilled at 'Khor chags, where, according to local oral traditions, he was engaged not only in laying the foundation, consecutive construction and other activities but also seems to have carried out the final consecration ritual of the *gtsug lag khang*. His important and leading role in this case obviously agrees with his function as chief priest (*dbu'i mchod gnas*) and Tantric Teacher (*rdo rje slob dpon*, *vajrācarya*) assigned to him by the Great Superior One (*bla chen po*) lHa lde, information which is given at the start of section eight of his *rnam thar* in a passage immediately preceding the ones cited above. From this point of view, his major engagement in the case of 'Khor chags

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[14] Trusting the accepted chronology based on his biography that Rin chen bzang po went to Kashmir some time in 996 and returned with sculptors only in 1001 (see Vitali 2003: 59, 60), his involvement in the construction and even decoration works could only have been very limited.

[15] While it is plausible and consistently mentioned in all relevant sources that the foundations of the three *gtsug lag khang* were laid on one day, we have to assume with great probabililty that the consecration and inauguration, depending on the requirements of the different programmes and the progress of the various building and other activities must have happened at different times. Despite the fact that the events described in these two passages seem to have followed each other closely in time, we have to assume rather the opposite. From the *Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od*, we know that, for example, in the case of the Tho ling *gtsug lag khang*, from the year in which the foundation took place (in Fire Male Monkey year 996) it took eight years to finish the sculptures and the wall paintings (consecrated in Wood Male Dragon year 1004). See Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan*: The Tibetan text," this volume, pp. 138–140; see also Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011: 301–305. Later on in the text the consecration (*rab gnas*) of the Great Temple (lHa khang chen mo) is mentioned, without any further information, as having happened in the Fire Dragon year 1016, perhaps mistakenly using the element fire (*me*) instead of wood (*shing*). See Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan*: The Tibetan text," this volume, p. 149; see also Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011: 320. *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* provides another (also Dragon) year date for a consecration or great renovation according to Vitali, Earth Male Dragon year 1028 (Vitali 1996: 53, 109).

[16] Instead of *zhal spros*, one should read perhaps *zhal bsro*, explained as an "eye-opening" ritual (for deities/statues) as part of *rab gnas* rituals (cf. *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* 1986 III: 2383).

[17] Gu ge Khyi rang Dznyanashrī (1990: 141) has a shortened reading of this passage: "*de nas pu hrangs kyi kwa char gu ge mtho lding mar yul gyi nyar ma dang gsum gyi gtsug lang khang gi rab gnas zhal bsro rgya chen po mdzad do/*". Another variant of this shortened reading is contained in CBM (1977: 90.1–2): "*de nas pu hrangs kyi kwa char gu ge mtho lding mar yul gyi nyar dang gsum gyi gtsug lang khang gi rab gnas zhal kros rgyas chen po mdzad do/*". In these versions the information concerning the finishing of the work on/in the temples and their subsequent consecration and formal opening is less precise.

[18] CBM (1977: 90.5) has "*de gsum ka nas yang ngas yod pa bden gsung ngo/*".

as opposed to a comparatively reduced or minor one in Tho ling and Nyarma appears to be completely reasonable (and also consistent with other information).

As was mentioned above, the founding of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* in Mar yul is related in conjunction with that of the *gtsug lag khang* in 'Khor chags in Pu hrangs and Tho ling in Gu ge. From a comparative perspective it is therefore necessary to include these other temples, and in addition also some more in a number of smaller places in view of the wider related context.

Of course, one has to take into account the respective genre (whether *rnam thar* or *chos 'byung*) and perspective (and interest, perhaps even bias) informing a textual source. In the case of the *Biography of the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po*, this perspective and interest is, of course, related to the presentation of *lo chen*'s deeds by Gu ge Khyi thang pa Ye shes dpal, one of his direct disciples. Moreover, in terms of his regional or political affiliation it seems to reflect certain priorities and a chronological sequence. Of the three "regions" or "power spheres" (*mnga' ris*) under discussion here, Pu hrangs is presented as having been personally more important to him, at least during certain periods of his life, than Gu ge (not to speak of Mar yul). Not only does the making of his "career" appear to have been critically associated from the start with incidents reported to have happened there, but various events are also strong evidence for this. For example, his defeat of a monk (*dge bshes*), which earned him great respect, took place in sPu hrangs and his appointment as *dbu'i mchod gnas* and *rdo rje blo dpon* as well as the receipt of sites in sPu hrangs by lHa lde preceding in the *rnam thar* the narration of the latter's request to found the *gtsug lag khang* at 'Khor chags as well as the prominent role he seems to have fulfilled in this case. The area where he is said to have founded 108 temples (and that he seems to have favoured for meditational practice) is described as stretching "from Zher sa in Pu hrangs as far as Ho bu lang ka",[19] which covers a coherent geographical zone along the upper rMa bya gtsang po (Peacock river, Karnāli) and Glang chen kha 'babs (Sutlej) rivers from lower sPu hrangs to the area of present-day Ribba in Kinnaur respectively.[20] sPu hrangs and in particular 'Khor chags seem to have played also a key role in the later phases of *lo chen* Rin chen bzang po's life. Various textual sources as well as oral and festival traditions closely related to the Great Translator can still be found in 'Khor chags today (see Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2006: 119f., Jahoda 2012: 42; Jahoda 2015a [2012]: 226).[21]

On account of the evidence contained in the *Biography of the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po*, we can conclude that Rin chen bzang po was heavily involved throughout the whole foundation process (laying of the foundation, construction, consecration, inauguration) of the *gtsug lag khang* at 'Khor chags, most probably as a result of the leading religious function and support assigned to him by lHa lde. Only after his initial work at 'Khor chags was finished did he go to Guge, where Ye shes 'od built the *gtsug lag khang* in Tho ling (see above). As already stated by Vitali, lHa lde and, of course, Rin chen bzang po receive comparatively much more attention in *Rin chen bzang po rnam thar 'bring po* than in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs,* while there, in contrast to *Rin chen bzang po rnam thar 'bring po*, Ye shes 'od's role and deeds are generally highlighted. In *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*, Rin chen bzang po is consistently referred to as *lo chen* or *lo tsā ba* and, not only due to the longer historical period treated in this text, appears as a more marginal figure (beside many others) whose activities are mainly characterised by (and in fact appear limited to) his work as translator.[22]

Comparing the result of this preliminary résumé with the account contained in the *Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od*,[23] which

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[19] "*Pu hrangs kyi Zher sa nas/ Ho bu lang ka'i bar du gtsug lag khang brgya tsa gzhengs pa'i zhal bzhes mdzad do/* (*Rin chen bzang po rnam thar*, f. 29a2-3) (cf. also Vitali 1996: 245). This phrase is repeated more or less twice later on in the text: "*'dor na Pu hrangs kyi 'Kha' char man bcod la/ Ho bu lang bka' yan mchod la gtsug lag khang rgya rtsa brgyad bzhengs pa*" (*Rin chen bzang po rnam thar*, f. 44a4–44b1; cf. also *ibid*., f. 46b2–3, where 'Kha' char is replaced again by Zher sa).

[20] According to Hira Paul Gangnegi, Ho bu lang ka refers to the modern Kalpa area of Kinnaur: "Chini was the old name of Kalpa. The area close to Chini is called La ang. The area that encloses ten villages along with Chini is known as Ho pu." (personal communication, Nov. 20, 2000). This agrees with Vitali's assumption that Ho bu lang ka should be placed "somewhere near Khu nu" (Vitali 1996: 278–79, n. 424). Additional evidence in support of this identification is provided by certain oral traditions extant in Ribba, in particular a song about *lo chen* Rin chen bzang po (Lotsa Rinchen Zangpo) which was recorded there by Veronika Hein in 2001. In this song he is mentioned as having stayed at the Ho (bu) lang (ka) *mchod rten* below Ribba before entering the village (cf. Hein 2002: 26). The correct identification of this site was confirmed on the spot by villagers during field research by the author in 2002.

[21] Field research and documentation of these traditions at 'Khor chags was carried out in February-March 2010 by Hubert Feiglstorfer, Veronika Hein, Christian Jahoda, Christiane Kalantari and Patrick Sutherland (collaborators in research projects located at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna) in cooperation with Tshe ring rgyal po (Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences, Lhasa).

[22] Vitali's comment is certainly to the point when he states that "*mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs* does not treat Rin.chen bzang.po as a major figure of *bstan.pa phyi. dar* in sTod. Little is said about lo.chen in the text, while the members of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang royal line are given priority, probably because this work is a *rgyal.rabs,* not focusing on religious exponents as would a *chos.'byung*." (Vitali 1996: 240).

[23] See Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan*: The Tibetan text", this volume; see also Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011 and Do rgya dBang drag rdo rje 2013.

centres to a large degree on the deeds of this ruler and later Royal Lama, who was largely responsible for the political and religious reorganisation or Buddhist transformation of historical Western Tibet in the late 10th/early 11th century (between the 980s up to 1019 when he died in Tho ling according to this source), it emerges that the information contained there with regard to the foundation process of the three *gtsug lag khang* is quite precise in the case of the Tho ling Khang dmar dpe med lhun gyi grub pa('i) *gtsug lag khang* but that it is rather silent about that of the *gtsug lag khang* in 'Khor chags and in Nyarma, in particular concerning the questions of its founders/ initiating donors as well as *lo chen* Rin chen bzang po's participation. Despite the fact that Rin chen bzang po's work as translator and his participation in the introduction (and dissemination) of various tantric cycles finds some consideration, there is no explicit mention in the case of a particular temple as to the where, what and how of his contribution(s). On the basis of a future critical study of the texts he translated (and partly also revised) over the years (in fact, decades) which are found in the *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur*, it will perhaps become possible to reconstruct and assess the influence of his work in greater detail that has so far been possible, also with regard to the temporal dimension.[24]

The *Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od* states that the foundations of the Tho ling lHa khang chen po (also the variant lHa khang chen mo occurs) were drawn in a Fire Male Monkey year (996)[25] and——in the consecutive passage resembling one in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* (Vitali 1996: 59.13–16, 113) where it appears embedded in a different temporal framework——that in the spring of a Fire Female Bird year (997) *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od and his sons Devarāja (De ba rā dza; MS De ba rā rdzā) and Nāgarāja (Nā ga rā dza; MS: Nā ga rā dzā) resided in a hermitage at Pa sgam and that at the time when his two sons were ordained, from all over mNga' ris skor gsum altogether two hundred youths with considerable wisdom, diligent minds, bright intelligence and strong hearts were gathered and delivered on the path of liberation, one hundred from Gu ge, forty from Pu hrangs, thirty from Pil chog[26]——that is the area of the Spiti valley——and thirty from Mar yul. In a later passage, the consecration of the above-mentioned temple (*lha khang de nyid*) is said to have taken place in a Wood Male Dragon year (1004), an event that is mentioned in the text immediately after the invitation of the *paṇḍita* Dharmapāla. The place where this temple is described as having been founded (obviously after the performance of the relevant *sa chog* rituals) is referred to as the centre of the peculiar power of this location (*sa'i dmigs*) (cf. Labdrön 2003: 319, n. 26; Gardner 2009: 4). From the consecration ritual until the performance of the concluding "eye-opening" ritual, a great festival was celebrated for twenty-one days. The temple was named Tho ling khang dmar dpe med lhun gyi grub pa'i gtsug lag khang. In the centre a statue of the Great Lord of the Teachings (*bstan pa'i gtso che sku*), Buddha Śākyamuni was built. From the Fire Monkey year (996) until the Wood Male Dragon year (1004), for full eight years, in each of the "Isles" (*gling*) murals and statues were made of the assembly of deities of the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* and Dharmadhātu *maṇḍala* according to the Yoga Tantras. It is said that furthermore (one can assume during the same period mentioned) the Yid bzhin lhun gyis grub pa'i gtsug lag khang was built at 'Khor chags in Pu hrangs, with about a hundred pillars, diverse "Isles" and a statue of Maitreyanātha (Byams pa'i mgon po) at the centre. Moreover, at Ta po in Pi ti (Spiti) a *lha khang*, the ornament of lCog la, in Mar yul the *lha khang* of Nyarma, with a statue of Buddha Dīpaṃkara (Sangs rgyas mar me mdzad) residing in the centre, the border-protecting *gtsug lag khang*, such as the *lha khang* of Ka nam in Nga ra, the *lha khang* of Mo na in Drug pag, the *lha khang* of sPu in Rong chung and furthermore in Pu hrangs Tsha ba sgang and others, more than 100 *lha khang* and countless *mchod rten*, silver, gold and bronze statues were made.[27]

In *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, this phase of erecting new temples is narrated as immediately following the assassination of Ye shes 'od's *mchod gnas* Ser po:

> sPu rang du kho char dang/ pil cog du rta po dang/ mar yul du nya mar dang/ bu rigs su sha ling dang/ gu ger tho ling gtsug lag khang chen mo bzhengs so / gtsug lag khang de'i lcags ri cig gi khongs na ghan ji rwa btsugs pa'i lha khang drug bcu rtsa bzhi yod do/ (*Nyang ral chos 'byung A* 336.1.1–4)[28]

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[24] See, for example, Weinberger 2003: 317ff.

[25] See Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan*: The Tibetan text", this volume, p. 138; see also Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011: 301.

[26] Cf. Yo seb dge rgan 1976: 182, n. 2 for an explanation of the meaning. "The terms sPi lcog, sPi ti lCog la, sPyi sde lCog la or lCog la'i sde found in inscriptions and texts (see Petech 1997: 252, n. 20) presumably reflect a larger historical (administrative) regional unit to which Tabo also once belonged, as attested by the expression Pil Cog du rTa po [(*Nyang ral chos 'byung A*: 336.1.1–2]." (Jahoda 2015b: 24). Cf. *Nyang ral chos 'byung* b: 461.11 which has the spelling Sil chog tu rTa po.

[27] See Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan*: The Tibetan text", this volume, pp. 138–140; see also Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011: 301–305.

[28] Apart from some variant readings, *Nyang ral chos 'byung B* 461.10–12 has the same text: *sPu* [*rang*] *du kho char dang/ sil chog tu rta po dang/ mar yul du nyar ma dang/ dbu rig tu sha ling dang/ gu ger tho ling gi gtsug lag khang chen po bzhengs so/ gtsug lag khang de'i lcags ri gcig gi khongs na ganydzira btsugs pa'i lha khang drug cu rtsa bzhi yod do/*.

In sPu rang Kho char ['Khor chags] and in Pil cog rTa po [Tabo] and in Mar yul Nya mar [Nyarma] and in Bu rigs Sha ling and in Gu ge the great Tho ling *gtsug lag khang* were built. Within the boundary wall of this *gtsug lag khang*, there are sixty-four *lha khang* with multi-lobed spires (*gan dzi ra*).

In contrast to Roberto Vitali, who says that "*Nyang.ral chos.'byung* [...] *credits* Ye.shes.'od with the *impulse* that led to the foundations of Kha.char in sPu[.rang], rTa.po in Sil.chog (sic for Pi.Cog), Nyar.ma in Mar.yul, Sha.ling in dBu.rig (sic for sPu.rig) and Tho.ling in Gu.ge" (Vitali 1996: 261; my emphasis) and that "*Nyang.ral chos.'byung* (p. 461 lines 10-12), after introducing the episode of Ye.shes.'od obtaining the Dong.rtse.wang gold-fields from the Sa.sgang 'Brog.mi-s, records the founding of *his* main temples" (*ibid*.: 261, n. 384; my emphasis), in my view the text does not explicitly mention *who* built these temples nor *who* was the responsible or initiating person/power-holder/donor. In my understanding, the intention of the statement is merely to narrate the sequence of events and which temples were built but not by whom. Aside from the mention of a temple in Pu rigs, however, it is remarkable to note the reversed order of giving the places where temples were built, even without using the words *lha khang* or *gtsug lag khang*, except for the great *gtsug lag khang* at Tho ling, which is described with some valuable details.

Neither Rin chen bzang po nor any other religious figure is explicitly mentioned in direct relation to these building activities. An interesting detail is contained a few lines further on, in the context of reporting the invitation of numerous *paṇḍita*s from India and Kashmir and the results of their work, when, as an introduction to his translation activities, Rin chen bzang po is characterised or referred to as the "statue-maker from Zhang zhung" (*Zhang zhung gi lha bzo*) (*Nyang ral chos 'byung A* 335.2.6). It can perhaps be concluded from this piece of information (which suits the one contained in his biography)[29] that, at least at a certain phase in his life (for example, during the above-mentioned phase of erecting and decorating new temples), Rin chen bzang po seems to have been involved with the making of sculptures (as well as perhaps with other technical work). Another interesting piece of information contained in *Nyang ral chos 'byung* relates to the meeting (and stay) of the *paṇḍita*s Buddhaśrīsantipā(da), Buddhapāla and Kamalagupta at Nyarma:

> Mar yul sum mdo'i chos 'khor nya mar paṇḍita Bhu ta shi shan ti pa dang Bhudha pha la dang Ka ma la gub ta gsum dang mjal nas zhu ba phul chos mang po bsgyur/ (*Nyang ral chos 'byung A* 336.3.6–337.1.2)[30]
>
> At the *chos 'khor*[31] of Nya ma in Mar yul sum mdo, the *paṇḍita*s Buddhaśrīsantipā[da], Buddhapāla and Kamalagupta met and then a request was made to them. Many religious writings were translated.

There is some evidence which makes it possible to determine a relatively narrow period for this event and the *paṇḍita*s' activities in Western Tibet. These three are also named in the *Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od* together with other *paṇḍita*s and scholars (*mkhas pa*) such as Śraddhākaravarman and Padmakaragupta, who were invited to Western Tibet and who, by their translation work, were responsible for introducing various new religious cycles. They are mentioned there——in the same order and slightly different spelling——in the context of Rin chen bzang po's work as translator etc. and his contribution to the introduction of new doctrinal cycles (*chos skor*).[32]

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[29] Where he is mentioned as having come back after a six-year stay in Kashmir (Kha che) bringing thirty-two statue-makers (*lha bzo' ba*) (see *Rin chen bzang po rnam thar*, f. 33b2-3).

[30] Cf. *Nyang ral chos 'byung B* 463.13–15: *Mar yul sum mdo'i chos 'khor nya mar/ paṇ ḍi ta Buddha shi shan tam ba dang/ Buddha pa la dang/ Ka ma la gub ta gsum dang mjal nas zhu ba phul/ chos mang po bsgyur/*.

[31] The designation as *chos 'khor* or *chos skor* was used for monasteries where the words of the Buddha and related commentaries were translated by learned spiritual masters from Kashmir and India together with Tibetan scholars. The new teachings were obviously also taught at the newly erected temples, which were decorated with up-to-date religious cycles (*chos skor*). See also Shastri 1997: 336. bSam yas in Central Tibet is considered the earliest example of *chos 'khor* in the sense of a place where the holy *dharma* was spread and an excellent location where translators and *paṇḍita*s translated many Buddhist teachings or cycles of esoteric instructions (see *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo* 2002: 2115). See also the classification of the three temples of lHa sa, bSam yas and Khra 'brug as *chos 'khor gnas gsum* (discussed by Sørensen and Hazod, in cooperation with Tsering Gyalbo 2005: 4).

[32] In a section in the *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od* after mentioning the ordination of Ye shes 'od (in Earth Female Ox year, 989) and prior to events which took place in the middle summer month of Wood Female Sheep year (995) (*shing mo lug gi dbyar zla 'bring po*), Rin chen bzang po is introduced to the reader and his activities and merits are mentioned. Related to the time when he was in his thirties (*lo chen dgung lo sum bcu* [*cu*] *so bgrangs* [*grangs*] *kyi dus su*), that is the years between 987 and 996 (when he was thirty and thirty-nine according to Tibetan reckoning), thus fitting chronologically with the events framing this biographical information (see Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan*: The Tibetan text", this volume, p. 135; see also Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011: 295), an interaction with Ye shes 'od is mentioned, who gave him a blessing. In addition, at the end of this section, the Great Translator's contribution to a lHa khang chen mo (Great Temple)——which could have been no other than the lHa khang chen mo at Tho ling——is mentioned. This consisted in a golden image of Buddha Śākyamuni (Śākya thub pa), designated as the "inner receptacle" (*nang rten*) of the Great Translator, which was placed at the

Like Śraddhākaravarman, Buddhaśrīśānti[pāda?] and Kamalagupta are known as direct collaborators of Rin chen bzangpo. They are mentioned as having assisted him in the translation of a considerable number of texts (cf. the lists in Gangnegi 1994: 104ff.). Śraddhākaravarman, Kamalagupta and Rin chen bzang po collaborated, for example, in the translation of Ānandagarbha's *Extensive Commentary on the Śrī Paramādya (dPal mchog dang po'i rgya cher bshad pa*) (see Weinberger 2003: 88). One can therefore assume that their activities fell into the lifetime of Rin chen bzang po and that their translation activities can be dated most probably somewhere in the late 10th or, more probably, in the early 11th century. Furthermore, one can also conclude that the Buddhist complex that existed at Nyarma at this time, certainly the *gtsug lag khang* founded in 996, was not only conceived but most importantly functioned as a *chos 'khor* in the above-mentioned sense. Information that Nyarma served early on——according to certain historical sources immediately after its foundation——as a place where Kashmiri *paṇḍita*s went for summer retreat and were requested to spread the Buddhist teachings is also contained in *Dung rabs zam 'phreng* (cited in Yo seb dge rgan 1976: 338.18–19) and in the rNam rtse version of *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* (cf. Vitali 1996: 576, n. 989).

The way in which the temple at Nyarma as well as the other early contemporary temples are referred to in terms of classificatory designation (*gtsug lag khang, chos 'khor, lha khang*) and individual name in trustworthy historical sources shows some remarkable differentiations: the main divisions are between a group of mostly three or four temples in major places whose foundations were laid in 996 and which are commonly referred to as *gtsug lag khang* or *gtsug lag khang chen po* and a group of temples in smaller places and a third group of border-protecting temples (referred to as *mtha' 'dul gtsug* [*gyi*] *lag khang* or *lha khang*). It is obvious that these divisions are based on a hierarchical spatial concept which has the most important temple(s) in the centre of a major area, less important temples in smaller places or in the centre of smaller areas and temples specifically dedicated to the protection of these areas in peripheral border zones.[33]

In the *Biography of the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po*, as mentioned perhaps the earliest relevant source in this respect, the temples in 'Khor chags, Tho ling and Nyarma are collectively referred to as the three great *gtsug lag khang*, which are located in the three different areas or political territories of sPu hrangs, Gu ge and Mar yul. A strong territorial notion or relationship is also visible in the *Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od*, *Nyang ral chos 'byung* and *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*, also in the case of the temples in smaller places. Nevertheless, as we have seen in the passage cited above from *Rin chen bzang po rnam thar*, f. 29a3–f. 29b3, there is an important "internal" differentiation in referring to these three temples that is based on their religious programme and design, in particular the main (central) cult statue.

As in most other sources, in the *Biography of the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po* the temple in Tho ling is referred to as the "Twelve Isles" (*gling phran bcu gnyis*), in respect of its particular structure and obviously also paramount importance, while Nyarma——in contrast to 'Khor chags (referred to as *gtsug lag khang*)——is without any specific designation. In the *Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od*, highest priority is given to the foundation of the temple at Tho ling, which, in the context of laying the foundations, is first referred to as Tho ling *lha khang chen po* and simply as *lha khang de nyid* but after its consecration with its full individual name and classificatory designation as Tho ling khang dmar dpe med lhun gyi grub pa'i gtsug

centre of the lHa khang chen mo where deities of the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* resided. The size of this image is given as eighteen spans high (that is, over 3 m) at the back, with an ornate throne back, the Great Translator's hair, monk's robe and clothes with blessings from numerous learned and (spiritually) accomplished masters (see Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan*: The Tibetan text", this volume, p. 135; see also Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011: 295–296). As was mentioned above, the making of the murals and statues of the assembly of deities of the Vajradhātu and Dharmadhātu *maṇḍala*s in the lHa khang chen mo took eight years and was only finished in 1004 when the temple was consecrated. This, together with the established chronology of Rin chen bzang po's life (his return from Kashmir in 1001 after a six-year stay starting in 996), can be taken as evidence of his participation at the beginning of the construction (when the foundation was laid in 996) and in the years between 1001 and 1004 after his return, culminating in his contribution of the central statue.

Immediately following this excursus on the Great Translator, it is said in the *Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od* that in addition (during this time and in the following years) many scholars, such as *paṇḍita* Śraddhākaravarman (Shrā dh aka ra warman), *paṇḍita* Padmakaragubta (Padma ka ra gu [gub] ta), Budha shrī shanti (Buddhaśrīśānti), Bud dha bā la (Buddhapāla), Ka ma la gu (gub) ta (Kamalagupta), and others were invited, and that——related to these invitations, stays and collaborations——various new religious cycles (*chos skor*) were introducted (see Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan*: The Tibetan text", this volume, pp. 135–136; see also Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011: 296).

[33] In 996 (Fire Male Monkey year) altogether eight major foundations were founded simultaneously: the main monasteries (*gtsug lag khang*) of Tholing, Nyarma, Khorchag and Tabo as well as four smaller ones, the monasteries and temples at Phyang (Pi wang/Phyi dbang), Kanam (Ka nam), Ropa (Ro dpag) and Pu (sPu). The latter three in present-day Upper Kinnaur were designated as "border-protecting temples" (*mtha' 'dul gyi gtsug lag khang*). Presumably only the four bigger ones were designated and functioned as *chos 'khor*. See Vitali 1996: 53–60, 109, 148.

lag khang. Additional details are given, such as the central statue of the Great Lord of the Teachings (*bstan pa'i gtso che sku*). Basic analogous information is also provided with regard to the temple at 'Khor chags in Pu hrangs——the Yid bzhin lhun gyis grub pa'i gtsug lag khang, with about one hundred pillars, diverse "Isles" and a statue of Maitreyanātha (Byams pa'i mgon po) at the centre——and the temples at Tabo and Nyarma, both referred to simply as temples (*lha khang*). Tabo, which in this case is listed before Nyarma, is referred to as the temple of Tabo in Spiti, the ornament of lCog la (*pi ti ta pod lcog la rgyan gyi lha khang*). Nyarma is mentioned as the temple (*lha khang*) in Mar yul, with a statue of Buddha Dīpaṃkara (Sangs rgyas mar me mdzad) in the centre. In the case of the border-protecting temples (collectively designated as *mtha' 'dul gtsug lag khang* as in the *Biography of the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po* and *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*), the individual location of these temples, referred to on this instance only as *lha khang*, is given in terms of place and area or territory (for example, *lha khang* of Ka nam in Nga ra, the *lha khang* of Mo na in Drug pag, the *lha khang* of sPu in Rong chung). *Nyang ral chos 'byung* mentions also Sha ling temple in Bu rigs as an early foundation.

**Appendix I: A Note on Some Titles of Rulers and Other Members of the West Tibetan Royal Family according to 10th- and 11th-Century Inscriptions and the "Old Manuscript" (*Yig rnying*) from Tholing**

The title *bla chen po* given to King lHa lde in the *Biography of the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po* (see, for example, *Rin chen bzang po rnam thar*, f. 29a3–f. 29b3, and CBM 1977: 88.5–89.2) is not unique. It appears to have been used, also in the form of *bla chen*, in later (post-14th-century) sources (such as the *Blue Annals*) commonly as a purely religious title, most probably as an abbreviation of *bla ma chen po* (lit. 'great *bla ma*/monk').

In the earlier historical context of 10th–12th-century Western Tibet, the usage and understanding of this title seems to have been closely connected to and ostensibly introduced as part of the regulations of the code of laws (*rgyal khrims*) issued by King Khri lDe srong gtsug btsan,[34] which specifically related to the royal family. Roberto Vitali's translation of the relevant passage contained in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* (Vitali 1996: 55.4–5) reads as follows: "Given that in antiquity there had been a law by which, unless the king had died, the heir apparent (rgyal.sras) could not be enthroned, a custom was introduced according to which, if his (the heir apparent's) father became a monk (bla.chen), [his] son was to be appointed mnga'.bdag." (*ibid*.: 110). According to this view, the usage of this title was therefore intimately connected to the rules of succession that were set up in accordance with the religio-political system of governance established by King Khri lDe srong gtsug btsan together with other leading members of the royal family. The author of *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* seems to have more or less followed the usage of *bla chen/bla chen po* in this sense consistently throughout the whole text. An exception is represented by rTse lde, who is referred to as *mnga' bdag bla chen* of Guge (*ibid*.: 72, 123). Vitali does not think that in this instance *bla chen* implied that rTse lde was a monk (*ibid*.: 123, n. 113).

As we have seen, several West Tibetan rulers were designated as *bla chen* in Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's chapter on the history of mNga' ris in *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs*.[35] This was stated not only in the case of *bla chen* rTse lde, who is said to have ruled over Guge (*Gu ge la mnga' mdzad*), but for earlier times with regard to *bla chen po* sTong (an ancestral ruler of related Zhang zhung clans) (see *ibid*., p. 77) as well as later with regard to Khri 'bar btsan (early 13th century), also known as sTag tsha Khri 'bar (see *ibid*., p. 83). Of the latter it is stated in *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs* that he was called *bla chen po* sTag tsha at the instance of the appointment of his son to the throne of mNga' ris and that he was reputed to be an incarnation of Byang chub sems dpa' zla ba rgyal mtshan.

The information contained in an untitled fragmentary chronicle from Tholing (designated as *Yig rnying* [Old Manuscript] by the late Guge Tsering Gyalpo) serves to shed more and better light on this and other titles. This document, which may date from the 12th century, tells the history of the early (Central) Tibetan rulers until the collapse of the empire in the 9th century and continues with the rulers of the West Tibetan kingdom up to King rTse lde (d. around 1088 according to Vitali 2003: 66). Initial studies of this important source are by Patshab Pasang Wangdu (2012a, 2012b) (the latter includes a pale black-and-white facsimile of the manuscript) and by Khyungdak (2013). Recently this document was also discussed by David Pritzker (2017). I am basing my reading of this work on the original photographic documentation of this manuscript (in colour) by Guge Tsering Gyalpo in 2012 in situ at Tholing.

A preliminary analysis of this text shows that the titles and terms of reference denoting a certain kinship status for the rulers

[34] Also named Khri lDe srong btsan, Khri Lde srong gtsug and Khri Srong lde gtsan (see Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan*: The Tibetan text", this volume, pp. 124, 132, 148, 149; see also Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011: 278, 290, 320, 321), identical with Srong nge, known as Ye shes 'od after his ordination as a Buddhist monk in 989.

[35] See Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, "Relating the history of mNga' ris as as set down in writing in Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes*: The Tibetan text", this volume, p. 83.

mentioned appear to have been used in a very specific way. The text seeks to provide a strong individual and genealogical profile of the rulers, in particular for those closer to the present time when the text was written, for the 10th and 11th century period, in addition also of further prominent members of the royal family. For this reason, together with the relatively close chronological proximity to the West Tibetan rulers of the 10th and 11th centuries and due to the probability that it was written by someone close to or perhaps even belonging to the West Tibetan royal family, the information and historical views contained in this document seem highly likely to express an authoritative elite (self-)view of the royal family. The stress on conveying the correct (time-)specific authoritative titles of the members of the royal family, partially also with related explanations, is quite obvious. The specific choice of the names of the rulers as well as the spelling of their names seems to represent the common or prevalent use in oral contemporary contexts.

Four earlier rulers, two of the Central Tibetan dynasty are designated as ancestor (*myes* Srong rtsan sgam po, ca. 605–649; *mes* Khri Srong lde brtsan, 742–ca. 800 [*Yig rnying*, p. 11 and p. 19]), fittingly with their necronym or valedictory, posthumous names (see Dotson 2016: 27). Also the founder of the West Tibetan kingdom is referred to as ancestor (*mes* Khri sKyil lding [*Yig rnying*, p. 33])[36]—perhaps also a necronym or valedictory, posthumous name, nickname or the name as he was remembered. His three sons, in later sources commonly named as sTod kyi mgon gsum (the "Three Protectors of sTod"), are also collectively referred to as *mes mched gsum*, the "three ancestor siblings" (*Yig rnying*, p. 33–34).

Other rulers of the Central Tibetan dynasty are referred to as prince (*lha sras*), such as *lha sras* Mu ni btsan po (reigned ca. 797–798, remembered as Mu ne btsan po; see Dotson 2016: 27) and Khri (accession name of rulers), such as Khri lde gTsug brtsan (704–754),[37] Khri gTsug lde Ral pa can (plus added nickname) (reigned 815–841) and Khri Dar ma Wi dur brtsan (phonetic rendering of 'U'i dum brtsan/brtan, commonly remembered through his nickname Glang dar ma, reigned 841–842).

The last ruler of the Central Tibetan dynasty, bearing the accession name Khri 'Od srung brtsan (reigned ca. 846–ca. 893), is referred to as Lord (*rje*) gNam lde 'Od srung (*Yig rnying*, p. 29), his nickname or name through which he was remembered posthumously (Dotson 2016: 27). The designation *rje* is applied to nearly all other rulers of the West Tibetan royal family, such as bKra shis mgon (*Yig rnying*, p. 34), lHa lde brtsan (*Yig rnying*, p. 42), dBu 'byams pa (that is, 'Od lde) (*Yig rnying*, p. 44), and rTse lde brtsan (*Yig rnying*, p. 49). In addition, they are referred to mostly as *mnga' bdag* (ruler), for example, *rje mnga' bdag* bKra shis mgon, *rje mnga' bdag chen po* (great ruler) dBu 'byams pa. The title *rje* is also given to other members of the royal family who, as far as we know, were never in a position as rulers, such as *rje bla ma chen po btsun pa* (Lord Great Lama Monk) Zhi ba 'od. This means we have to differentiate between *rje* as a status designation for a member of the royal family and the following title associated with a specific function, such as great lama (*bla ma chen po*) or monk of divine descent (*lha btsun* [*pa*]), (great) worldly ruler (*mnga' bdag*, *mnga' bdag chen po*) and (former) ruler with superior status (*bla chen po*). Based on the case of King lHa lde, who is first named in the text as lHa lde rtsan, the ruler, the nephew (of King Srong nge/Royal Lama Ye shes 'od) who had been given ("offered") power over worldly affairs; "*myi chos kyi mnga' dbon mnga' bdag phul*," *Yig rnying*, p. 37)[38] and for a later period (after he had handed over worldly power to 'Od lde, most probably in 995 or 996)[39] as *rje bla chen po* (Lord Superior One) lHa lde brtsan, a clear differentiation is to be made between *bla ma chen po* and *bla chen po*. The latter title (*rje bla chen po*) is also given to King rTse lde rtsan. This leads back to what was stated above in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* with regard to *mnga' bdag bla chen* rTse lde and with regard to *bla chen po* sTag tsha in *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs*. In agreement with a custom that had been introduced—most probably by King Khri lDe srong gtsug btsan (later known as *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od)—the royal heir apparent's father received the title *bla chen* (Great Superior One) as soon as (his) son was appointed *mnga' bdag* (ruler).[40]

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[36] A phonetically similar name for sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon—Khri sKyid lding—is quoted by Vitali 1996: 158.

[37] He is also characterized as younger (*gcung*) although in a chronologically wrong setting.

[38] Thus *Yig rnying* clearly expresses the view that worldly power was handed over from Srong nge to his nephew lHa lde (and not to his elder brother 'Khor re). Cf. n. 60 on the possible temporary administering of power by 'Khor re instead of Srong nge from ca. 986 to ca. 989.

[39] According to *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs*, King lHa lde became a monk at the age of thirty-six and took the name Dharmaprabha (see Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, "Relating the history of mNga' ris as as set down in writing in Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes*: The Tibetan text", this volume, p. 109), thus adding new chronological information on this incident (also reported in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* (see Vitali 1996: 61.12–13, 115, 243; Vitali 2003: 61). This piece of information, together with other chronological considerations, makes his abdication in 1024 as suggested by Vitali (2003: 61) highly unlikely. See also Appendix II: Some Thoughts on the Chronology of the Rulers of the West Tibetan Kingdom Between the Years 879 and 1042.

[40] I suggest translating *sngar yab rgyal po ma drongs par rgyal sras rgyal sar mi 'don pa'i khrims yod pa la khong gi yab bla chen du ston nas/ sras mnga' bdag tu bkur ba'i srol stod/* (Vitali 1996: 55) in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* thus: While earlier [relating to the period of the Central Tibetan dynasty or at least pre-Ye

Due to lack of sufficient evidence, for example on the real power associated with the title *bla chen*, its exact meaning and function can hardly be determined. According to written evidence, the available information on the four rulers who held this title (lHa lde, rTse lde, sTag tsha) or who can be suspected of having held this title (Ye shes 'od), records that they were active—according to the available information seemingly exclusively—as founders of Buddhist monuments (temples and monasteries), as sponsors of monks and as donors of precious religious objects. Thus, while they seem to have handed over political power entirely to the respective ruler (*mnga' bdag*), they must have had ample access to and/or control over land and economic resources for financing these religious projects as well as over personnel (recruitment of monks, provision of estates and related lay subjects). Their clearly visible focus on religious activities in some of the main religious centres of the kingdom (such as Tabo in Spiti, Shel in Mar yul, Tholing in Guge, Khorchag in Purang) with an exemplary function, visibility and publicity across the whole dominion must have been associated with sufficient socio-economic power and supported or legitimated by the attribution of a unique superior title and status of a transcendental nature. sTag tsha was regarded as the incarnation of a revered *bla ma*. Ye shes 'od was at least posthumously considered a bodhisattva.

Taking the historical inscriptions and captions in the Entry Hall (*sgo khang*) and the so-called Renovation Inscription in the Assembly Hall (*'du khang*) at Tabo monastery as examples for the authoritative (self-)representation of the leading members of the West Tibetan royal family, it is clear that there the social and religious status of those depicted is given in particular through titles in the case of the Entry Hall, and in addition through references to kinship relationships in the case of the Renovation Inscription. As far as we can conclude from a comparative analysis of historical sources, both follow the code of laws and rules of succession proclaimed by King Srong nge (later Ye shes 'od) as mentioned in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* (Vitali 1996: 55–56, 110–111).

The earliest extant historical inscriptions in historical Western Tibet are those in the Entry Hall at Tabo monastery. They follow an overall unified visual design and formal structure, in addition also a systematic approach is manifest in the identification of those depicted, first in terms of their actual social status—descent (royal family, clan) and function/title (only in one exceptional case of an outstanding figure of highest religious status does descent seem not to have been mentioned)—and second through their actual personal names (see Luczanits 1999: 105–113; on these inscriptions see also Jahoda 2017: 142–144; Jahoda and Kalantari 2016: 85–89; Jahoda 2019: 215–220).[41] Unfortunately, the first part of the caption identifying Ye shes 'od (.. *chen po ye shes 'od*) was no longer clearly readable in 1991, when Christian Luczanits photographed and documented it. While *lha bla ma* is not supported by the remaining traces (see Luczanits 1999: 105), reading *dge slong chen po* (great monk)—also in view of the generally frequent occurrence in further captions—or *dpal chen po* (Great Glorious/Holy One)—echoing Ye shes 'od's designation as *skyes bu chen po* in *Yig rnying*, p. 37—is not excluded by the remaining traces (considered on the basis of Christian Luczanits' 1991 photographs in the Western Himalayan Archive Vienna).

In *Yig rnying* the common denominator in the references to actual and former rulers as well as to members of the royal family in leading religious positions seems to be *rje* (lord): *rje mnga' bdag* bKra shis mgon, *rje bla chen po* lHa lde brtsan, *rje mnga' bdag chen po* dBu 'byams pa, *rje bla ma chen po* Zhi ba 'od, and *rje bla chen po* rTse lde rtsan. The only exception is *lha btsun pa* Byang chub 'od. However, in the Renovation Inscription at Tabo he is named as *rje rgyal lha btsun* (Lord-Ruler Royal Monk) Byang chub 'od and also as *chos rgyal rje btsun* (Dharma King Lord-Monk) Byang chub 'od (see Steinkellner and Luczanits 1999: 17), that is, at a time when he was holding highest power over religious and worldly affairs. According to the convention followed in *Yig rnying*, it would make sense to find *rje* also as initial reference in the case of Ye shes 'od. Reading the letter *ja* (with the superscript *ra* and *'greng bu* perhaps gone) instead of *da* (which "seems fairly clear" according to Luczanits 1999: 105, but also clearly slightly differs from the final *da* in *'od* in the line below) an initial *rje* is not entirely excluded by the remaining traces. The next letter(s) which "can be read in the range of *slob* to *bla ma*" according to Luczanits (*ibid*.) can be read with much probability as a subscripted *la*. However, while the reading *slob chen po* seems highly unusual, the reading *bla ma* is possible although in view of the space taken by the letters in the words *chen po* and *ye shes* in the first and *'od*

shes 'od times] a law existed (according to which) as long as the father, the king, had not passed away the son of the king was not enthroned, (in the present) a custom was introduced according to which after his father was revealed (and addressed) as *bla chen* (Great Superior One) the son was enthroned as *mnga' bdag* (ruler).

[41] Personal names in historical Western Tibet were subject to change, following alterations in the social or religious belonging and/or status. They were therefore associated with performative aspects (*rite de passage*), and biographical stages, in particular also in the case of kings, as has been demonstrated by Dotson (2016: 27), who differentiates the following categories: birth name, accession name, necronym/valedictory name and nickname/remembered as.

in the second line of the inscription this reading appears to be somewhat less likely. In view of the space, even the reading *bla* (or *bla'*) alone can be considered possible, thus reading *rje bla (bla') chen po* Ye shes 'od.

Support for this hypothesis can be found in the following reference in the middle-length version of *Rin chen bzang po rnam thar* from Pooh where at the end of chapter eight beginning of chapter 9 it reads: "*lha bla ma ye shes 'od snyung ba san nas myur du zhal 'jal du byon pas gnyung bzhi drag pos zin nas/ zhal ma 'jal lo/ gdung mchod dang ngan song sbyong ba la sogs pa ni bla ma lo tsha ba chen pos mdzad do/ dgu pa ni bla chen po lHa lde dang/* bla chen po *byang chub sems dpa' yis yul chung ni shu rtsa gcig 'phul nas mchod pa las/ gnas gzhi nyi shu rtsa gcig/ yul chung nyi shu rtsa gcig tu lo cig khyud 'khor la/ mdo' mangs cha gsum gsum/ yum cha bdun bdun la sogs pa/ sku gsung thugs kyi rten dpag tu med pa zhabs rtog mdzad do/*" (*Rin chen bzang po rnam thar*, f. 34a2–34b2; my emphasis).[42] These events relate to the time when Ye shes 'od fell seriously ill and passed away before the Great Translator (who conducted the funeral rites) was able to see him. Obviously related to this, the Great Superior One (*bla chen po*) lHa lde and the Great Superior One (*bla chen po*) the Bodhisattva——certainly no other than Ye shes 'od who must have ordered this donation prior to his passing away (as in the case of the donation for consecrating a *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag brgya pa* in advance (see below)——offered twenty-one minor domains (*yul chung*) dedicated to worship, together with many other offerings.

The titles given to Ye shes 'od in various contemporary and later sources and the question of whether he was already referred to as a bodhisattva (*byang chub sems dpa'*) while he was still alive has been analysed by Cristina Scherrer-Schaub on the basis of a colophon and the inscriptional evidence from Tabo, Tholing and Pooh. She concluded that the reference as *byang chub sems dpa'* in the colophon dates most likely from 1019, when Ye shes 'od was "no doubt weakened by illness, but still alive" (Scherrer-Schaub 1999: 222). Based on the *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama*, 1019 seems to be have been the year when he passed away.[43] As regards the question of when he received the title *lha bla ma* (Ye shes 'od) it is said in *Yig rnying* (p. 37) that this happened after he had embarked on the path of liberation (in Earth Female Ox year 989 according to the *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama*).[44] In view of the narrative in *Yig rnying*, which continues with the handing over of worldly power to his nephew lHa lde rtsan (which must have taken place prior to his, most probably in the same year), the reference to Ye shes 'od as *bla ma* or *lha bla ma* can be assumed to have started from 989.

The Renovation Inscription at Tabo, which starts by referring to Ye shes 'od as *mes byang chub sems dpa'* (ancestor bodhisattva), names him in addition as having been born of divine descent from a lineage of bodhisattvas (*lha'i rig 'khrungs byang chub sems dpa'i gdungs*) (thus retrospectively exalting his status), also honours him as king (ruler over men, *myi rje*), personified by/acting in the way of a god (*lhas mdzad*) and protector of all black-headed people (*mgo' nag yongs kyi mgon*), does not name him as *lha bla ma*, *bla chen po* or *bla ma chen po*. This is not surprising since, in the understanding of the author of the inscription, the bodhisattva status attributed to him must have seemingly outdated such "preliminary" titles of his earlier worldly form of existence. Practising the conduct of a bodhisattva and proceeding towards highest enlightenment is also mentioned as the motivation of the noble donor (*chos rgyal rje btsun* Byang chub 'od) and explicitly formulated as the desired goal of all lay people (see Steinkellner and Luczanits 1999: 18, 23).

To understand the full range of the religio-political connotations of the *bla chen* (*po*) title, the related customs and social import, further enquiries are necessary, which should also be extended to include the actual contemporary inheritance practices and status culture (also on the basis of visual materials, such as portraits). It is, however, quite clear that *bla chen po* is a title with the additional

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[42] Cf. Snellgrove and Skorupski (1980: 106–107) where it reads similarly at the end of chapter 8: "*lha bla ma ye shes 'od snyung bar gsan nas/ myur du zhal mjal du byon pa la/ snyung gzhi drag po gcig gis zin nas zhal ma mjal lo/ gdung mchod ngan song sbyong ba la sogs pa ni/ lo tstsha ba khong rang gis mdzad do/ 'bul ba ni bla chen po lHa lde dang/* bla chen po *byang chub sems dpas yul chung nyi shu rtsa gcig phul nas/ mchod pa la gnas gzhi nyi shu rtsa gcig/ yul chung nyi shu rtsa gcig tu lo khyud 'khor la mdo mang cha gsum gsum/ 'bum cha bdun la sogs pa sku gsung thugs kyi rten dpag tu med pa'i zhabs rtog mdzad do/*" (my emphasis).

[43] See Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan*: The Tibetan text", this volume, p. 149: "*rab tu byung zhing* (*b*)*snyen par bsdzogs* (*brdzogs*) *nas lo sum bcu* (*cu*) *gcig gi bar du sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa'i bdag por gyur nas/ dar rgyas mdzad pa dang/ ston pa sha kya seng ge nyi kho na ltar gyur to/ / de nas mo lug gi lo la mtho gling gzim*(*s*) *khang du zhi bar gshegs pa*" (after having been ordained for 31 years [he] became the owner of the teaching of the Buddha and spread it, until he became himself like the Teacher, the Lion of the Śākyas [Śākya Siṃha, an epithet of the Buddha Śākyamuni]. Then [he] passed away in his residence at Tholing). See also Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011: 321).

[44] See Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan*: The Tibetan text", this volume, pp. 133, 149. See also Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan 2011: 292, 320, and above n. 12.

religious connotation of a former ruler after giving up secular power and following either Buddhist vows as a layman or entering the Buddhist order, which endowed him perhaps with an elevated status by way of a particular religious legitimation that went with this title (and inherited tradition).[45] Based on the existing evidence, one can suspect that lHa lde may have assumed this title at the latest by 995 or 996, when his son 'Od lde seems to have become ruler (and he himself was ordained to the *dge slong* vow, thus perhaps following his uncle's model) See below, pp. 294–295.

Following the information given in *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs* for the sons of 'Od lde, it cannot be excluded that a differentiation between rule over Purang and Guge and related titles needs to be considered. So lon tsha bTsan srong (commonly known as bTsan srong), the eldest son of the ruler (*mnga' bdag*) Khri bKra shis 'Od lde btsan (commonly known as 'Od lde) and Cho chen tsha rTse lde (commonly known as rTse lde), the middle son of king 'Od lde, are described as *mnga' bdag* and *bla chen* respectively. The first is said to have ruled over Pu hrangs, the second over Gu ge.[46] *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* refers to rTse lde as *mnga' bdag bla chen* of Guge (Vitali 1996: 72, 123). The information on rTse lde's title provided by *Yig rnying* (*rje bla chen po*), *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* (*mnga' bdag bla chen*) and *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs* (*bla chen*) seems to convey that rTse lde had power in and ruled over Guge, despite holding the title *bla chen* (*po*). Should we assume that at this time specific conditions pertained to rule over Guge? That it should be considered a kind of religious political entity with a different type of leadership. where the title and status of *bla chen* (*po*) was compatible with the status of *mnga' bdag*? As there is no evidence to support such hypotheses in my view, an explanation for this ambiguity should ideally be based on the comparative investigation of further historical sources (such as the historiographical manuscript of Matho in Ladakh referred to as EN036 by Martin 2019: 218, n. 90). In addition, it should not be excluded that this ambiguity may have been the result of extraordinary circumstances or adverse developments. It is not unlikely that, in contrast to the earlier generation (where Ye shes 'od handed over worldly rule to his nephew lHa lde and both continued to collaborate in a number of major projects, as described in the *Biography of the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po*), such a peaceful collaboration and handing over of power did not take place in this generation. According to Vitali (2003: 66) King rTse lde was murdered around 1088 and dBang lde (also known as 'Bar lde), the son of rTse lde's (younger) brother Grags btsan rtse (named lDong rtsa Khri srong, also Grags mtshan lde in *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs*)[47] together with a woman of the Zangs kha clan usurped the throne of Guge at the age of thirteen. This led to the establishment of a separate lineage ruling over Guge, and from then there were different genealogies in Purang and Guge.

## Appendix II: On the Chronology of the Rulers of the West Tibetan Kingdom and Their Activities Between 879 and 1042

The current understanding of the chronology of the West Tibetan kingdom, the rulers and their activities was to a large degree established by Roberto Vitali based on his translation and analysis of *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* by Gu ge mkhan chen Ngag dbang grags pa (Vitali 1996). In an article published in 2003 he compiled a chronology of events in the history of mNga' ris, which was based primarily on the information contained in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*, in addition also on other sources, such as *La dwags rgyal rabs*, *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, *rGya Bod yig tshang*, *Rin chen bzang po rnam thar 'bring po*, *Baiḍūr ser po* and others. It is the aim of this appendix to present the chronological information contained in Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's chapter on the history of mNga' ris in his *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes* and in *lHa bla ma ye shes 'od kyi rnam thar rgyas pa (Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od*), highlighting in particular those——new or deviating——data that suggest consideration of a different chronological view on certain incidents. In addition, new information on the sequence of certain activities contained in *Yig rnying* is quoted and finally also a few new conclusions based on a re-reading of *Rin chen bzang po rnam thar 'bring po* will be included, with the aim of adding to an overall coherent chronological framework chronology of the rulers of the West Tibetan kingdom and recorded events and activities in the 10th and 11th centuries.

*Abbreviations*

NR = *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs*, f. 123b–f. 137b.

TD = Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od*", this volume, pp. 121–169.

[45] How the relationship in particular between *bla chen* (*po*)/former ruler and *mnga' bdag*/actual ruler was defined and practised is entirely unclear due to missing evidence.

[46] See Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, "Relating the history of mNga' ris as as set down in writing in Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes*: The Tibetan text (with variant readings by Tsering Drongshar and Christian Jahoda)", this volume, p. 113.

[47] See Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, "Relating the history of mNga' ris as as set down in writing in Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes*: The Tibetan text (with variant readings by Tsering Drongshar and Christian Jahoda)", this volume, p. 113.

TG = Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, "Relating the History of mNga' ris," this volume, pp. 89–119.
YÖ = *lHa bla ma ye shes 'od kyi rnam thar rgyas pa*, f. 1a–f. 41a.

879 (Pig year):
sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon was born (NR, f. 124a; see TG, p. 95).[48]

906 (Tiger year):
In the middle autumn month Khyung po Khri lhen skyu se and dGe shing A ring mo were sent to invite dPal lHa btsan po Khri bKra shis sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon to come to mNga' ris (NR, f. 127a; see TG, p. 96).

At the age of twenty-eight, sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon went to mNga' ris stod (NR, f. 124a; see TG, p. 95), together with ministers, monks, altogether fifty people (NR, f. 128a; see TG, p. 99).[49]

907 (Rabbit year):
From Zhang zhung fifty-one horsemen arrived at the Srid pa Fortress of Ra la mkhar dmar in the summer to welcome sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon and his entourage (NR, f. 128a; see TG, p. 99).

908 (Dragon year):
sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon went to the north of Gu ge and made a circumambulation of Kailas (Gangs Ti se) and Lake Manasarovar; going to the valley of sMan nags he went to sKyid lde gling (NR, f. 129b; see TG, p. 102).

909 (Snake year) – 910 (Horse year):
As mNga' ris could not be brought under control, sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon built two temples at sKyid lde gling and established the rituals for the Medicine Buddha (NR, f. 129b; see TG, p. 102).[50]

911 (Sheep year):
sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon had brought all the territories belonging to Western Tibet under his control (NR, f. 124; see TG, p. 95); 'Bro Seng dkar[51] offered the Nyi bzungs palace to sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon and he married his daughter, 'Bro za 'Khor skyong, upon which mNga' ris kor gsum was brought under his control (NR, f. 129b; see TG, this volume, p. 102). He gave 'Bro tsha 'Khor skyong, the daughter of dGe zher bKra shis btsan, to sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon in marriage (NR, f. 130b; see TG, p. 103).[52]

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[48] The year of sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon's birth is not given by any other sources. The Pig (*phag*) year given in NR is difficult to determine. It could possibly refer to 891 and 903 but 879 works best in view of the dates of his predecessors, successors and additional chronological context. The dates established for his father dPal 'khor btsan——according to various sources born in an Ox (*glang*) year (chronologically best fitting is 857), on the throne for eighteen years, most probably between 893 and 910, and assassinated during the second *kheng log*, which began in gTsang in 905 and lasted approximately until 910 (Vitali 1996: 547–548; see also Hazod 2013: 85, 101–107 who sets the plundering of the tombs of the Tibetan emperors in 'Phyong rgyas in southern Central Tibet by a number of aristocratic clans for 913, nine years following the outbreak of the *kheng log* in gTsang and three years after dPal 'khor btsan's death, an event which marked the end of the imperial era)——and also the dates established for 'Od srung (840–893), the father of dPal 'khor btsan and grandfather of sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon, would fit with these dates (Vitali 1996: 547).

[49] Named among his company are Cang Legs skyes, the son of dPal 'khor btsan's Great Minister (*blon chen*) Cang A pho——obviously still active at this time in this function for dPal 'khor btsan and after the latter's assassination even acting as king (*rgyal po*) for three years (see Hazod 2013: 104)——as well as members of the 'Bro and Cog ro clans who were also allied with dPal 'khor btsan and active in lHa rtse where the g..Yu rung (g.Yung drung) palace was one of his main residences. Fitting with this, *sku mkhar* lHa rtse Brag mkhar is mentioned by NR as the place where sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon resided when the invitation to come to mNga' ris reached him. Also the information that bKra shis brtsegs pa dpal, the younger son of dPal 'khor btsan (and not sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon), conducted the funeral for the father, is a clear indication that sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon was already in mNga' ris at this time (and did not participate).

Based on the information in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*, which does not mention sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon's invitation and nor any of the events reported in NR for 906 to 911 when he had brought under his power all territories, Vitali came to the conclusion that sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon "went to sTod following his father's assassination" (in 910) and that "Thus Nyi.ma.mgon was not in Pu.hrang before 912 or thereabouts, the *terminus post quem* for the foundation of the mNga'.ris skor.gsum kingdom" (Vitali 1996: 548).

[50] The place sKyid lde gling, which is not mentioned in any other sources as far as I can see can be assumed to be located in the Kailas area. The same is true for the two temples which would thus represent the earliest examples of a Buddhist monument in historical Western Tibet.

[51] 'Bro Seng dkar denotes a male member of a clan (or sub-clan according to Vitali 1996: 169) whose personal name is not given.

[52] The account of sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon's marriage is not entirely clear. If we do not read this as partly conflicting or variant versions, what is stated here by the author seems to be that 'Bro Seng dkar offered his (in case of reference to a [sub-]clan their) palace to sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon, which together with the marriage of his (their) daughter led to the full control over mNga' ris skor gsum. The information that dGe zher bKra shis btsan (who was among those who had accompanied him to mNga' ris stod) gave 'Bro tsha 'Khor skyong to him in marriage (and not 'Bro Seng dkar) is thus an additional specification. As for the reasons for this one can only speculate, for example, whether 'Bro Seng dkar (person or [sub-]clan) may have been unable or unwilling for some reason to give his (their) daughter to him in marriage. The information in NR (f. 124a) seems to indicate that sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon actively seized the castle of Nyi bzung and assumed power.

The second part of this account of sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon's marriage agrees with the one in *La dwags rgyal rabs* but differs sharply from the one given in *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, mentioning a Cog ro Zangs kha ma as his first wife and the mother of his three sons (known as the three sTod kyi mgon). See Vitali 1996: 171–172.

Between 912 and early 920s:
Birth of dPal gyi mgon, bKra shis mgon and lDe gtsug mgon, the three sons of sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon from this marriage to 'Bro tsha/za 'Khor skyong.[53]

Between 913 and early 920s:
Birth of bKra shis mgon, father of 'Khor re and Srong nge.[54]

937 (Bird year):
sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon passed away at the age of fifty-nine (NR, f. 124; see TG, p. 95).

Between mid-930s and early 940s:
Birth of 'Khor re, elder son of bKra shis mgon.[55]

947 (Fire Female Sheep year):
Khri lde Srong btsan was born ("Khri lde Srong btsan me mo lug la 'khrungs", YÖ, f. 3b; see TD, p. 124).[56]

960 or 961:
Birth of lHa lde, the eldest son of 'Khor re.[57]

977:
Enthronement of Khri lde Srong gtsug btsan.[58]

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[53] The dates suggested are calculated following the above-mentioned chronological reading of the account in NR that dPal gyi mgon, bKra shis mgon and lDe gtsug mgon were sons of sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon's marriage to 'Bro tsha/za (bza') 'Khor skyong. The birth of the eldest son dPal gyi mgon could have taken place at the earliest in 912 while that of the youngest lDe gtsug mgon should not have taken place later than the early 920s. The latter in view of the circumstance that all received one share of the kingdom from their father, latest in 937 when he is said to have passed away, and assuming that the youngest son was at least thirteen at this time, which makes the early 920s the most likely terminus ante quem for the birth of the youngest son.

[54] The date suggested is calculated following the above-mentioned chronological reading of the account in NR, together with the known genealogical sequence of his successors, his elder son 'Khor re, then his younger son Srong nge (most probably born in 947 according to Vitali's [1996: 181–183] analysis and YÖ, f. 3b), followed by lHa lde, the son of 'Khor re and nephew of Srong nge (and various additional related chronological information).

[55] The date suggested is calculated following the above-mentioned chronological reading of the account in NR, together with the known genealogical sequence of his successors, his younger brother Srong nge succeeded by lHa lde, the son of 'Khor re and nephew of Srong nge (and various additional related chronological information).

[56] This explicit chronological information agrees (and thus confirms) that the birth of Srong nge, the younger son of bKra shis mgon, took place in 947. See Vitali (1996: 146, 180–183), who calculated this date on the authority of *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* and other texts as the most likely one (as compared to 935).

[57] The date suggested is basically following the above-mentioned chronological reading of the account in NR, together with the known genealogical sequence of his predecessors, his father 'Khor re and his uncle Srong nge and his successor, his son 'Od lde (and various additional related chronological information). In particular, the date is calculated back on the basis of the information in NR that he was ordained at the age of thirty-six in the presence of the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po, obviously immediately before stepping down and handing over the throne to his son 'Od lde. Of the latter it is said in NR that in a Bird year he waged war on Ho pu at the age of fifteen, thus obviously already acting as a ruler after having ascended the throne. This could have been earliest according to the reported custom when he was thirteen. Furthermore, the information in historical sources agrees that 'Od lde was the eldest son of lHa lde, bKra shis 'od (later known as Byang chub 'od) the middle son, and Yongs srong lde (later known as Zhi ba 'od) the youngest. Vitali calculates the birth of bKra shis 'od as having happened in Monkey year 984 (Vitali 1996: 296, Vitali 2003: 56) based on *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*. For reason of coherence the birth of the eldest son 'Od lde, reported for a Sheep year (NR, f. 134b), should have therefore taken place before and not after 984 (in Sheep year 995, as derived by Vitali from *Baiḍūr ser po* [Vitali 1996: 147; Vitali 2003: 58]), accordingly in Sheep year 983. (See also Martin 2019: 204, *passim*, partly also based on NR, for a different chronological reading of 'Od lde's activities, all set one or two twelve-year-cycles later.)

An important additional argument in support of this hypothesis can be found in *Rin chen bzang po rnam thar 'bring po* in the use of titles given to lHa lde (and also Ye shes 'od) in the narrative of their interaction with the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po. In my view there the titles accorded to them in the sequence of the chapters fully agree with the related events within a coherent chronological framework. At the first instance where lHa lde appears, in the time after Rin chen bzang po's return from Kashmir to sPu rang (that is, some time between 988 and 996——most probably in 995 or 996, when he was ordained according to my calculation based on NR, f. 133b; see TG, p. 109), he (lHa lde) is already named as *bla chen po* lHa lde (initially in fact as *bla ma chen po* lHa lde, then several instances as *bla chen po* lHa lde; cf. *Rin chen bzang po rnam thar*, f. 28a3, f. 28b3, f. 29a3, f. 34a2-3), never as *mnga' bdag*! The most reasonable explanation is that at this time he had already left the throne, and that his ordination in the presence of the Great Translator must have taken place at the latest in 996 (when this one left again for Kashmir). The only other earlier possible date for lHa lde's ordination, fitting with the calculated possible years for the succession of his son 'Od lde (995–997), at the earliest aged thirteen, is 995.

Not only the titles used for lHa lde but also for Ye shes 'od and for Rin chen bzang po himself agree with their respective contemporary status in the narrative and chronological sequence in *Rin chen bzang po rnam thar 'bring po*. Ye shes 'od, who was named *lha bla ma* on the instance of his ordination in 989 (as stated by *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* and YÖ, confirmed by *Yig rnying*, pp. 36–37), is from the first instance of his appearance (in the context of the foundation of Tholing in 996) designated as *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od (*Rin chen bzang po rnam thar*, f. 29b1, 31a4, 33b3, 41a3), only for the time around his funeral and the dedication of places for his post-mortal worship is he referred to explicitly as *bodhisattva* (*bla chen po byang chub sems dpa'*).

[58] Calculated on the basis of the information in YÖ f. 9b (see TD, p. 132) that he stayed Fire Female Pig year 987 in Pu hrangs, when he was in the eleventh year of his rule (*lo bcu gcig pa*).

983 (Sheep year):
Birth of 'Od lde, eldest son of lHa lde (NR, f. 134b; see TG, p. 110).[59]

986 (Fire Female Dog year):
The elder (son) 'Khor re, Khri lde Srong gtsug, the paternal relatives, uncles and nephews (of the royal family) met at Ka pe hrag in gTsang. All learned subjects of Pu Gug (Pu rang Gu ge) were present. It was discussed how to spread the holy religion. After accepting the ordination of Srong nge, the elder was asked to take care of (his) dominion or to administer (his) power (*mnga' skyong bar zhu phul*).[60] To each one of the two laws a legal document (*bca' yig*) was proclaimed (YÖ, f. 9b; see TD, p. 132).[61]

986 (Fire Male Dog year):
Khri sde (lde) bSrong btsug brtsan (gtsug btsan) gathered the learned subjects of Pu Gug (Pu rang Gu ge) at Kam pe drag in gTsang. It was discussed how to spread the holy religion in bsTod (sTod) mNga' ris. Written versions of the two customs (*lugs gnyis*) were made (YÖ, 23b; see TD, p. 149).[62]

987 (Fire Female Pig year):
Following a stay in Pu rang (hrangs) (in the eleventh year of his rule, *lo bcu gcig pa*)[63] where Khri lde Srong gtsug btsan made a speech on how to protect the dominion, a temple (*gtsug lag khang*) was built at mKhar ltag[64] of sKya ru (YÖ, f. 9b; see TD, p. 132).

988 (Rat year):
Prince lHa 'khor btsan, the younger brother of Khri lde mGon btsan (YÖ, f. 6a; see TD, p. 127; erroneously called lHa lde mgon in YÖ, f. 24b; see TD, p. 150), was born (YÖ, f. 9b; see TD, p. 132).

989 (Earth Female Ox year):
Srong nge was ordained by the great abbot (*mkhan po chen po*), the elder monk Ku ma ra bha ṭa, and at once became a full monk with the name Ye shes 'od (YÖ, f. 10b; see TD, p. 133).

Khri sde (lde) bSrong (Srong) btsug brtsan (gtsug btsan) was ordained and received the name Ye shes 'od (YÖ, f. 23b; see TD, p. 149).

Srong nge received the title *lha bla ma* (Ye shes 'od) immediately after he had been ordained as a full monk according to *Yig rnying* (pp. 36–37).[65]

995 or 996:
At the age of thirty-six, amid the great *paṇḍita* Dznya na dha ra and the Great Translator (*lo chen*) Rin chen bzang po and many other monks, lHa lde became an ordained monk and took the name Dharma pra bha, meaning Radiance of Dharma (*chos kyi 'od zer*) (NR, f. 133b; see TG, p. 109).[66]

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[59] See n. 57.

[60] The full meaning of this statement is not clear. In my view, the most probable meaning is that, from this time onward when Srong nge's future ordination was accepted (986) until his ordination was carried out (in 989), 'Khor re was asked to act temporarily on behalf of Srong nge (not implying that he succeeded him). In addition, the sphere of power under the control of Srong nge is not entirely clear. According to NR, f. 131b (see TD, p. 105), 'Khor re ruled over Pu hrangs while Srong nge ruled over Gu ge so that 'Khor re may have administered Srong nge's power over Gu ge for a very limited time (perhaps until 989) until it was handed over to 'Khor re's son and Srong nge's nephew lHa lde (who is said to have succeeded Srong nge according to *Yig rnying*, p. 37, most probably in 989, after Srong nge's ordination).

[61] See n. 61.

[62] The information in YÖ on the meeting in Ka pe hrag/Kam pe drag in gTsang in Fire Male/Female Dog year 986 in f. 9b and f. 23b notably deviates from one another in certain aspects but agrees on the year (986). The main difference lies in the naming of the participants on the side of the royal family and the succession after Srong nge's planned ordination.

Yet another version of this event is found in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* (Vitali 1996: 52–53, 108–109). Here the place in gTsang is called dKar se nag and instead of the ruler the minister Zhang rung is named as the one who gathered people and proclaimed the text of the two laws (*chos khrims*, *rgyal khrims*). The date when this took place is mentioned as Earth Male Dog year (998), corrected by Vitali (1996: 108) to Earth Male Rat year (988).

The conclusion to be drawn with some probability from these slightly differing abccounts seems to be that a meeting happened at a place in gTsang called Ka pe hrag/Kam pe drag/Kar se nag where fundamental new customs or laws relating to the ruling family and Buddhism (*rgyal khrims*, *chos khrims*) were put into writing and then proclaimed and spread. In the light of the information provided by YÖ it appears plausible that the texts of both laws were already spread in 986 and not only two years later. In addition, the identification of 986 as the end of a 146-year period when Buddhism was discarded——as suggested by Vitali 1996: 51, 108, 174, n. 236 based on information in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*——is also supported by an account in very similar words in YÖ (f. 6b). The overall description of this period (in particular with regard to mNga' ris) in terms of (non-Buddhist) practice is less negative or rigorous in YÖ (f. 6b; see TD, p. 128)——*dam pa'i chos kyi* (*kyis*) *mkhyab cing/ cha bzhag pa'i dus*, the time when the holy relgion was not widely spread (followed) and relied upon——than in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*——*chos kyi phongs pa'i dus*, translated by Vitali 1996: 108 "the time when Chos was discarded" (or lacking).

[63] Unless one assumes a scribal mistake this seems to be the most probable interpretation of this passage.

[64] According to Bellezza (2010; http://www.thlib.org/bellezza/#!book=/bellezza/wb/b1-1-65/) mKhar ltag may have been a citadel in current rTsa mda' County.

[65] In *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*, the date and circumstances of Ye shes 'od's ordination are not mentioned. Vitali assumed this to have happened in 988, following his abdication and the birth of his younger son lHa 'khor btsan, which he calculated for Rat year 988 (Vitali 1996: 234–236; Vitali 2003: 57).

[66] See n. 57.

996 (Fire Male Monkey year):
The foundations of the Tholing lHa khang chen mo were laid out (YÖ, f. 15a; see TD, p. 138). (See also YÖ, f. 23b; see TD, p. 149 where this statement is found with nearly the same words again later in the text).[67]

The elder son of Khri Srong lde gtsan (btsan), Khri lde mGon btsan (YÖ, f. 6a; see TD, p. 127, here erroneously called lHa lde mgon), was ordained at Ka ru rgam in the presence of *paṇḍita* Dharma pha la and *lo tsha ba* (*lo tsā ba*) Rin chen bzang po, and received the name De ba rā dza. At this time, eighty-seven subjects devoted to Buddhism were also ordained (YÖ, f. 24b; see TD, p. 150).[68]

997 (Fire Female Bird year):
In the last spring month *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od, De ba rā dza and Nā ga rā dza resided at the hermitage (*dben gnas*) of Sa (Pa?) rgam. At the time when the two sons were ordained, two hundred youths from mNga' ris skor gsum who had considerable wisdom, bright intelligence, diligent minds and good hearts were gathered together and liberated (that is, ordained as monks), one hundred from Gu ge, forty from Pu hrangs, theiry from Pil chog and thirty from Mar yul (YÖ, f. 15a; see TD, p. 138).[69]

997 (Bird year):
At the age of fifteen 'Od lde waged war on Hu pu (a region along the Sutlej valley in present-day Kinnaur) (NR, f. 134b; see TG, p. 111), obviously after having ascended the throne in this year or more probably in 996 or 995, when he was thirteen.[70]

998 (Earth Male Dog year):
At the age of eleven, the younger brother of De ba rā dza, Prince (*lha sras*) lHa 'khor btsan, was ordained as a lay practitioner (*dge bsnyen*) and received the name Nā ga rā dza (YÖ, f. 24b; see TD, p. 150).

1004 (Wood Male Dragon year):
On the 15th day of the Great Miracle (month), the above-mentioned lHa khang chen mo at Tho gling) was consecrated (YÖ, f. 16a; see TD, p. 139).[71]

It received the name Tho (mTho) gling Khang dmar dpe med lhun gyi (gyis) grub pa'i *gtsug lag khang*. A statue of the Great Lord of the Teachings (*bstan pa'i gtso che sku*) was built in the centre. From the Fire Monkey year (996) until the Wood Male Dragon year (1004), a full eight years, in each of the "Isles" (*gling*) murals and statues were made of the assembly of deities of the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* and Dharmadhātu *maṇḍala* according to the Yoga Tantras (YÖ, f. 16b; see TD, p. 139).[72]

1009 (Bird year):[73]
At the age of twenty-six 'Od lde waged war on 'U then (Khotan) and brought it under his power.

In the same year, the Gar log and many other invading armies came (NR, f. 134b–f. 135a; see TG, p. 111).[74]

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[67] This information——"*me pho spre* (*sprel*) *lo la mtho gling gi lha khang chen mo'i smangs* (*rmang*) *bris* (*bres*) *so*" (YÖ, f. 15a) and "*me pho spre'u'i lo la mtho gling lha khang chen mo'i rmangs brel* (*rmang bres*)" (YÖ, f. 15a)"——conforms closely to the one contained in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* ("*me pho spre'u lo la gu ger tho gling gi gtsug lag khang gi rmangs bris*", Vitali 1996: 53, 109).

[68] This event is reported for the same year with some variation in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*, such as the name of the elder son as a lay person and monk (given as Khri lde mGon btsan and De ba pra bha——not De ba rā dza as one would expect) and the name of the place and temple——Par sgam Byams snyon gling: "*sras che khri lde mgon btsan me pho spre'u la/ pa sgam byams snyon gling du rje 'bangs brgyad rtsa brgyad rab tu gshegs te/ mtshan dhe ba pra bhar gsol to*", Vitali 1996: 53, 109).

[69] The sons of Ye shes 'od were ordained in 996 and 998 according to *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* and Vitali's analysis (1996: 113–114). The recruitment of altogether two hundred monks around this time, who "were delivered on the path of liberation in the footsteps of [Ye shes 'od's] two sons" (*ibid.*: 113), and the account of eighty-seven subject, who were ordained together with De ba rā dza, fully agree in YÖ and *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*.

[70] This age of thirteen was considered by Tibetan historians as a rule of succession when the king took the throne, accompanied by the ritualised death of this father (although this is not supported by the available chronological evidence according to Dotson 2009: 26).

[71] Later in the text, YÖ, f. 23b (see TD, p. 149) gives Fire Male Dragon year (1016) as the date for the consecration and inauguration celebration of the erection of the mTho gling lHa khang chen mo (*zhal spro bsgrubs*).

[72] This account presents quite detailed information and seems to be fairly consistent in the dates, duration, content and finishing of works, which gives it a high degree of plausibility. The comparative account in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* is completely silent in this regard. It does not mention any other works, the original programme, statues, paintings, nor the consecration but immediately after the foundation works a renovation (Vitali reads *zhal sro* for *zhal sgo*) in Earth Male Dragon year (1028) is reported, followed by information obviously related to this (see Vitali 1996: 53, 109).

[73] This year is based on the calculated birth of 'Od lde in 983. See n. 57. Martin (2019: 204) takes the Sheep year for 'Od lde's birth as referring to 995 or 1007, and consequently the Bird year when this event is said to have taken place as referring to 1021 or 1033.

[74] Gar log seems to be a rendering of Qarluq (also Karluk, etc.), the name of a Türkic tribe. They can be identified as having belonged to the Qarakhanid dynasty, a political confederation which ruled the west of present-day Xinjiang from the 9th through the 13th centuries. After their conversion to Islam in 960, the Qarakhanids destroyed the Samanid dynasty in 1000 and before 1006 the Buddhist city-state of Khotan was besieged and conquered (Millward 2007: 50–55; see also Vitali, "Territory and trends in land control: The Byang thang 'Heartland' and the mNga' ris 'Periphery'," this volume, pp. 12–13, and

1010:
'Od lde went to the place of 'U then (Khotan) again.[75]

That same year, 'Od lde laid the foundation of a *gtsug lag khang* at Nyar ma (NR, f. 135a; see TG, p. 111) and after two years (1011), he established a community of monks (*dge 'dun gyi sde*) and a school for religious instruction (*chos grwa*).[76]

1012 (Rat year):
In the third year,[77] 'Od lde went to Mar yul and built the temple of dPe dug (dPe thub) and founded a monastic community (NR, f. 135a; see TG, p. 111).[78]

1016 (Fire Male Dragon year):
The mTho gling lHa khang chen mo was consecrated and its inauguration celebrated (*zhal spro bsgrubs*) (YÖ, f. 23b; see TD, p. 149).[79]

At the age of twenty-nine, in a Dragon year (1016), Nā ga rā dza was fully ordained (YÖ, f. 24b; see TD, p. 150).

1019 (Earth Female Sheep year):
After having spread the teaching of the Buddha, etc. for thirty-one years[80] Ye shes 'od seemed to have passed away in his residence at Tholing (YÖ, f. 24a; see TD, p. 149).[81]

1023 (Water Female Pig year):
After De ba rā dza had been ordained (in 996), twenty-eight years passed (when) in the Water Female Pig (*chu mo phag*) year his father *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od passed away (YÖ, f 24b; see TD, p. 150).[82]

1027 (Rabbit year):
After that (the passing away of his father *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od), having like his father protected the teaching (of the Buddha) for another five years, De ba rā dza passed away in Rabbit year (1027) (YÖ, f. 24b; see TD, p. 150).

1027 (Rabbit year) – 1030:
Nā ga rā dza protected the teaching for four full years after having been fully ordained for full eleven years, following the passing away of this elder brother (in 1027) (YÖ, f. 24b; see TD, p. 150).

1037 (1031?):
Passing away of 'Od lde.[83]

1042:
At the age of fifty-five, Nā ga rā dza ( passed away in a mountain place (YÖ, f. 24b; see TD, p. 150).

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Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, "A brief analysis of the reputed passing away of *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od among the Gar log", this volume, p. 329). It cannot be excluded that the Gar log/Qarlug/Qarakhanid and other armies also went to the south of Khotan, which was not very far from the northern border area of the contemporary West Tibetan kingdom.

75 The text has 'U then bzhi(r) the meaning of which is unclear. Reading *gzhi*(*r*) instead of *bzhi*(*r*), thus (to the) place, is a possible solution. The year (1010) is calculated back from the account on the following years, up to a Rat year (1012, possibly also 1024 or even 1036 as suggested by Martin 2019: 204).

76 As we do not assume that this foundation refers to the earliest *gtsug lag khang* built at Nyarma, this may well refer to one of the other nearby temples (see Jahoda, "Joseph Thsertan Gergan's *Report on Nyarma*, 1917"; Devers, "An archaeological account of Nyarma and its surroundings, Ladakh"; Feiglstorfer, "On the architecture of the Buddhist temple complex of Nyarma", and Kalantari, "Note on the spatial iconography of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* in context").

77 The text has *sum pa byi' ba'i lo la*, which may refer to the third year (*gsum pa*) or to the year when he was thirty (continuing the way of relating events to his age).

78 dPe dug (dPe thub) is identical with the modern Spituk monastery in Ladakh. In Martin's reading the Rat year of the foundation of this temple corresponds to 1024 or 1036 (Martin 2019: 204).

79 It is unclear whether this refers to a later extension or renovation (see also n. 70) or represents a textual inconsistency.

80 Obviously counting from the year of his ordination in 989.

81 The offering of twenty-one minor domains (*yul chung*) by the Great Superior One (*bla chen po*) lHa lde and the Great Superior One (*bla chen po*) the Bodhisattva Ye shes 'od to Rin chen bzang po mentioned in *Rin chen bzang po rnam thar*, f. 34a2–34b2 may have taken place prior to Ye shes 'od's passing away but clearly with the aim to dedicate them for worship following his passing away. The passage in YÖ (f. 24a; see TD, p. 149f.) seems to convey the notion (presumably in agreement with his bodhisattva status) that he continued to work for the benefit of others after he had seemingly left his bodily existence. I want to thank Tsering Drongshar for a discussion of this question.

82 For the following narrative of main activities in the lives of the two sons of Ye shes 'od a similar account, with partly identical sentences, is found in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* (Vitali 1996: 60, 114). The essential difference is that in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* no specific dates are given, only the time-span in terms of years passed since earlier events, such as that De ba rā dza protected the teachings for twenty-eight years after this ordination (before he must have passed away according to Vitali's conclusion in 1023), and that Nā ga rā dza did so for four years after his elder brother had passed away (leading to Vitali's conclusion that he died in 1027).

83 The date of 'Od lde's passing away was calculated by Vitali (1996: 117, 180) on the basis of *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* and other sources with reference to Nag tsho lo tsā ba and the order by Byang chub 'od given to rGya brTson 'grus seng ge to invite Atiśa. The information given by Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po indicates such an invitation extended to Atiśa by rGya brTson 'grus seng ge already in 1031, thus suggesting perhaps an earlier terminus ante quem for 'Od lde's passing away (see also NR, p. 112).

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Christiane Kalantari

# Hārītī and Pāñcika at Tabo: On the Metamorphosis of the Protective Couple in Early West Tibetan Buddhist Temples*

This study discusses a recently uncovered wall painting at Tabo monastery in Spiti (Himachal Pradesh, India) featuring an impressive monumental depiction of Hārītī ('Phrog ma) and Pāñcika (lNga[s] rtsen), situated in the *sgo khang* (entrance hall) of the Tabo *gtsug lag khang* (Figs. 1–2). It constitutes a divine conjugal image comparable to the typology found South Asia (Pakistan, Kashmir and India) and in Central Asia (Afghanistan). It attempts a reconstruction of the iconographic and artistic context of this image dating from the earliest phase (ca. end of the 10th century) of Buddhism in historical Western Tibet (mNga' ris skor gsum). Moreover, based on depictions of the couple found in other places (such as Khartse,[1] Dungkar,[2] both in the Tsamda District[3] and the Ngari (mNga' ris) Prefecture, Tibet Autonomous Region, PR China, as well as in Nako (Kinnaur, Himachal Pradesh) and Alchi (Al lci; Ladakh), it investigates the development of its function in the overall spiritual programme of the temples and in particular of its prominent role as guardian of the portal (*sgo b/srungs*), partly in ensembles with Hindu gods and Indic protectors, local territorial deities and paintings of the patrons. This includes the question of the Tibetan sacred ordering of the natural environment and in particular the issue of the symbiosis of Buddhism with Brahmanism/Hinduism, which was discussed by David Seyfort Ruegg (2008). In this context the concepts of *laukika* (mundane) and *lokottara* (transmundane) relevant in this process of shaping and protecting sacred space will be analysed with regard of their validity in the context of Western Himalayan and in particular West Tibetan art and architecture.

This preliminary study focuses on following aspects:

1. Classification of the iconographic elements and various different figural typologies of Hārītī, depicted with her husband Pāñcika, or as a single image found in West Tibetan art from the 10th to 13th centuries.

2. Analysis of the spatial position, function in the overall programme and the hierarchy of iconographic themes in the entrance hall in which the couple is embedded and the transformation/metamorphosis of their form and function in later temples

3. An attempt at an interpretation of the ideology associated with this class of protectors, and images of the popular female goddess Hārītī in particular, in early West Tibetan temples and the political and religious conditions that may have furthered the popularity of this type of guardian figure in 10th/11th century Western Tibet.

4. Analysis of the form, function and symbolism of the entrance hall within the characteristic tripartite spatial layout of *vihāra*-like

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[1] Throughout the text the modern popular spelling Khartse (mKhar rtse) is used as a convention. Older spellings in Tibetan, as they appear for example in various versions of *lo chen* Rin chen bzang po's medium-length hagiography (*rnam thar 'bring po*), are Kha che, Kha tse, Kha rtse, Khwa tse (see also Jahoda, "The foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, Ladakh", this volume, n. 4, pp. 279–280).

[2] Tibetan Dung dkar, also Dun bkar, Dun mkhar, etc. (cf. Vitali 1996: 631).

[3] Tibetan rTsa mda' *rdzong* (see Tsering Gyalpo 2006: 173).

1. Wall paintings of Hārītī and Pāñcika above the portal of the *sgo khang*, Tabo *gtsug lag khang* (C. Kalantari, 2009).

temple structures in the region also reflecting the organisation of worship.[4]

## Introduction

Although the *sgo khang* of the Tabo *gtsug lag khang*[5] (ca. end of 10th century), the earliest Buddhist temple in historical Western Tibet with an almost intact artistic programme is singular in the evolutionary history of iconography, political theology, style and architecture in the region the sacred space of the temple has hitherto received little attention. Some aspects of the *sgo khang's* religio-artistic programme at Tabo have been discussed by Tucci 1988: 25, Klimburg-Salter et al. 1997: 77–89, Luczanits 2004: 35, and Papa-Kalantari 2007b. The lack of detailed research with regard to this sacred space can be explained by the fact that large sections of its paintings only became visible again and were thus rediscovered during the last three decades due to the cleaning campaigns by the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI).[6] In addition a significant feature of the pictorial ensemble depicted above the portal, which is the focus of this study, has been uncovered as recently as 2009 (Fig. 1).

During field research in a multidisciplinary team directed by Christian Jahoda at Tabo in late summer 2009 the author documented together with Patrick Sutherland the newly cleaned—but unfortunately (partly) massively retouched—wall paintings above the entrance portal to the *sgo khang*, representing a key element of its programme. Despite the poor and to some degree hypothetical reconstruction work it is still possible to get an idea of the original shape of the paintings, which feature an impressive monumental Hārītī together with her husband Pāñcika enthroned like a royal couple. The tutelary couple reflects an independent iconographic theme at Tabo and occupies a prominent position above the portal. The space dedicated to its representation is precisely defined by the width of the door. This may indicate traditions of devotion such as the ritual walk below images or sculptures—as observable in the assembly hall of this temple—as signs of veneration as well as associated with the devotee's hope of receiving blessings from these images. Very different types and positions of the couple appear in the cave temples at Khartse and Dungkar and in the Buddhist monuments at Sumda (gSum mda' chung) and Alchi (in Ladakh), where they are integrated in different iconographic ensembles. The important and hitherto unpublished image of the couple in the *sgo khang* of the Tabo *gtsug lag khang* is the earliest example of this tradition and thus the starting point of a comparative study of form and idea of this theme in a wider regional context.[7]

[4] The layout contrasts to mandalic centralised structures from the end of the 10th century such as the Tholing Gyatsa (brGya rtsa)—sometimes also referred to as Ye shes 'od *lha khang*—which was perhaps not intended for a wider public (Luczanits 2004: 285); for ground-plans of Tholing monastery (see http://archresearch.tugraz.at/results/Tholing/Plaene_Pdf/tholing_monastic complex. pdf (accessed 17 June 2013).

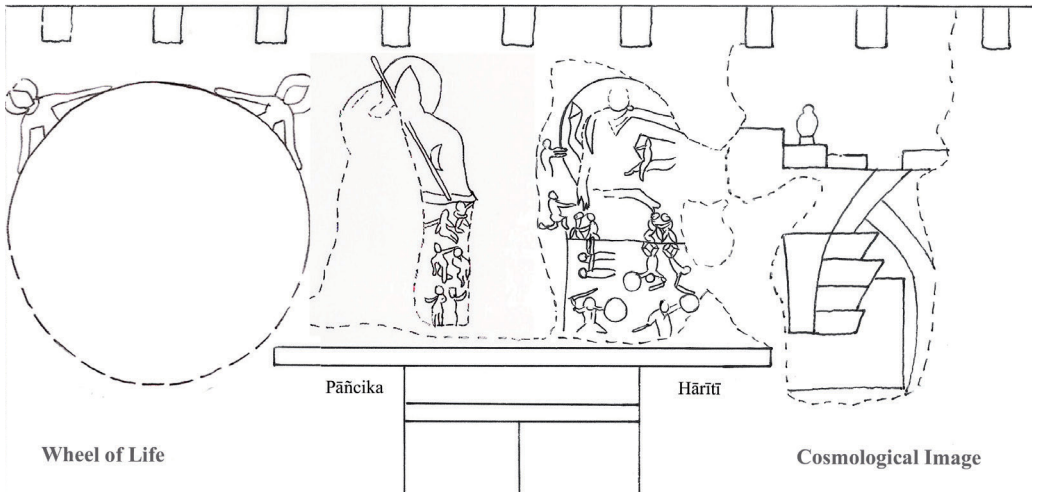
[5] The temple referred to as *gtsug lag khang* consists of a narrow *sgo khang*, the *'du khang* erected on a rectangular ground plan and a cella (*dri gtsang khang*) with a circumambulation path (*skor lam*) (see also Luczanits 2004: 34). See Jahoda ("The foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, Ladakh", this volume) for a discussion of the temple's classification in various historical sources.

[6] Since 1992 the ASI has been conducting cleaning campaigns of the wall paintings; these revealed fragments of the early phase of paintings in the *skor lam* (for the sequence of cleaning phases see also Klimburg-Salter 1994: 21ff.).

[7] This contribution continues to discuss the issue of Hindu and pan-Indian deities appearing in the pantheon of West Tibetan Buddhist temples (see, for example, Luczanits 2008 who was among the first to address this topic) although from a wider regional and comparative perspective.

The painting programme of the *sgo khang*, in contrast to that in the *'du khang*, is difficult to read due to the lack of primary sources of its iconography. So far it has perhaps also not been investigated adequately due to its seemingly lack of refinement, at first sight representing a graphic style that uses sober colours, in contrast to the brilliant palette of the later *'du khang*'s programme featuring a three-dimensional Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* reflecting Kashmiri-style aesthetics around the late 30s/early 40s of the 11th century, executed ca. 40 years later than the *sgo khang* paintings, also based upon the so-called Renovation Inscription (Steinkellner and Luczanits 1999). The characteristic features of this later style include the ample use of expensive, bright pigments and unified pictorial programmes representing *maṇḍala*s of different classes in which individual deities reside in sacred spaces defined by celestial abodes filled with light or by idealised architectonic settings. However, the painting style in the *sgo khang* deserves more attention and a closer examination. Also the investigations of local variations and internal relationships between the early (8th–10th centuries) Buddhist artefacts in Western Tibet have not advanced very far as yet.

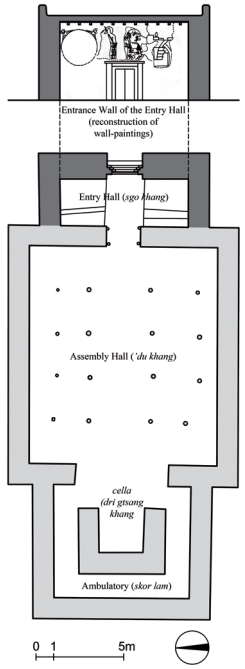
As has been shown elsewhere (cf. Jahoda and Papa-Kalantari 2009, and Jahoda and Kalantari, "Power and religion in pre-modern Western Tibet: The monumental Avalokiteśvara stela in Cogro, Purang", this volume, p. 38) the archaic features, among them the hieratic strictness, a dominance of ornamental details and the pictorial density of the composition of the paintings in the *sgo khang*, with seemingly monotonous rows of donor figures, are features of a distinctive, stylistically influential artistic idiom, endowing these paintings with their quality and originality. These characteristics recall the ceremonial hieratic style of early Tibetan art, an artistic trend which developed in interaction with Tibetan art in Central Asia during the Yar lung dynasty and was prevalent in the region at the end of the 10th century in the medium of painting and sculpture. While the rows of minor protectors on the side walls of the *sgo khang* draw on an early local Kashmir-inspired style, the monumental protective couple shows affinities with highly refined artwork from the thriving Buddhist centres in Bihar and Bengal, as will be shown. This early multifaceted artistic phase was later followed by another idiom associated with Kashmir-style aesthetics as found in the programme of the *'du khang*, executed during the renovation phase (ca. 1042). These two stylistically distinct painting phases in the Tabo *gtsug lag khang* represent a fascinating conceptual whole, which is significant for the interpretation of the political theology of the time. A key element in the *sgo khang*'s religio-artistic programme are representations of male and female donors on the side walls, with a portrait of Ye shes 'od, the temple's founder (according to the Renovation Inscription), who—perhaps together with *lo chen* Rin chen bzang po—was *the* principal personality responsible for the re-establishment of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Western Tibet from the late 10th century onward (a period which later became known as *bstan pa phyi dar* or "Later Diffusion of Buddhism"). Ye shes 'od is depicted with his two sons among monks and lay personalities on the south wall of the *sgo khang*, while the noble elite and nuns are shown on the opposite and less prestigious north wall. The maintenance of the older paintings in the *sgo khang*, which do not seem to have been affected by the restoration, reflects not only the important role of this earlier historic personality in the self-representation of the ruling elite in the 11th century but also signals the conscious demonstration of legitimacy based on the continuity of a tradition.




2. Sketch of wall paintings on entrance wall of the *sgo khang* (east wall), Tabo *gtsug lag khang* (drawing: C. Kalantari, 2010).

## The Tutelary Couple in the Tabo *sgo khang*: A Singular Iconographic Type in the Evolutionary History of Early West Tibetan Temples' Decorative Programmes

Hārītī and Pāñcika are on the entrance wall (east wall) of the *sgo khang* of the Tabo *gtsug lag khang* (cf. Figs. 1-2). This temple shows a characteristic *vihāra*-like tripartite layout (Fig. 3), comparable to the Khorchag Jo khang, the Alchi 'Du khang and the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* consisting of a *sgo khang* (or veranda), *'du khang* (main hall) and cella (*dri gtsang khang*) or niche, typically also displaying different forms of realisation of the idea of the interior and exterior ambulatories. Tabo is important as it is the only example in these temples that provides an insight into the original spiritual programme of the *sgo khang*. The latter is a narrow space, rectangular in ground plan with two platforms positioned on the west wall leading to the *'du khang*. The east wall is ca. 7 m long and 4 m high and shows




3. Ground plan: Tabo *gtsug lag khang* (drawing: H. Feiglstorfer, 2011; with sketch of the wall paintings, *sgo khang* [east wall] by C. Kalantari, 2010).

4. Detail of *saṃsāracakra*: entrance wall, *sgo khang*, Tabo *gtsug lag khang* (C. Kalantari, 2009).

5. Detail of cosmological imagery: entrance wall, *sgo khang*, Tabo *gtsug lag khang* (C. Kalantari, 2009).

a composition with three linked themes: a *saṃsāracakra*—"Wheel of Rebirths" (or *bhavacakra/srid pa'i 'khor lo)*[8]—is shown to the left of the divine couple, representing the different forms of existence (Fig. 4), while on the right there is a cosmological image (reflecting myths of the creation of the universe and cosmogony) (Fig. 5). The latter shows Sumeru as *axis mundi* in the centre of the universe represented as stepped pyramid around which sun and moon revolve. On the top of the mount Indra's palace is visible, indicating his paradise, which is also known as the Heaven of the "Thirty-Three" (Gods) (*trāyastriṃśa*).[9] Sumeru is symbolically equated with Mount Kailas, surrounded by seven oceans and mountains in which different classes of deities and lower beings dwell. In the upper part the different heavens are represented. Such images were understood as meditative aids and symbolic offerings to the gods in the *mgon khang* (Essen and Thingo 1989: 248). Cosmological imagery is also important as it reflects the idea of cosmogony as the basis of the emergence/appearance of the Buddha as well the origin of the lineage of Śākyamuni's clan and of kingship in general (see Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po and Kalantari, "Guge kingdom-period murals in the Zhag grotto in mNga' ris, Western Tibet", this volume, p. 424). The programme on the entrance wall represents a cosmological order according to the matrix of Buddhist world-view, with the ideal pair or primordial parents in its centre. It also brings a core element of Buddhist teaching to the mind of the devotee, namely the concept of dependent origination, best expressed in the Wheel of Rebirths. The co-presence of the Wheel of Rebirths and Hārītī perhaps enhances the idea of the reform of the demonic behaviour of Hārītī and her transformation into a goddess during various life-cycles, demonstrating the possibility of a more favourable rebirth due to moral behaviour. The idea of birth and creation—as will be proposed—is presumably another aspect of the symbolism of this type of image in the context of an ensemble with cosmological imagery.[10] The composition on the entrance walls recalls ensembles featuring the Wheel of Rebirths, a didactic inscription and tutelary deities depicted in the veranda of Cave XVII at Ajanta, representing an early example of a *vihāra*-type monastery with a tri-partite structure as also found at Tabo.[11] The function of this iconographic ensemble, decisive for the interpretation of the iconology and function of the entrance hall, will be discussed below.

In the lower sphere on the two bordering walls to the left and right (Figs. 6–7) there are donor depictions and founders with

[8] Concerning the terminology used for the wheel in the *Vinaya*, only the simple designation "five-part wheel" is used. The term mainly used in the Tibetan sphere is *srid pa'i 'khor lo*, which stands for *bhavacakra* in Sanskrit ("Wheel of Existences"). However, I have chosen to use the term *saṃsāracakra/* Wheel of Rebirths following research by Schlingloff and Zin. The authors pointed out that the equation of the water-wheel alluding to it being driven by a higher power used as metaphor for the circle of rebirths and *saṃsāra* is a constant feature in Indian religious literature (Zin and Schlingloff 2007: 4). I also follow her terminology due to the fact that the visual material on which Zin's analysis is based are the cave temples at Ajanta (Ajaṇṭā) which share comparable decorative schemes in the entrance hall with Tabo. I wish to thank Gudrun Melzer for these leads.

[9] According to several texts, after his enlightenment, the Buddha Śākyamuni visited the Heaven of the Thirty-Three Gods to preach to his mother and the other inhabitants, who had passed away without the benefit of hearing the doctrine.

[10] The pair of cosmic diagrams is also depicted in the porch of the *'du khang* of the Gyatsa at Tholing and Samye (bSam yas) (Klimburg-Salter et al. 1997: 81) as well as in a position to the right of the portal to the *'du khang* at Shalu (Zhwa lu). The latter publication contains also a description of the Wheel of Rebirths at Tabo.

[11] Depictions in the vestibule of the Great Temple (*gtsug lag khang*) in the Jo khang of Lhasa (which is also based on a tri-partite structure of vestibule, main hall and sanctum) show comparable iconographic elements and protector divinities. However, the vestibule stems from a period from the 11th century onwards. The chapels of mundane "spirits" were originally perhaps positioned once in the niches flanking the portal.

eminent historic personages seated on thrones at the centre, and dignified by honorific textiles above them alluding to luxury art in Central Asia. Religious dignitaries partly sit on carpets defining their religious space. In the centre of the uppermost register of donor imagery on the south wall the Royal Lama (*lha bla ma*) Ye shes 'od is shown, "possibly on the occasion of a public ceremony connected with the foundation or consecration of the temple" as first proposed by Luczanits (2004: 34). In addition, the iconographic ensemble of donors with a group of eight water spirits (Skt. *nāga*, Tib. *klu*) in its vicinity suggests a depiction of specific rituals associated with the erection of temples as described in relevant texts (see see Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po and Kalantari, "Guge kingdom-period murals in the Zhag grotto in mNga' ris, Western Tibet", this volume, pp. 413–414). The sitting positions and specific seats (thrones and carpets)—enhanced by a subtle language of sitting modes and hand gestures—define a strict social order. The figures are integrated in a simple grid-system, with a central axis drawn in red lines. To the left of the middle axis are lay people, while religious personalities dwell to the right side. Both groups face this middle axis, alluding to a space in which two rows of people sit facing each other. Ye she 'od is enthroned in the topmost zone on a high wooden seat, while other monks are on lower seats covered with carpets. Most of the lay people on the lower registers in the left section of both north and south walls are shown kneeling (Fig. 7) and are slightly smaller.[12] Typically of donor depictions of the region, female members of the noble family are shown subordinated to the patron, in a less prestigious position in the seating order and shown in profile. It is significant to note that Ye shes 'od's son De ba ra dza (*Devarāja) is shown in the right-hand section representing the religious world, thus acting like a bond or mediator between the religious sphere and the lay world.[13] The strict

6. Rows of donors and protectors above: *sgo khang* (south wall), Tabo *gtsug lag khang* (C. Kalantari, 2009).

7. Rows of donors, nuns and protectors above: *sgo khang* (north wall), Tabo *gtsug lag khang* (C. Kalantari, 2009).

[12] In the newly cleaned wall paintings of donor images at the north wall the lay people in the lower zone are also shown kneeling and facing the main wall as if shown in a procession to the *gtsug lag khang*.

[13] Klimburg-Salter 1994: 29 suggested that he may have been the abbot of the Tabo community.

8. Wall in the entrance hall (*sgo khang*) leading to the *'du khang*: Tabo *gtsug lag khang* (C. Kalantari, 2009).

9. *Srung ma* (*sman chen mo*) Wi nyu myin (lost) riding on deer flanked by female devotees (?) in local costumes: *sgo khang* (above portal to *'du khang*), Tabo *gtsug lag khang* (C. Kalantari, 2009).

hierarchy in such ceremonies is a constant feature in Tibetan culture, defining and shaping sacred space and reflecting the social order up to the present day. Accordingly, the images at Tabo perhaps reflect historical ceremonies in ephemeral spaces made of tents and baldachins outside the temple.

It is a characteristic feature of West Tibetan art that donors occupy a prominent position in the pictorial programmes of various media, including in illuminated manuscripts (Allinger, Tsering Gyalpo and Kalantari 2012). A later donor painting accompanying the Renovation Inscription in the *'du khang* features the enthroned Lord-Ruler Royal Monk Byang chub 'od (*rje rgyal lha btsun*)[14] shown in a condensed group portrait in the midst of the religious and lay elite. The composition shows a condensed formulation of the same theme in the *sgo khang*, but the here the royal monk is commemorated in an idealised portrait and in a setting borrowed from religious imagery such as the First Sermon of the Buddha (Papa-Kalantari 2008: fig. 186, 187; see also Jahoda and Kalantari 2016: 98–101). In addition, the throne adorned with wheels alluding to the wheel of the *dharma* as well as a chariot—usually reserved for religious images—clearly signals his elevated spiritual status. In this system of a sacredly ordered world the aristocratic elite is shown not only as a protector of the Buddhist law (which is a main factor of social cohesion in this period) and as a link between the religious order and worldly power but as mediators between the mundane sphere and the realm of the Buddha. The ruling elite in the *sgo khang* is shown in pictorial ensembles with protectors emphasising the aspect of the rulers as protectors of society. The "granting of protection" is a common image of kingship which was established in early Tibetan period. The ruler as "protection-giver" is also a component of self-representation in the old *mgon khang* of Shalu Monastery in Central Tibet. There the demonstration of the ethos of sovereignty also includes the demonstration of military prowess, equestrian culture and arms and armour.

Above the assembly of dignitaries on the south wall of the *sgo khang* at Tabo there is an ensemble of '*dii minores*' included in the Buddhist pantheon: great Hindu and Indic gods, protector divinities, lower spirits and guardian figures, again recalling a comparable configuration in the old *sgo khang* of Shalu (ca. 1030); (cf. Diagrams 2–6 by Luczanits in Klimburg-Salter 1997). Ricca and Fournier (1996: 345ff. and 355) were among the first to connect several groups of gods depicted there with the outer spheres of different *maṇḍala*s of the Yoga Tantra class. On the opposite side of the protector couple, positioned on the wall leading to the *'du khang* is the *srung ma* Wi nyu myin with a group of attendant figures flanking her (Jahoda 2006, Rathje 2007, Jahoda and Papa-Kalantari 2009) in front of a ritual cloth decorated with simple stripes (Figs. 8–9). The nine female figures on each side of the (lost) protectress are shown in a slight movement and orientation towards the central figure atypical for divine imagery in this period. Thus—in contrast to suggestions in previous research, such as by Klimburg-Salter (1997: 78)—they most likely do not represent goddesses. The scene rather seems to commemorate a ritual in which the local female elite (notably no men are shown) is engaged, richly attired with local costumes and jewellery of the time.[15] The panel with the female protective deity at Tabo, reminiscent of a more archaic belief system associated with specific locales and with the protection of the main hall—as indicated in the accompanying inscription below—is shown as subordinated to two large, terrifying, almost life-size gate-protectors (*dvārapāla*, *sgo b/srungs*) in clay in front of flames.

[14] In the Renovation Inscription Byang chub 'od is referred to as *lha btsun pa*, *rje rgyal lha btsun* (*rgyal* being an uncertain reading) and *chos rgyal rje btsun* (cf. Steinkellner and Luczanits 1999: 16–18). These titles express the joint religious and secular functions he seems to have occupied at the same time. See also Jahoda and Kalantari 2016: 99,

[15] I am grateful for discussions and suggestions on this topic by Christian Jahoda.

10. Hārītī, *sgo khang* (entrance wall), Tabo *gtsug lag khang* (C. Kalantari, 2009).

11. Pāñcika, *sgo khang* (entrance wall), Tabo *gtsug lag khang* (C. Kalantari, 2009).

The typology and style of the royal couple (Figs. 10–11) represents a figural convention typical of higher divinities in India, perhaps reflecting Pāla-stylistic features (see below) and the image is elaborately rendered. In contrast, Indic and Hindu divinities on the west, south and north walls are smaller in scale, in a graphic idiom with simply drawn outlines of bodily features, shading along the contours and little interest in naturalistic representation of the physique. Paintings from the same period in and around the *dri gtsang khang* show shared stylistic features. In contrast, lay and monastic personalities and the group image with the *srung ma* depicted on the wall above the door leading into the *'du khang* reflect a more local style, using a restricted palette and simple graphic outlines resulting in rather planar figural representations. The category of lay imagery reflects specific "local" features endowing the figures with certain individualised elements: this notion is reflected in the dress convention (long, patterned lower robes and heavy long capes above, multiple rows of necklaces and head jewellery), but also in schematised facial features such as long faces, short foreheads, large, protuberant eyes. Again, similar stylistic features of lay imagery and above all the differentiation of specific categories of treatment of the bodily features contrasting with high divinities, Indic gods and donors/royal elite can also be found in the old *sgo khang* of Shalu in Central Tibet. The conscious representation of diverse stylistic idioms including conventionalised individual or portrait-like features in lay imagery—which also play a dominant role in religious compositions of various types—are a significant feature in the artistic production in West Tibetan temples. It is also an important element in the programme of the Khartse cave temple (Nyag *lha khang*) (Tshe ring rgyal po and Papa-Kalantari 2009: fig. 20). The stylistic groups of Indic deities and lay imagery at Tabo in particular feature figures that are typically shown in a static mode or in a hieratic frontality, with shovel-shaped faces adorned with high crowns. In general, sober pigments and contrasting colours are used. The simple outlines of the figures form an appealing contrast to the richness of decorative elements such as costumes, jewels and elements of material culture like luxury textiles. These characteristics recall the 10th-century Avalokiteśvara sculpture at lCog ro in Purang County, representing an early Tibetan style strongly linked to the early Tibetan art that emerged in the 9th century in Central Asia and

Central Tibet and was continued up to the 10th century in Western Tibet (mNga' ris skor gsum. Cf. Papa-Kalantari and Jahoda 2010, and Jahoda and Kalantari, "Power and religion in pre-modern Western Tibet", this volume, pp. 25–60.

The tutelary pair Hārītī and Pāñcika in the *sgo khang* at Tabo adds an important new Indic stylistic trend to the corpus of early Tibetan art, with features that differ from the Kashmir-style aesthetics in the '*du khang*. Significantly, in no other hitherto known temple in the region is the couple shown as an independent monumental configuration in the overall iconographic programme, featuring a royal couple in regal attire: there is a crowned Pāñcika above the entrance portal enthroned with arms (lance) held like a sceptre with his wife Hārītī, both characterised by marked ceremonially solemn frontality. This autonomous depiction of each of the gods contrasts with the purely Indic divine pairs shown as a compositional unity, such as Kubera lovingly embracing his spouse sitting on his leg in a *maṇḍala* depiction at Nako (Lotsāba *lha khang*) as already identified by Luczanits (2008).[16] What the latter unifies is the idea of erotic attraction as an indication of divine grace, absent in the representation of the protective pair at Tabo. Hārītī at Tabo is shown enthroned in sumptuous clothes and richly bejewelled with a child in her arms signalling motherhood. A large group of children—only male offspring—(according to the legend more than 500) is placed around and below the couple,[17] shown in complex postures with only the upper part of the body covered, mainly engaged in playful fights with swords and shields, partly while hanging by their feet from a rope.[18] They appear to be testing and exercising their martial virtues, which possibly enhances the protective idea of their parents enthroned above. In the composition they function like clamps linking the horizontal upper border of the portal with the seated couple. The poles on which the rope is fixed and which stand on this portal appear like a light architectural structure supporting the whole configuration. With regard to the dating, the stylistic features and ornamental elements are consistent with the surrounding paintings from the earliest phase of the temple, ca. up to the end of 1000 CE, as well as ceiling paintings and images in and around the cella also dating from this period.

The divine mother is shown in a hieratic position sitting with one leg folded inward and the other possibly pendant, in the posture of royal ease (*lalitāsana*). However, due to missing parts in this area it cannot be excluded that she is shown in the posture of *dhyānāsana*. Her right hand is shown in a boon-granting gesture (*varadamudrā)*. She is richly attired in a sumptuous robe and intricately detailed ornaments, wearing bell anklets and round earrings. Her husband is shown in regal attire holding a staff or lance, while in later phases she is represented in a different form, namely multi-faced with an unclothed upper torso. Both Hārītī and Pāñcika sit on a piece of decorated textile or pillow and are each framed by a nimb and an aureole in rainbow colours. Hārītī's left hand is on her leg, holding a small boy (rather a small adult); his hand is stretched out to touch her breast or grasp the necklace.[19] She wears a tight-fitting robe decorated with large ornamental patterns of connected circles. A long scarf floats, shaping a kind of frame, enlarging her contour and also indicating her divine nature. The robes of the couple clearly convey a sense of luxury.

In the Graeco-Iranian tradition of Gandhāra and in early Kashmir-style sculpture, the deity is characteristically attired with a thin cloth lying naturalistically in small folds revealing the contours of her body, while at Tabo the large surface pattern of the robe leads to a flattening of the body, typical of the West Tibetan ornamental tradition in various media. The *mudrā* and *āsana* recall Pāla-period sculpture from Bihar of the 11th century (cf. Shaw 2006: 133, see for a further comparison https://www.artic.edu/artworks/20238/goddess-hariti-seated-holding-a-child); however while the Pāla-type, typically emphasises the *yakṣiṇī*-ideal displaying feminine beauty, with ample contours, rounded, softly modelled treatment of the body, at Tabo an eastern Indian type appears to be combined with sumptuous garments covering the body, focusing on her regal aspect. An interesting comparative material is provided by a Hārītī-Pāñcika-group in stone from the Pāla-period, in which both are shown as royal figures embellished with high crowns. The goddess is shown on a bodhisattva-like figural model displaying *varadamudrā*, while her child reaches out an arm to grasp her necklace, also found in the Tabo example.[20]

[16] Cf. the diagrams figs. 44.1–44.2, pp. 495–96 in Luczanits 2008 illustrating the spatial organization of the deities in the *maṇḍala* in this publication. Interestingly the spouse is shown in Tibetan attire and jewellery also found in donor depictions in the temple, while her partner is shown with a crown and *dhotī* in Indian fashion.

[17] According to Shaw 2006: 122, typically eight children are shown in Gandhāran imagery.

[18] A short first description is by Klimburg-Salter who (mis)interpreted the children below Hārītī (although no love scene is observable) as "half-naked figures fighting and loving" (Klimburg-Salter 1997: 82, caption figs. 43, 44) and as "half naked, some wrestling or embracing" (*ibid*.: 82). The position of a couple surrounded by children at play above the portal leaves no doubt that it shows the popular tutelary couple.

[19] This element is typical of both Indian and Gandhāran imagery (cf. Granoff 1970: fig. 25).

[20] The sculpture is from Padumshahr Tank; now at the Varendra Museum, Rajshahi, Bangladesh; for an image see http://huntingtonarchive.osu.edu/ (digital database collection: Scan Number 0013082).

The static posture and frontality emphasises the divine, transmundane nature of the Tabo couple, which contrasts with the interest in naturalistic movement and interaction between figures in later Kashmiri style (12th–13th century) temples at Nako and Dungkar. While the depiction of Pāñcika in an independent conjugal imagery at Tabo appears to be singular, Hārītī features prominently in all phases of early Western Himalayan temples both in *maṇḍala* configurations and as an independent tutelary goddess.

**Earlier Representations of the Tutelary Couple in Central Asia and India**

According to Buddhist texts, Pāñcika was the *senāpati*, or general of the army of Vaiśravaṇa, and leader of *yakṣa*s famous for his merits related to glorious military victories and Hārītī was originally a goddess of smallpox but later became a source of protection and fertility.[21] Pāñcika was considered patron deity of Kashmir, which is of course in particular relevant for the West Tibetan cultural context with historic ties to Kashmir as a vibrant Buddhist cultural centre.

According to various legends the child-devouring ogress was turned into a goddess by Buddha, whereupon she became the protectress of all children. She rose from the ranks of the *yakṣiṇīs* to the reign as the *yakṣiṇī* queen together with her husband Pāñcika.[22] The history of the conversion took place in the north/Gandhāra according to most of the legends and various versions of her legend place her career in Kashmir and the Himalayas. Texts that narrate the story of Hārītī in detail can be found in the *Avadānakalpalatā* (Zin 2003: 237). She is further portrayed in the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-school (cf. Panglung 1981: 196). In a version of her legend in the *Vinaya*, Śākyamuni also addressed the monastic worship of Hārītī (Shaw 2006: 120), which is also described by the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing. He relates the conversion tale with the promise of the Buddha to feed her and her family every day in his monasteries, which resulted in the tradition of food offerings by the monastic community as part of her cult (Takakusu 1896: 37; cited after Shaw 2006: 120; cf. also Zin 2003: 237). The Chinese pilgrim also says that she is found represented in the porch of monasteries or in the refectory and that lay people also made offerings to her, praying for children (Shaw 2006: 120). Hārītī thus combines values of protection and procreation but also the idea of the Buddha extending his compassion and help to every human who converts to Buddhism and follows moral behaviour. The portal is the suitable/meaningful position to bring this concept to the mind of the devotee at the beginning of his path to the focus of the cult in the sanctum.

In order to define the context of form and ideas of the Tabo couple, the complex evolutionary history of tutelary couples of wealth and military protection in India and Gandhāra should be mentioned. One of the pioneers of the study of this iconographic theme in Central Asia, North-West India and Japan was Rosenfield (1967), who related it to the dynastic cult; Phyllis Granoff (1970) traced the genesis of the Vaiśravaṇa-Pāñcika-Kuvera-Pharro-complex and showed how these deities were closely related. She also reconstructed the social and historic circumstances of their popularity.[23] In Gandhāra the pair can have many different composite forms, often the couple is shown with a lance or staff, and Hārītī holding a money purse, partly in "northern" dress. This pair is closely related to Iranian forms of Pharro and Ardoxšo. Pharro's attributes include a purse, shield, lance and bowl or fire. "He represents the Iranian *farr* or *xvarənah*, the 'kingly glory'" and also "a tutelary divinity of the reigning monarch and the legitimizing factor in his rule" (Granoff 1970: 163). Pāñcika in the Kushan realm may be represented as purely Indian, or "northern"/Iranian in both costume and content or in armour. Apart from his military aspect Pāñcika can also be portrayed holding the money purse and thus containing the ideological content of the god of plenty combining "military attributes of the *senāpati* Pāñcika with the benevolence of his master, Kuvera-Vaiśravaṇa, the god of wealth. This Pāñcika-Kuvera-Vaiśravaṇa is extremely close in conception to the god Pharo, who was likewise regarded as a protector of wealth and giver of armed strength" (Granoff 1970: 163). This type is also represented in a Kashmiri relief, with a Pharo-Kuvera-Vaiśravaṇa in "northern" couture (with a crown?) sitting on a pot of plenty and Ardoxšo-Śrī holds a lotus or cornucopia (Fig. 12), recalling the royal, "northern" attire (from the viewpoint of South-Asian communities, corresponding to their mythical origin) of the Tabo couple. Several examples of Kubera/Kuvera sitting next to Hārītī can be found in Mathura (Zin 2003: 240) illustrating that the complex amalgamation of ideas of wealth, fertility and military attributes can also be found in the Indian sphere. According to Granoff (1970: 167) Vaiśravaṇa

12. Stone sculpture, Kashmir: Pharo-Kuvera-Vaiśravaṇa on a pot of plenty and Ardoxšo-Śrī with lotus or cornucopia (after Granoff 1970: 163).

[21] See Rosenfield 1967: 245f. (cited after Granoff 1970: 162).

[22] Hārītī and Pāñcika are represented at the entrance to the sanctum (antecella) of Ajanta Cave II, protecting the cella together with the Four Dharmarājas (Zin 2003: 236).

[23] See also Bachhofer (1937) (he first identified the two couples) and Gnoli (1996); for a summary of the evolutionary history of the tutelary couple see Zin 2003: 236ff. Pāñcika and Hārītī are related to the Iranian deities Pharo (with wings) and Ardoxšo in particular during the Kushan period. In this period the pairs not only bear a striking resemblance, they were also closely related with regard to their conception, insofar as they were conceived as deities of prosperity and military value and they were partly regarded as tutelary deities of the local Kushan dynasty (Granoff 1970: 162).

13. Hārītī (above Mahākāla), Dungkar, Cave II, inner face of the portal (C. Kalantari, 2007).

14. Hārītī: outside the geometric frame of the *maṇḍala,* Dungkar, Cave II (C. Kalantari, 2007).

seems to have assumed the source of the state's monarchs at Khotan and his status is that of the power behind their rule. In Kashmir, Pāñcika—as already mentioned—was worshipped as patron deity,[24] which must have furthered the popularity of the cult of the tutelary couple and the spread of cult images associated with it, which may have also reached Western Tibet (mNga' ris skor gsum).[25]

**Parallel Phenomena to the Tabo Tutelary Couple in Other Temples and Later Developments in Western Tibet**

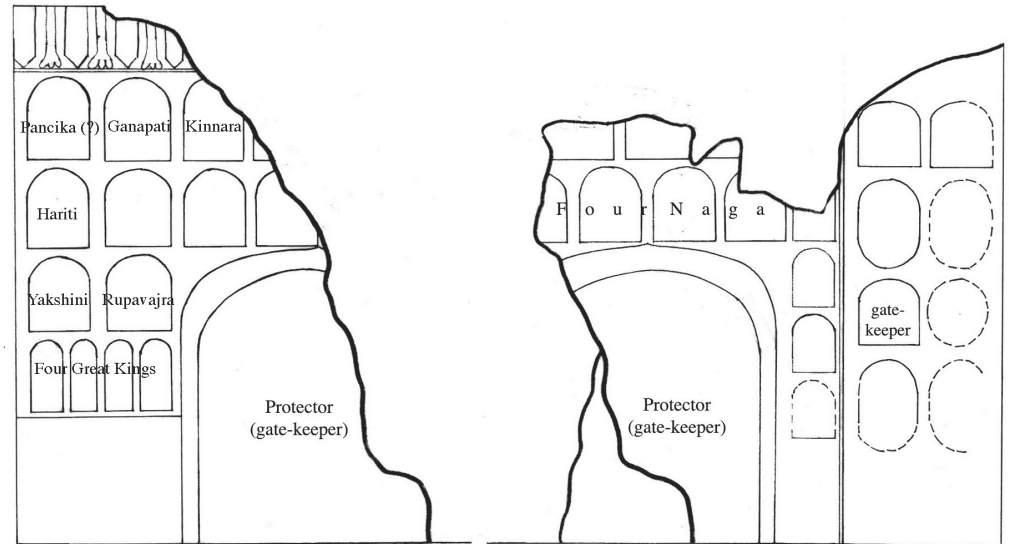
At Tabo we find an emphasis of the regal aspect of Pāñcika with a crown: Pāñcika appears to show a god in royal or "northern" dress (which is typically associated with the aspect of wealth-bestowing of Kuvera, or Vaiśravaṇa, the King of the North) combined with the aspect of *senāpati* Pāñcika with an arm (lance) related to his ideological content as giver of armed strength.

The conjugal type of Pāñcika and Hārītī at Tabo appears to stand in the long and lasting tradition of independent tutelary couples of wealth and protection which play an important role in Buddhist communities in Central Asia and North-West India/Kashmir. A huge number of early sculptures reflect the popularity of this cult in Gandhāra and Kashmir, mostly following a synthesis of Graeco-Iranian and Indian forms and ideas. Due to the chronological distance and the limited number of relevant objects, a direct link cannot be postulated. The reconstruction of the artistic and cultural context of the typology of the Tabo couple needs further investigation, in particular with regard to its markedly Indian components of Hārītī, perhaps reflecting early North-West Indian art or the art of the Indian plains. The detailed depiction of children engaged in fighting and wrestling activities defining a scene covering a huge part of the wall cannot be compared with representations of this theme found in any relevant sculptures, with their concentration on the main icon and a condensed depiction of the children in a frieze below or on the sides. The naturalistically rendered children may represent an independent pictorial tradition with a strong local flavour and a certain freedom of the painter.

Independent singular images of Hārītī and those integrated into *maṇḍala*s follow different visual and religious traditions. An example of an autonomous depiction of Hārītī can be found in the porch or jamb of the portal (which has a comparable function to the *sgo khang* in previous periods) of a single-chamber cave temple at Dungkar

[24] In the *Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñīsūtra* Pāñcika is portrayed as patron deity of Kashmir and his son is described as the patron deity of China (Zin 2003: 240, n. 34).

[25] See also an image of a goddess with a hybrid form of lotus/cornucopia published by Hélène Diserens (1993: 72) from the village of Brār in Kashmir, which Foucher discovered, probably representing a river goddess, related to the mythic origin in Kashmir according to a Buddhist text, in which Kāśyapa asked the goddess to settle there in order to purify the country by the gift of water. This example should demonstrate the widespread popularity of *yakṣa* deities, both male and female as protectors and patron deities of Kashmir. Comparable lotus-blossoms recalling cornucopia can be found on the *dri gtsang khang* ceiling design in the *gtsug lag khang* at Tabo.




15. Entrance wall, flanking the portal, Nyag cave temple, Khartse (Tshe ring rgyal po, 2002).

16. Hārītī, Nyag cave temple (entrance wall), Khartse (Tshe ring rgyal po, 2002).

17. Sketch of wall paintings on the entrance wall of Nyag cave temple (drawing: C. Kalantari, 2009).

(Cave II). The prominent position in the porch demonstrates that this female spirit associated with fertility and procreation maintains her important position in the ensemble of protectors associated with foundation of the ruling elites up to the 13th century. She is represented subordinated to the protector god Mahākāla (shown half-naked with one arm raised and a skull in his hand) (Fig. 13).[26] Hārītī is shown with one arm raised holding a cup or bowl while cradling an infant to her breast. Other boys are shown around her in playful attitudes. Due to the poor state of preservation almost nothing can be said about the costume. She seems to wear a crown but the Tibetan-style necklace made of corals and turquoises is likely a later addition. She looks at the practitioner/devotee and is shown in a rather open and free composition covering a large space while her depiction outside the *maṇḍala* (Fig. 14) seems to follow a strict iconographic formula, perhaps on the model of a sketchbook. Opposite the portal there is a proud warrior on horseback, representing a local territorial deity and warrior-like protector, which appears in Ladakh and other areas of historical Western Tibet around 1200, reflecting martial cultures of the region.[27]

**The Lady and the Lotus at Khartse**

The tutelary couple at Tabo, above the entrance portal of the Tabo *sgo khang*, also contrasts with the deities integrated into an ensemble of "lower/protective deities" on the entrance wall at the Nyag phug pa *lha khang* at Khartse (Tshe ring rgyal po and Papa-Kalantari 2009: fig. 17) (Fig. 16). This is the first known example showing the couple depicted in midst a whole pantheon of lower deities on the entrance wall subordinated to monumental gate protectors in clay (Fig. 17). There we find *yakṣa* deities (*gnod sbyin*) and other "lower spirits" such as eight *nāga*s (*klu, klu mo*), above the portal, planetary deities and the Four Guardian Kings (*dikpāla, phyogs skyong*) represented on the entrance wall in their function as protectors of the threshold of the temple, protecting the sphere between nature or the worldly (*laukika)* and the sacred transmundane sphere (*lokottara*). The entrance wall, closest to the unordered, human world is of course a meaningful place for this function. This ensemble of Indic deities charged with protecting the realm of the Buddha recalls the *maṇḍala* of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa (cf. Macdonald 1962) which describes specific configurations of gods as protectors of the sphere between nature and the transmundane as shown by Bautze-Picron (1996: 109), who studied the position of Hindu and Indic deities in the

[26] I first came across the beautiful—to my knowledge hitherto unpublished—image of Hārītī in this cave temple during field research in 2006/2007 together with Tsering Gyalpo and Christian Jahoda, who organised and directed this campaign.

[27] He can perhaps be related to the appearance of the powerful protector Mahākāla, while his identity may be associated with Pe har, mentioned in *Rin chen bzang po rnam thar 'bring po*. In this a protector divinity is portrayed as having been put on oath to "work as personal attendant and responsible for guarding the possessions of all the temples of Rongchung" (cf. Snellgrove and Skorupski 1980: 93). He is complemented by a row of female *srung ma* above the portal on the inner face of the wall of the main sacred space.

18. Back wall flanking the niche, featuring donor images and Tārā above, Nako Lotsāba *lha khang* (C. Kalantari, 2009).

19. Sanctum, Tabo *gtsug lag khang* (C. Kalantari, 2009).

late Buddhist iconography in eastern India, while in the context of Tibetan art this opposing pair has been discussed by Seyfort Ruegg 2008 (see below). In later periods, many of these Indic divinities are depicted outside the frame of different *maṇḍala*s of the Yoga Tantra class (Nako, Dungkar) or in the outermost spheres of the latter as found in the Alchi school of painting, which are shown on the side walls of sacred spaces.

At Khartse, Hārītī is among a group of divinities with her husband, shown in his many-faced form with a naked upper torso, holding a flask—which becomes the standard iconography from the mid 11th century onwards—positioned in the uppermost row. His attributes—with an emphasis on wealth-granting rather than on his military aspect—differ markedly form the majestic warrior type at Tabo with its royal garb (Fig. 15). The divine mother appears as a singular typology in this region: she is bare-breasted, with a narrow waist, attired with an Indian style of lower dress. Her offspring rest on her lap with hands folded in veneration. The deity represents the Indian concept of beauty and aesthetics, in the sense of sexual appeal of the woman and radiance of attractiveness providing a prerequisite for fertility.[28] A significant feature is her raised right arm holding a flower or lotus. It recalls the treasure-displaying gesture in earlier images of Hārītī in Orissa holding a stalk of grain, according to Shaw (2006: 130) signalling her association with agricultural fertility and abundance.[29] The lotus at Khartse may signal fertility and her auspicious nature in the sense of human reproduction and thus the focus appears to be on the woman as a nature goddess and life source. The same gesture of the raised hand is also found in images of offering deities in the same temple, which is consistent with the idea of treasure-offering associated with this type of protector.

The characteristic gesture of the lotus-bearing raised hand at Khartse is ultimately related to the Indic visual pattern of the "lady under the tree". It is borrowed from the theme of the birth of the Buddha with Māyā standing under the tree stretching her right arm toward the foliage and the child who emerges from her right side. Māyā at Nālandā (cf. Bautze-Picron 2010: fig. 19) holds a lotus flower in one hand. The typology is even adopted for the image of Tārā, as shown at Nako, Lotsāba *lha khang* (Fig. 18).[30] The emphasis of the type of Hārītī at Khartse is thus on birth, creation and fertility. In general this idea of the female divine, in the form of *yakṣa* deities, is frequently shown in specific positions in the temple. Fertility deities, signalling their auspicious nature, are often found on the border-zones of architectural ornament or in lower zones of *toraṇa* configurations, as seen on a famous Kashmir-style bronze frame. In this two auspicious nature deities are in the lowest zone in the *toraṇa*, below the representation of the life of the Buddha, alluding to their auspicious nature as the basis of the emergence of the Buddha. This configuration has many similarities to the cella ensemble in the Tabo *dri gtsang khang* (sanctum) (cf. Fig. 19).

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[28] The iconography of fertility assumes an important position in architectural ornamentation; in particular *yakṣa* deities in their function of acquiring material riches and protecting the monument often at the threshold between the sacred and profane. As suggested by Bautze-Picron 2010: 209, such women-motifs initially appear near the portals of Buddhist monuments, which were later resumed by images of Māyā and Hārītī.

[29] Vegetal motifs or fruit as attributes are also shown in Pāla sculptures representing the goddess (Shaw 2006: 130).

[30] Tārā's gesture at Nako is clearly based on the iconography of Māyā as lady below the tree. Bautze-Picron suggests this may refer to her description as mother of all Buddhas and to abundance and procreation in the sense of infinite compassion. All this demonstrates the dynamics of iconography and the processes of amalgamation of various different religious ideas, local gods and protectors, which were integrated under a new name, in this case in that of the popular goddess Tārā. The image of Tārā at Nako recalls a 12th-century book cover featuring this deity at the LACMA (cf. Bautze-Picron 2010: fig. 30).

20. Hārītī and Pāñcika, detail of the outer frame of the *maṇḍala* on the south wall, Nako, Lotsāba *lha khang* (C. Jahoda, 2009).

Hārītī, in the transition zone above the portal on the entrance wall of the Tabo *sgo khang*, can thus also be interpreted as an allusion to the idea of creation, marking and protecting the transition between two stages "of the unformed and uncreated and the formed and created" (Bautze-Picron 2010: 226). The mundane nature of the couple also marks the border between the material and the spiritual and—as protector of the entrance to the monument (closest to the human plane)—in charge of the richness a temple can provide. The protective deity pair, above the entrance to the *gtsug lag khang*, closest to our world and the human level, perhaps binds the lay world and the royal-monastic community together in concerns of a more mundane nature.

**Hārītī in Cup-Bearing Mode with Indigenous Features and as a Tibetan Queen**

Yet another type is that of Hārītī and Pāñcika, which from the end of the 11th century onwards in this region was integrated into the outer spheres of *maṇḍala* configurations or outside the *maṇḍala* border. They belong to an ensemble which Luczanits (2008) classified as Hindu and pan-Indian deities, represented near an entrance or as part of the outermost circle of certain Yoga Tantra *maṇḍala*s (cf. de Mallmann 1986). Within this type the forms differ markedly at Dungkar, Nako (Fig. 20), and in the Alchi school, following different visual models within the wide spectrum of Kashmir-style artistic schools. Characteristically, Hārītī and Pāñcika images in *maṇḍala* images at Nako (Lotsāba *lha khang*) and Dungkar are depicted in single settings. While in the latter only their relative position in the whole configuration shows their iconographic relation, at Nako Pāñcika is turned smiling at his wife. In contrast to the early typology at Khartse, which still closely adheres to Indic models, with the emphasis as a nature goddess, Hārītī images in this later phase from the 12th century onwards are always fully dressed, with tight-fitting, North-Indian clothes reminiscent of the sartorial traditions in Himachal Pradesh and Kashmir. Also a metamorphosis of her characteristics

21. Detail *maṇḍala*, Sumda Chung, (C. Kalantari, 2009).

is observable, with an emphasis on the mother-child relation and motherly empathy, showing her as caring, nurturing mother, cradling an infant at her breast. This increasing focus on motherly tenderness and interest in feminine beauty with sartorial features from Himachal Pradesh and Kashmir contrasts with the rather hieratic, frontal image of a powerful protectress at Tabo. Interestingly, while the image of Hārītī gradually absorbs local features of material culture, Pāñcika is accorded less interest and retains his Indic iconographic features.

With regard to the iconographic form at Dungkar the divine mother is shown with a cup in her hand—which is absent at Tabo—from which two boys take food, in Indian attire, surrounded by putti-like playing children, in contrast to the children (or rather small adults) performing martial arts at Tabo. However, some of them carry weapons reminding that they are powerful spirits among their mother's troops. The Dungkar type is reminiscent of a Pāla stone stela in the Dacca Museum featuring Hārītī with four arms, holding a fish and a skull cup in her two upper hands (as described by Shaw 2006: 134). The cup-offering mode at Dungkar emphasizes the mild, benevolent and motherly character of the deity. The cup originally perhaps alludes to the Buddha's promise that if she gave up eating meat she would be fed at all his monasteries, and a plate for Hārītī and her children would be included at every supper by the monks in the monastery, in return she and her offspring were to watch over the monks and nuns in the monastery and ensure their security (*ibid*.: 112). Another interpretation of the cup is the bowl in which her youngest and most beloved son Priyaṅkara was hidden by the Buddha in order to make her feel the emotions of a mother who had lost her child. This was then the basis of her conversion to a child-protecting goddess. The cup has now turned to an attribute associated with offering, care, fertility and abundance.

A singular type of Hārītī is represented at Sumda and Alchi (Ladakh, both around 1200; Figs. 21–23), where she assumes the appearance of a Tibetan noblewoman (Fig. 24). In both cases the depictions are in the outer ring of the *maṇḍala*, at eye-level, perhaps signalling how much the image was still valued. Hārītī also holds a cup, which recalls the aristocratic banqueting couples on the entrance wall of the *'du khang*—surrounded by girls and boys in Tibetan dress; above in the outer ring of the *maṇḍala* is Kubera/Vaiśravaṇa. The cup is a leitmotif at Alchi: in the "royal drinking or rather cup-offering scene" the female donor is offering a cup to the person opposite her, presumably her husband, while in another assembly scene in the frieze she is shown holding a lotus with two children in front of her. While the cup-offering mode of representation has been rightly associated with the Iranicate Turkic rulers in neighbouring regions by various authors, the overall composition is in a long West Tibetan tradition of donor imagery. One layer of meaning of the so-called "drinking scene" in the context of a Buddhist temple is most likely that of marriage, fertility and procreation as an aspect of the protection of the line of the clan and thus also of security in the region. Moreover, clear resonances between female protector divinities and images and ideals of rule of the elite can be found in such depictions. Significantly, in another scene of the Alchi 'Du khang's donor frieze (Fig. 25), the noble family is shown in the midst of their children—a boy and a girl—with the mother holding a lotus flower, recalling the aspect of procreation shown in the image of Hārītī at Khartse. Fertility, procreation and motherly care is also a major concern of female characters in donor depictions in a manuscript from Dolpo (cf. Fig. 26). In general a prominent depiction of female protagonists in donor scenes is observable from the end of the 11th century onwards, featuring couples represented at eye-level. It perhaps reflects a situation of a relative influential position of female donors—such as a daughter of Ye shes 'od, as has been shown—which even appears as founder of

a temple. Donor couples at Lalung, Alchi, Mangyu are shown in vivid scenes—contrasting to the static representation in earlier times—and in various settings, displaying marriage alliances, enthroned with their children, emphasising the aspect of motherly empathy and the women as life-force, alluding to a new idea of an ideal couple.[31]

Accordingly, the form and function of Hārītī in Ladakh appears not only to be exemplary for local Tibetan costumes used for a specific class of deities,[32] but also relevant for the interpretation of the as yet little studied roles associated with donorship and female founders in particular, as will be examined in the following.

**Ideology, Concepts of Supremacy and Ideals of Rule That Furthered the Popularity of This Divine Pair**

The cultivating of various concepts of tutelary deities is one of the major strategies to legitimate the sovereignty of the newly established Buddhist rulers (various previous studies have focused on this subject: cf., for example, Jahoda 2006, Papa-Kalantari 2010). In addition to the central function of female protectors in the royal foundation of temples during this period (10th to 13th century)—perhaps reflecting pre-Buddhist local religious entities—in particular protectors of worldly concerns and against threat of military violence appear as a central component and a constant phenomenon in the religious-political system of the ruling elite in Western Tibet (10th–13th century). This class of protectors reflecting martial virtues, equestrian culture and culture of arms and armour of the time have hitherto received almost no attention.

Various characteristic features may support the assumption of inherent ideas related to historical circumstances:

Worldly protectors appear to be a constant theme in temples associated with the ruling and aristocratic elite and perhaps reflecting specific intentions of the donors. Protectors of mundane concerns are perhaps not subject to a strict iconographic scheme but a question of a conscious choice of the donors, representing an independent form of worship, with a great variety of individual solutions; thus previous generalised interpretations of the pantheon of the *sgo khang* as deities designed as guardians in the outer sphere of the *maṇḍala* need to be replaced by a more complex picture.

It is perhaps also significant that this type of worldly protector is absent at Alchi on the entrance wall of the 'Du khang (with a condensed field of local village and territorial deities subordinated to the *dharmapāla* Mahākāla ("the Great Black One"; or mGon po phyag bzhi pa, "the one who protects the doctrine"); the latter representing a group of higher deities, or wrathful protectors who "monitor" lower territorial deities—dwelling above the portal—to ensure they preserve their vows to protect the village, monastery and its treasures.[33] However in donor depictions there are clear

22. Hārītī and Kubera in the outermost ring—inside *vajra*-border (!)—of a *maṇḍala* configuration, Sumda Chung (by courtesy of Rob Linrothe, 2006).

23. Hārītī and Pāñcika (above the couple: Kubera; below: Gaṇapati), Alchi 'Du khang (west wall), detail of a *maṇḍala* (C. Kalantari, 2009).

[31] In general marriage alliances are a constant theme in the shaping of Tibetan (political) identity; the model being the *chos rgyal*, in particular Srong btsan sgam po (reigned ca. 612–649; Dotson 2009: 18), who chose among others as his wives a Nepalese and a Chinese Buddhist princess. His Chinese wife Wencheng (Wen cheng Ong con/Kong jo), belonging to the imperial line of the Emperor of China, is said to have brought with her the Jo bo statue of Buddha Śākyamuni housed in the Lhasa Jo khang, which is still the centre of worship for Tibetans. However the Jo bo was probably brought to Lhasa by a later princess, her niece, Jincheng (cf. Sørensen 1994: 241 and Heller 2006). Princess Jincheng, who first came to Lhasa in 710, was married to Khri lde gTsug rtsan (704–755) when he was a six-year old child. She is recorded as having actively promoted Buddhism and having founded the first *saṃgha* in Central Tibet (Kapstein 2009: 22).

[32] According to Christian Luczanits, certain lower divinities at Dungkar (Cave II) wear local Tibetan dresses; among them also Sūrya, shown on the chariot (verbal communication, 2009).

[33] For the evolutionary history of demonic protectors and their introduction to Western Tibet see Linrothe and Watt 2004: 44ff.

24. Detail of 'royal drinking' or 'wedding scene', entrance wall, Alchi 'Du khang (C. Kalantari, 2009).

25. Detail of aristocratic donor couple inmidst of their children, assembly frieze, entrance wall, Alchi 'Du khang (C. Kalantari, 2009).

resonances and reciprocal exchanges with tutelary deities, and in particular with ideas associated with the bestowing of wealth, securing of peace and procreation. In particular the famous drinking scene is represented as an independent setting, and in a higher position than the donor frieze it appears like a clamp binding the scenes featuring diverse ceremonies and the world of protectors, perhaps alluding to specifically revered ancestors.

In this context it is relevant to point to the remarkable emphasis on the composition of details depicted like narrative elements at Tabo, for example, the couple's children performing martial arts below. While the depiction of children's various activities—such as fighting scenes—is not unusual, perhaps underlining the aspect of demonic activities that were converted into a beneficent role, the detailed depiction of martial arts covering a large part of the wall and the detailed display of armour, which may be designed to enhance the aspect of protection against a military threat, is remarkable. This aspect is also mentioned in the important West Tibetan chronicle *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*. This confirms that the protection of the borders was an important concern in this period (cf. Vitali 1996: 110–111).[34] However, the text does not directly relate to the Pāñcika-Vaiśravaṇa-Kubera complex. Thus a close association with his protective aspects must remain speculative. Male territorial deities, alluding to protection against a military threat and martial ideal, also feature prominently in a hitherto little-studied group of mounted horsemen, fully armed and reflecting indigenous military, martial and hunting customs, in later temples (presumably Pe har at Alchi—subordinated to Mahākāla—and at Dungkar), which appear around 1200, while female territorial deities dominate in earlier phases. The arms and equestrian culture reflected in this type of protector are reminiscent of descriptions in Rin chen bzang po's biography (*Rin chen bzang po rnam thar 'bring po)* (Snellgrove and Skorupski 1980: 91; see also Papa-Kalantari 2006, 2011 and Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po and Kalantari, "Guge kingdom-period murals in the Zhag grotto in mNga' ris, Western Tibet", this volume, pp. 424–425); also relevant are depictions of arms and armour in the Sudhana frieze in the Tabo *'du khang*, and in donor depictions at Nako and Alchi. Arms are depicted in utmost detail, certainly reflecting real weapons of the time, consistent also with the ubiquitous theme of descriptions of insignia in historical texts and edicts, reflecting their high value as symbolic capital of the royal insignia (cf. Vitali 1996: 107).

Whereas the role of Pāñcika with his martial ideals seem to have been replaced or complemented by armed horsemen, hunters and warriors—both subordinated to the pan-Indian protector Mahākāla—Hārītī remains a constant important religious factor reflecting an important popular projection screen in which a wide range of female

[34] I wish to thank Christian Jahoda for directing my attention to this passage.

26. *Yum chen mo/Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript (Dolpo), final page (by courtesy of Thomas Pritzker; Heller 2009: fig. 136).

ideals of protection, fertility and creation from various periods and iconographic backgrounds could be amalgamated. The archetype of a mother's compassion extended to humankind due to the conversion of the Buddha is a main principle of the figure of Hārītī. This is also echoed in images of female founders and their ethos of rule. Especially relevant in this context are resonances between the secular and divine sphere as related to images of self-representation of the ruling elite at Alchi, in particular those of female donors. This reflects important aspects of the Buddhist ethos of sovereignty of the Buddhist female elite and the strategies of attaining respectability among the local population, focusing on the aspect of women as life source, protection and procreation.[35] Here a process of appropriation or integration of local cults and the sphere of worldly and local spirits by the royal and noble elite can be observed.

Not only do various resonances between lay and religious imagery testify to this assumption, but it is perhaps also indicative that the only hitherto known temple featuring an independent image of Hārītī on the portal can perhaps historically be related to a female foundation related to a lady from the royal lineage of Ye shes 'od (Stoddard 2004).[36] As Vitali (1996: 274) stated "By virtue of her foundation, lHa'i me.tog fulfilled one of the principles of *chos.khrims* in sTod, by which women were encouraged to take vows *(mNga'.ris rgyal.rabs,* p. 55, lines 3–4)." Historical sources in addition say that "she regarded her *gtsug. lag. khang* as though it were her adopted child" *(sras.tshab)* (Vitali 1996: 274). The presence of the divine mother on the entrance wall of Dungkar would well fit to female donorship, and the text portraying the temple as an "adopted child" of lHa'i Me tog. This not only demonstrates that women were endowed with economic wealth but also reflects their position in the social order.

[35] The interpretation of the aspect of this pair of deities as ideal conjugal couple related to the ethos of rule of early dynastic art in this region is a rewarding question of future research. I proposed consonances between tutelary couples and donor depictions at Alchi ('Du khang) as a couple in my paper at the 11th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Königswinter-Bonn (see Papa-Kalantari 2006, 2011), which is singular in this cultural sphere. Perhaps the idea of marriage alliances, as a source of peace in the region, which is a constant theme in the Tibetan cultural sphere and corresponds to the political conditions in the region, is relevant in this context. The type of conjugal couples at Alchi contrast to images of the enthroned Lord-Ruler Royal Monk (*rje rgyal lha btsun*) Byang chub 'od at Tabo, on the model of the First Sermon of the Buddha, with the lay and monastic community subordinated. Women are also depicted at the Lotsāba *lha khang* in Nako, however there they are shown at a lower level (Papa-Kalantari 2002).

The ideas of legitimation linked with conjugal images to secure the line of the clan and marital alliances creating peace and prosperity as a basis of the establishment of Buddhist ideals in the region reflects a process already undertaken during the time of the old Tibetan monarchy. The most famous typology referring to this theme is the triad of Srong btsan sgam po and his two wives, and many images of it can be found in the Lhasa Jo khang.

[36] Stoddard (2004: 93) has put it as follows: "Lha Bla ma Ye shes 'od's two sons are well known, however his daughter, Lha'i Me tog [...] deserves better fame, since it appears that she is the founder of the now famous Dung dkar cave temple, in ca. 1000, and thus was the first princess among the patrons of the early Phyi dar". According to *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* (cf. Vitali 1996: 114) she was ordained and founded Kre wel dbu sde temple. Whether this temple and the community of nuns can be related to the cave sanctuaries of Dungkar known to us cannot be stated with certainty. Cf. Vitali's statement (1996: 274): "Kre.wel, a temple unknown to me". However, *Vaiḍūrya ser po* mentions the monastery Dung dkar bKra shis chos gling and that lHa'i me tog supported 30 monks at this place long before this temple's foundation (*ibid*.: 274–75).

## On the Symbolism of the Entrance Hall in the Overall Spiritual Programme

The last part of this text looks at the specific function and symbolism of the *sgo khang* and its decorative programme within the tripartite layout of the *gtsug lag khang*. The temple's structure and programme (in its hypothetical "original" form from the beginning of the 11th century) can be interpreted as a realisation of the *trikāya:* the *dri gtsang khang* where the image of the Buddha is venerated in a sacred enclosure represents the *dharmakāya*; the *du khang* represents the *saṃbhogakāya*, while the cosmological images, protectors and donors represent the *nirmāṇakāya,* placed in the *sgo khang*, representing the border between the profane and the sacred sphere. As has already been mentioned, the Tabo *gtsug lag khang* represents a distinctive type of longitudinal architectural structure in the region with a horizontal succession of independent but interrelated spaces of increasing sacrality, which is also expressed in specific decorative programmes in each of them. This approach in the interpretation of sacred space contrasts to previous research, which subsumed the whole pantheon in the *sgo khang* as deities imagined as integrated into the outer sphere of the *maṇḍala* of the (later) *'du khang* without considering the fact of a chronological sequence of the two distinctive phases of decoration of the temple.[37]

A closer examination reveals that the *sgo khang* appears to represent an independent ritual space with a distinctive "pluralistic" iconographic programme characteristic of early Buddhist art at the end of the 10th century in the region, which was perhaps prevalent in India at that time and can also be found in Central Tibet (e.g. in the old *sgo khang* at Shalu). Moreover, it perhaps also reflects distinctive cultic needs, as will be discussed below.

## From Mundane to Transmundane

In the entrance hall distinctive themes can be observed from worldly protectors on the entrance portal (flanked by cosmological imagery and the Wheel of Rebirths), guarding the sphere from nature to tamed world, which is characteristically inhabited by *yakṣa* deities (*gnod sbyin*) to territorial deities (*srung ma*) on the opposite wall, above the portal leading to the *'du khang*, subordinated to two clay *dvārapāla*s *(*gate-protectors*, sgo bsrungs)*, often guarding the portal of the *maṇḍala*.[38] While the theme of worldly protectors above the entrance porch represents the *yakṣa* deities associated with wealth and protection integrated into the Buddhist pantheon to guard the Buddha and fulfil the wishes of the devotee, the female protector deity recalls local religious experiences imagined as spirits protecting specific locales that were converted into the service of the newly established Buddhist elite to become protectors of villages, monasteries and their treasures. Accordingly, the local territorial deity (*srung ma)* is shown in a setting with a strong local flavour.

On the side wall specific groups of Indic deities can be found, among them (on the south wall) are great Hindu divinities, the Eight Great Nāgas which subordinated themselves to protect the Buddha and planetary gods. The latter reflect the aspect of astronomy and astrology in the cosmological order and are an expression of the idea that the temple was conceived as related to the laws that govern the movements of the planets. The position of a group of protectors of the directions (*dikpāla*) above the portal is particularly meaningful in the spatial iconography of the *sgo khang,* positioned above the local protectress charged with the protection of the main hall.

The position of the tutelary couple on the entrance wall, above the portal—near cosmological imagery and thus most closely related to cosmic creativity—suggests an association with the long tradition of female spirits of creation and fertility, which have an important position in architectural ornamentation. Various female deities assumed the role of *yakṣa* deities in their function of acquiring material riches and protecting the monument, positioned at the threshold between the sacred and profane (Bautze-Picron 2010: 209). The image of creation, reflecting the transition between two stages "of the unformed and uncreated and of the formed and created" (*ibid*.: 226), was practically and logically aimed at being positioned at a place of passage in the architectural ornamentation. This "mundane" function is opposed to that of the local goddess, protecting the threshold to the sphere of the *maṇḍala*, positioned on the opposite wall above the portal to the assembly hall.

Certainly, the Wheel of Rebirths shown to the left of the conjugal imagery is also significant for the interpretation of the position of the couple. Due to the improvement from her position as a morally ambivalent person and increase in merit, Hārītī turned from a demoness to a goddess, being exemplary for the path to liberation. An inscription above the wheel is indicative of the interpretation of the entrance wall's function. Schlingloff (1988: 169; cf. also Zin and Schlingloff 2007) was the first to identify the Mūlasarvāstivāda

[37] In Klimburg-Salter's view (1997: 87) the *maṇḍala* represented in the adjoining *'du khang* of this temple. This interpretation of space is open to doubt, due to the fact that the *'du khang*'s programme as it presents itself today, stems from a later phase and thus perhaps also reflects a different religious orientation and symbolism of space.

[38] In addition inside the gateway leading to the main hall are two painted *dharmapāla*s (*chos skyong*), one of them a red Hayagrīva.

*Vinaya* as the textual basis for paintings of the Wheel of Rebirths at Ajanta, and also noted that this is also the case for the Tibetan *saṃsāracakra*. The *Vinaya* also prescribes a text together with an image of the preaching Buddha to be painted above the Wheel of Rebirths in the porch or entrance hall of a monastery, as also found at Tabo (for a transcription and translation see Luczanits 1999: 115–16). The text encourages the conversion to Buddhism as a basis of deliverance. The ensemble of the *saṃsāracakra*/the Buddha/and the didactic text is related to the teaching of the dependent origination and—due to its connection with enlightenment—can be regarded as the quintessence of the teaching of the Buddha (Zin and Schlingloff 2007: 124–25).[39] Significantly, it is presented to the monks and the lay population on the entrance wall of the *sgo khang* at Tabo. Of course the question if and in what form the cult of Hārītī was present in the institutional life during the foundation phase of Tabo will require further studies of relevant related texts.

The mundane spirits and Indic gods in this space recall their position within the Buddhist cosmos in the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, where they belong to the clans of the *laukika*, which are in the outer mansion of the *maṇḍala* and, as C. Bautze-Picron has put it (1996: 115): "They mark the threshold between the external chaotic universe and the inner world of the *maṇḍala* which the initiated must cross before reaching the inner circles, they belong thus to a required phase in the spiritual way." However, the significance of these Indic gods in the religious-cultic context of a late 10th-century West Tibetan temple remains a question for future research.

The devotee must thus also pass through these spaces, transcending from mundane to transmudane on a symbolic level. The image of the *yakṣa* deity Hārītī is a paradigm for the transformation of a demoness into a goddess in the service of Buddhism. The Indic deities serve as further models for the concept of the process of perfection undergone by ordinary, mundane beings, leading to ultimate liberation.[40]

**The Programme of the Tabo *sgo khang* and Its Representation in Later Periods as Ensembles of the Entrance Wall or in *maṇḍala*s**

In the development of spatial organisation of the temple's programme, the ensemble of Indic gods and didactic imagery associated with the teaching of the Buddha shift from an independent space in the *sgo khang* to the surface of the entrance wall or portal of the main hall (Khartse, Nyag *lha khang*, Zhag cave, Dungkar). It is significant to note that the historical development of the iconography is also reflected in the evolution of the early West Tibetan temple structures. In the early phase of Tabo (comparable to Shalu) Hindu or Indic deities occupy an independent space reflecting their status as individual objects of worship, and their religious significance was still alive, perhaps reflecting a religious-cultural landscape marked by the co-presence and integration of non-Buddhist and Buddhist belief systems in neighbouring regions such as north-west India, in Himachal Pradesh as well as in Nepal. The monumental depiction of the tutelary couple above the Tabo portal indicates that it held a particular position in the cultic tradition at that time.

Accordingly, the programme at Tabo is an important evidence of a specific phase of inclusion of popular protector divinities, Hindu and other non-Buddhist deities and spirits into the Buddhist pantheon, which is expressed in the layout and decoration of a temple.

In the later development and formulation of an indigenous architectural and religious-cultural tradition, central elements of the *sgo khang*'s programme can be found on the surface of the entrance wall (in single-chamber temples), which takes over the function of threshold from *laukika* to *lokottara*. One example is the entrance wall of the Nyag cave temple at Khartse, which features a monumental Buddha assembly, or "sacred *c*onversation" with the Buddha (cf. Allinger and Kalantari 2012 and Kalantari, "Shaping space, constructing identity: The illuminated *Yum chen mo* Manuscript at Pooh, Kinnaur", this volume, p. 365) on the side wall next to the portal.[41] While in the latter the pantheon of Buddhist and non-Buddhist folk religious deities and spirits subordinated by the Buddha covers the whole entrance wall, in later traditions (Nako, Lotsāba *lha khang*, ca. 1100) the deities are shown residing in the outermost circle of the *maṇḍala* palace of the Yoga Tantra class shown on the side walls (Nako, Dung dkar, Alchi 'Du khang). Iinterestingly they are shown outside the fire-ring in the earlier phase while from the mid 12th century onwards they are integrated into the outermost circle of the *maṇḍala*.

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[39] Cf. also Bechert and Gombrich 1995: 28, 49.

[40] According to Seyfort Ruegg (2008: vii) the *laukika-lokottara* opposition, i.e. the mundane and transmudane levels were not necessarily separated from each other, but "a mundane divinity or daemon occupying the *laukika* level may finally be raised […] to the *lokottara* level of the *ārya*, or 'Noble (of the spirit)'". After this process of perfection, ordinary, mundane beings could become even higher protectors of the *dharma* and "be trained and transformed into ārya-Bodhisattvas" (*ibid*.: vii).

[41] In general, the deities on the entrance wall (Khartse) represent "lower spirits" of nature, *yakṣa*s and *yakṣiṇī*s (*gnod sbyin*), mythical animals and hybrid creatures (such as *kinnara*s), *nāga*s, Gaṇapati (Tshogs [kyi] bdag [po]), as well as a rare type of the Four Great Kings (*rgyal chen bzhi*)—the guardians of the world (*lokapāla*, *'jig rten skyong ba*) and of the four directions (*dikpāla*, *phyogs skyong*)—shown as similarly or uniformly garbed warriors with suits of armour and banners. They mark the border between inside and outside, the wilderness and the tamed world, separating the world of wilderness and the sacred sphere of deities. They represent a barrier or a force field between the ordinary world and sacred space from invasion by negative influences.

In a parallel development, the protectress Hārītī and certain other popular Indic tutelary divinities as the Four Heavenly Kings continue their role as guardians of the portal and their representations can be found above or in the inner faces of the temple's portal (such as at Nako in the lHa khang gong ma temple, and at Dungkar) in later phases, while—as a consistent feature in all periods—local territorial divinities watch over the portal.[42]

To summarise, the outlined development demonstrates a gradual integration of the multifaceted pantheon into a more "purified" religious system in later periods. This development coincides with a tendency towards centralised layouts and programmes of single chambers in the temples. A key concept of the ordering of space in these later periods is the *maṇḍala*. With its geometric rigidity it is designed to represent an immaculate outer-worldly sphere, which is beyond the plane of existence.

### Protectors in the Overall Spiritual Programme of the Tabo *gtsug lag khang*

The clear horizontal hierarchy in the *sgo khang* (from worldly protectors and didactic imagery at the portal, to local territorial deities watching over the *'du khang)* representing the mundane sphere/*laukika*—leads to the gateway in which Hayagrīva and an unidentified protector are shown on the opposite side, watching over the sphere of *lokottara*. The '*du khang* programme from around the mid of the 11th century features a Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*. The entrance wall of the main hall shows a protective-didactic ensemble featuring the "First Sermon of the Buddha" flanked by bodhisattvas, tantric divinities and gatekeepers above lay imagery.

On the side walls, narrative paintings—shown in the lowest zone—and raised sculptures attached to the walls provide a lead for dynamic circumambulation around this space. The devotee then proceeds to the *dri gtsang khang* cum-ambulatory. Above the portal to the *dri gtsang khang* there are the great Hindu deities, among them Brahmā, Indra, Kuvera as well *mahābodhisattva*s and gatekeepers, associated with the protection of the directions and the portal respectively. The side walls of the ambulatory are covered with the theme of the Thousand Buddhas. We thus find a complete religious programme (or a second *maṇḍala*) in the space of the *dri gtsang khang* (sanctum). In the shrine of the sanctum Vairocana is flanked by the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi, the bodhisattvas that head the lotus and *vajra* families in three-family configurations according to Luczanits (2004: 37).[43] In the Tabo *dri gtsang khang* a donor—presumably with his wife—is depicted in close proximity to the bodhisattva of this group offering a lotus to him.[44] This cultic centre is honoured and elevated by a distinctive ceiling decoration, featuring a mandalic layout[45] and opening the centre to a cosmological concept of space thereby contributes to the structuring of sacred space in the *dri gtsang khang* into a mandalic site.[46]

A comparable spatial attribution of different classes of protector deities can also be found in a different type of slightly later (centralised, single-chamber) temples. From the 12th century onwards the horizontal succession of built sacred spaces appears to be "transformed" in favour of a more unified, centralised layout of sacred space, typically displaying squarish ground plans and shallow niches in the main wall. There are examples of these at Nako the Lotsāba *lha khang* and the lHa khang gong ma; in the latter Guardian Kings of the Four Directions of a singular "Chinese Central Asia" type above the portal represent the class of worldly protectors[47] (which

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[42] In the latest phase (beginning of the 13th century) in the upper storey of the Alchi Sumtsek a unique type of protector is shown above the portal, featuring Ācala holding up a sword. The protector—a fully enlightened Buddha assuming a terrifying form—characteristically tramples or rather dances on an elephant-headed demon, Vināyaka (Lord of Obstacles) and like the Gaṇapati (Tshogs [kyi] bdag [po]) of Hinduism, he clutches a white radish. The demon holds aloft the deity showing his ambivalent position appearing both as a demonic element which has to be dominated and as a worshipper who subordinates himself to Buddhism and thus transformed to a protector. This type of protector marks a significant shift in Tibet in the representation of worldly spirits and the superordination of the transmundane over the mundane and subordinate level. These different approaches of integration of Hindu and non-Buddhist divinities into sacred Buddhist order and cosmological conceptions from the 10th century onwards in the Western Himalayas need further research. It will also be necessary to examine parallel developments of the position of Hindu and Indic gods in the late Buddhist iconography in India and Tibet.

[43] These deities may also reflect the aspect of bodhisattvas as attendants and protectors of the Buddha in the earlier Indian tradition, where such configurations (of a Buddha attended by bodhisattvas) are frequently represented in the temple's sanctum (cf. Zin 2003: 408ff.).

[44] At Tabo the bodhisattvas discussed above belong to an ensemble of four bodhisattvas, with two flanking the area between *dri gtsang khang* and *'du khang*.

[45] The design shows auspicious signs in the corners and airborne offering deities in clouds. The whole configuration recalls a surface pattern consisting of pearl-medallions found on luxury textiles.

[46] This horizontally structured spatial layout reflects the early, late 10th-century phase, which was then overlaid by a later late 30s/early 40s of the 11th-century phase of decorative programme in this temple (including perhaps a replacement of an earlier main sculpture in the *'du khang* in favour of a monumental fourfold representation of Vairocana in clay placed between *dri gtsang khang* and *'du khang*.

[47] The guardians at Nako appear to be painted on the model of portable objects, one possible example being silk banners at Dunhuang (cf. Papa-Kalantari 2007b: 154–55).

are represented in earlier temples in the *sgo khang*) and perhaps underline the martial ethos of the aristocratic donor shown flanked by his riderless horse and his horse-bearer as if ready for combat (Fig. 18, lower part). In contrast, the donors are on the walls flanking the sanctum or below the focus of worship on the rear wall of the temple facing the portal. In both cases they are shown in close relation to the female Bodhisattva Tārā (Fig. 18, upper part) as if blessed by this "higher" tutelary divinity, popular from the 11th/12th century onwards in Western Tibet as a universal "helper in need". In the *sgo khang* Tārā is represented as protectress against the Eight Perils. The donors are shown being blessed by the deity and at the same time engaged in rituals in her honour. The ensemble—reminiscent of contemporary book illuminations—is positioned below a clay Prajñāpāramitā *maṇḍala* configuration covering the upper part of the main wall of the temple (see Müller 2008 for a study of this goddess at Nako). In concept and layout the overall layout of the wall decoration at Nako recalls early Dunhuang banners with regard to the relation of donor depiction and overall iconographic composition.[48] In the lowest zone—on either side of the central Tārā image—there are the Eight Great Bodhisattvas in linked heavenly palaces like a gateway marking and protecting the sphere to the *maṇḍala* above.[49]

**Early Donor Depictions at Tabo and the Question of the Function of the Entrance Hall as Expression of Ritual Needs**

As already mentioned, the dominant role of donor depictions in iconographic ensembles of the temple's programme is a specific feature in the region from earliest times around the end of the 10th/beginning of the 11th century. On the side walls of the *sgo khang* at Tabo there are donor depictions as parts of the whole ensemble of protectors. The donors are not only shown as engaged in ceremonies and thus commemorating a historic moment or ceremonies, but also because of their protective virtues. In particular in the old *sgo khang* at Shalu (c. mid-11th century), with a comparable arrangement, donors are shown together with armed horsemen displaying their martial virtues in the service of the protection of the temple.

Complementing earlier interpretations of the donor images "possibly on the occasion of a public ceremony connected with the foundation or consecration of the temple", as first suggested by Luczanits (2004: 34) I am proposing that here it is most likely that specific types of worship related to festivals that typically take place in the space in front of the temple and in the entrance hall are being commemorated. As an example, on occasion of specific festivals (Namthong) at Khorchag monastery, the main guardian spirits appear in performances outside the temples. Here the huge statues of protector gods (which are usually kept in the *mgon khang* or Protectors' Temple of the lHa khang chen mo) are carried by monks while the protective deity rDo rje chen mo performs a ritual dance at the end of the ceremony, much revered by the local population. The festival ground outside the temple consists of thangkas associated with the respective deity or ritual, marking and protecting an ephemeral space. Textiles used as backdrops for altars and thrones, carpets and other ritual paraphernalia play an important role in such settings as well (see Jahoda and Kalantari 2015: 120–145; Jahoda 2015: 214–255). The notions of ephemeral spaces and in particular textiles and specific canvas (*bskang rdzas*), designed for the unfolding of a Buddhist ritual outdoors appear to be alluded to in the painting featuring the local territorial deity above the portal in the *sgo khang*. The space outside the temple is typically also shaped

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[48] This transformation in the spatial concepts may well be related to different forms of spiritual practice and forms of liturgy in which portable objects may have played a role. Due to their portability, thangkas may have well been media of transmissions not only of motifs and styles but also of religious ideas—having also effects on interior programmes and spatial organisation and symbolism of the temple. Public ceremonies held outside the temple, which can still be observed in the Western Himalayas and in the area of historical Western Tibet may have triggered the use of ritual paraphernalia. Among them are festivals in which the appearance of protector deities, which act in a ritual space defined by various ritual paraphernalia and thangkas, plays a central role. They are often represented as portable objects kept in the temple during the year and presented to the devotees in specific rituals outside the temple on the occasion of festivals. The decorative programmes today are thus a complex interlacing of built structures and ephemeral sacred spaces shaped in Buddhist religious practice.

There are also significant parallels with contemporaneous Buddhist festivals and performances (such as by Buchen of Pin valley, Spiti) where thangkas, placed on an altar or positioned as a background of a stage, are used to shape a sacred space (see Kalantari, forthcoming).

[49] This horizontal hierarchy of deities associated with different categories of protection from the *sgo khang* or from a condensed configuration on the entrance wall to the cultic centre perhaps has a vertical equivalent at Shalu (ca. mid-11th century), where the "lower" class of protectors are in the ground floor (including donors and a *srung ma* above the portal) recalling the configuration of protectors found in the Tabo *sgo khang*, represented as ensemble in the entrance hall to the '*du khang*), while a representation of Prajñāpāramitā (Yum chen mo, "Great Mother") is represented on an upper spatial level. The distinction between an entrance hall in the ground floor in which the lower spirits dwell, and one on the upper level, is the spatial equivalent of the concepts of worldly protectors, partly inhabiting the earth and more abstract concepts of sacred entities on a higher spatial level. I wish to thank Hubert Feiglstorfer, who drew my attention to the fact that the Yum chen mo temple in Shalu is positioned directly above the old *mgon khang* of the monastery (personal communication, Oct. 15, 2010), further corroborating this hypothesis of strict spatial hierarchy of different classes of protectors within a temple. (For a discussion of the original shape and function of these structures see Ricca and Fournier 1996: 344–45). The goddess Prajñāpāramitā is also represented in the Nako Lotsāba *lha khang*, on the left wall leading to the niche with donors represented below. Such configurations are also found in contemporaneous illuminated *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscripts illustrating the dominant position of this goddess in the spiritual praxis of that time. See also Müller 2008 on this topic.

by the assembly of monks as well as high-ranking members of the local population, reflecting a strict system of social order. The entrance hall's programme thus perhaps reflects the religious practice outside the temple in the courtyard, which is the place where typically the cohesion/interface between the royal elite and the local community and the sacred sphere of the temple and the community of monks is acted out regularly. This function of this ephemeral "sacred space" is then also expressed in the shaping of sacred space inside the temple and in the decoration of the entrance hall. Accordingly, as recently suggested by Christian Jahoda (2012: 43f.) based upon a preliminary study of the Khorchag Namthong festival, it can be proposed (with high probability) that specific public ceremonies of that time are represented here, and in particular offerings on occasion of high religious festivals—"on the occasion of the consecration of the temple" (see Jahoda and Kalantari 2016: 98; see also Jahoda, "On the foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, Ladakh", this volume, p. 284).[50] It is perhaps indicative that the devotees on the north wall at Tabo are shown kneeling, as if engaged in an act of veneration of a deity, facing the wall where the local divinity protects the portal to the main hall. The "public" function of the *sgo khang* as a place where offerings are laid, in contrast to the main hall reserved for ceremonies by the monastic community, can be seen in the Khorchag Jo khang temple up to the present day (as observed during there during field research in February 2010; see Kalantari 2012: 106). This religio-cultic function appears to be consistent with the tripartite layout of a group of structurally related temples (Nyarma, Alchi and to a certain degree Shalu in Central Tibet). The latter type of temple appears to have a function associated with worship of a wider public audience. While only traces of a veranda of the Nyarma Main Temple have survived, the Alchi 'Du khang still has its original layout with a veranda and a courtyard, perhaps assuming the public function and the spatial symbolism of the former entrance hall.

### Hārītī and Pāñcika in Western Tibet: Concluding Remarks

Despite the poor state of conservation and recent crude over-paintings, the depiction of the tutelary couple Hārītī and Pāñcika at Tabo is an important and singular representation in the still little studied early Buddhist artistic phase in the region, at the end of the 10th century CE. It reflects a phase in which this couple was still held in high esteem, perhaps reflecting North-West Indian art or the art of the Indian plains of that time.

An evolutionary process of form and idea of the tutelary couple can be observed in the imposing regal figures at Tabo, which still show the powerful, perilous and rather bodhisattva-like aspect of its Indic prototypes to different images of the feminine divine focusing on fertility and creation, as well as on motherly empathy with strong local features of material culture and aristocratic life. The perilous aspect at Tabo is illustrated by the fighting children below, Pāñcika fully armed and Hārītī shown with outstretched hand signalling the transformation of her original demonic power into a faculty of protecting all humans. The accent in later phases in contrast changes to a markedly benevolent and auspicious nature: in larger ensembles she is shown as a cradling or nursing mother displaying motherly care in an intimate relation with the child. The defining aspect of her divine nature is her role as the mother as life-source, reminiscent of a nature goddess, also showing off feminine beauty and sensuality.

The strong hieratic form of the protective deity couple at Tabo reflecting the idea of ceremonial grandness (also in terms of actual size) corresponds to the mode of donor images in the same sacred space with their strict frontal form of representation which is "beyond time". In the later development at Nako, Alchi and Dungkar (12th–13th century) in contrast deities of this class are rather engaged in actions or narrative scenes. A typical phenomenon—which appears to be a characteristic feature of Western Tibetan art between the 10th and 13th century—is the parallel development in the depiction of worldly protectors and donor imagery of the aristocratic elite. The latter are shown as enthroned rulers or aristocratic couples, in complex public gatherings and religious ceremonies reflecting their religious-political ethos of rule. This process runs parallel with the "reification" or appropriation of a certain class of "worldly" divinities as well as local territorial spirits by the local elite. The lively and almost casual mode of donor images from the 12th century onwards, depicted in actual events and characteristic costumes, are also model for images of deities of a certain class and vice-versa. Hārītī in Alchi and Sumda is exemplary for exchange between imagery and ideas from the aristocratic world and the sphere of lower gods. At Tabo and Dungkar the goddess of protection and female solicitude does not only have a prominent position close to donor images, as if the latter receive her favours (cf. Linrothe 2014). Moreover, she is depicted in important zones above or around the portal, perhaps reinforcing the donors' and devotees' wish to experience her sacred presence during the ritual walk below.

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[50] I wish to thank Christian Jahoda for inspiring discussions on this topic, which were the basis of these observations.

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Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po

# A Brief Analysis of the Reputed Passing Away of *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od among the Gar log

## Translated and Annotated by Christian Jahoda*

After sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon [879–937], the son of dPal 'khor btsan [r. 893–910] or grandson of 'Od srung [840–893][1] of the lineage of rulers (*btsan po*) of Tibet, had sought refuge in the region of Zhang zhung, he built the palace of *sku mkhar* Nyi bzungs on top of the

1. Remains of the palace of *sku mkhar* Nyi bzungs on top of the Elephant Hill (Glang chen ri bo) in the area of dKar dung, Upper Purang (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2004).

* The translation of this study is based on the article "lHa bla ma ye shes 'od gar log tu 'das min skor la rags tsam dpyad pa", first published by the author in a volume of a collection of his articles (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005b: 74–92) that deal mainly with aspects of the history, culture, society and religious traditions of mNga' ris skor gsum, that is, the area of historical Western Tibet. Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po's study was reprinted some years ago in a volume entitled *'Tshol zhib dang mtha' dpyod: Deng rabs bod rig pa'i skor gyi rtsom gces btus—Contemporary Tibetan Studies: Selected Papers* (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2012: 130–142) [editor's note].

The annotation is intended to draw attention to additional information or sources relevant to the author's study. It is, however, not the intention to discuss the question of the Gar log *per se*, their overall appearance in Tibetan historical sources and how they were perceived and described in these sources at different times.

[1] For the dates given for 'Od srung and dPal 'khor btsan see Jahoda, "On the foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, Ladakh", this volume, pp. 292–293. The date given for sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon is not entirely certain and based on Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's historical account in his *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs* ["Royal Genealogy of the Solar Lineage"]. According to this, sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon was born in a Pig year and died at the age of 59 in a Bird year (see Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, "Relating the history of mNga' ris as as set down in writing in Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes*: The Tibetan text", this volume, p. 95). A possible Pig year (which also fits with the chronological data of his son bKra shis mgon [born between 913 and the early 920s] and his grandson Srong nge/Ye shes 'od [947–1019 according to *Ye shes 'od rnam thar* 2011: 278, 321; see also Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od* by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan: The Tibetan text", this volume, p. 149; [947–1024]; date according to Vitali 2003: 55, 61) may be 879 while the Bird year may refer to 937. According to this account, he left for mNga' ris in a Tiger year which may have been 906 and the Sheep year when he brought *sku mkhar* Nyi bzungs under his control may have been 911. See also Vitali 2003: 54–55, who does not give exact dates for sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon's birth and passing away. The dates given by him for Nyi ma mgon's leaving for Western Tibet (Horse year 910) and for the foundation of *sku mkhar* Nyi bzungs (Monkey year 912)—based on different sources—differ from Grags pa rgyal mtshan's account.

Elephant Hill (Glang chen ri bo) in the area of dKar dung, on the north of the Peacock river,[2] in a locality not far from sTag la mkhar in sPu rang, one of eighteen major castles of Zhang zhung, and made it [the palace of *sku mkhar* Nyi bzungs] into his principal place.[3] The designation "mNga' ris"[4] for this country first appeared after the subjugation of these areas, which previously experienced successive rule by the royal lineage of Zhang zhung. From that time, this region in the centre of Asia—formerly called Zhang zhung, the fame of which increasingly spread—became known as "mNga' ris", and when his [sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon's] three sons had come of age, this kingdom[5] was divided into three countries[6] and was thus brough under control. Because of this, with regard to the history of Tibet, the Land of Snow (*bod kha ba can*),[7] the name "sTod mNga' ris bskor gsum"[8] also initially appeared. The middle son [of sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon], the ruler (*btsan*) bKra shis mgon, had two sons. The younger one's name was Srong nge or Drang srong lde, who acted as king of Gu ge in the first part of his life and who, after having been ordained as a monk in the later part of his life, was also called the Royal Lama (*lha bla ma*)[9] Ye shes 'od.[10]

From around the mid-14th century, a great appraisal is accorded to him in various historical chronicles of Tibet composed by renowned scholars of Tibetan Buddhism, with regard to the period of the Later Diffusion of Buddhism (*bstan pa phyi dar*)[11] in Tibet and concerning *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od, for having highly successfully arranged the dissemination of the *Vinaya* tradition of Western Tibet (sTod) and moreover for having invited many knowledgeable Indian *paṇḍita*s to Gu ge, headed by the three *pa las* [*pālas*][12] and Jo bo rje dPal ldan

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[2] As mentioned by Vitali (1996: 154), most sources agree on the foundation of *sku mkhar* Nyi bzungs by sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon with the notable exception of Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs*. As to its location, this was unknown in Vitali's view, except from the inclusion of *sku mkhar* Nyi bzungs in the subdivision of Western Tibet called *g.yas skor ba* ("circle or territory on the right hand") which according to Vitali (*ibid*.: 153–155) corresponded to sPu rang stod or Upper Purang. Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po carried out research in Purang since 1989 and in the same year identified the location of *sku mkhar* Nyi bzungs, mainly based on information from oral traditons and archaeological inspections in situ, without doubt in the area of dKar dung (see Fig. 1).

[3] Principal place is here the Tibetan *lte gnas* which is often translated as capital. This does not seem to be fitting here, as we cannot assume that the palace was of a great commanding extension or a kind of urban capital. Moreover, as respective sources indicate, the king was highly active in construction and warfare activities (and must have been on the move quite often) which must have required much of his time and resources. *La dwags rgyal rabs* ["Royal Genealogy of Ladakh"] relates the building of *sku mkhar* Nyi bzungs to the foundation of one royal seat (*rgyal sa*) from where he brought the whole area of Western Tibet under his control ("*sku mkhar nyi zungs rtsig ste/ rgyal sa btab nas/ mnga' ris skor gsum chab 'og tu bsdus nas*"; see Francke 1992: 35).

[4] The literal meaning of *mnga' ris* is "subject" (synonymous with *chab 'bangs* and *mi ser*) and "subject territory" or "territory belonging to or subject to a polity" (*mnga' khongs*). See *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* ["The Great Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary"] 1986: 683. The origin of this designation (which then also became the name by which the kingdom was known) is directly related by the author to the subjugation of the whole area. See also the author's introductory chapter to his collected articles volume (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005a: 1).

[5] Kingdom, which translates here the Tibetan *rgyal khams*, not only refers to the political entity *per se* but also includes a strong concept of its territorial dimension.

[6] The word country, which is here the Tibetan *yul*, may also be understood in the sense of province, that is three provinces (*yul khag gsum*) into which this kingdom was divided. Of importance here is the implication that the overarching political unity was mNga' ris, while the countries belonging to it or provinces constituting it were at least on an administrative level more or less autonomous and in each case under the rule of one the three sons of sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon.

[7] Like *gangs can* ([Abode or Land] of Snow), this is a common sobriquet for Tibet.

[8] Literally, "the three circles of the upper [western] subject territories".

[9] The meaning of *lha bla ma* is royal lama or literally divine (*lha*) lama (*bla ma*), which refers to the asserted divine (*lha*) descent and status of the rulers (*btsan po*) of the Tibetan Empire of the 7th–9th centuries as well as the successors of this lineage in Western Tibet from the 10th century. Based on studies by Cristina Scherrer-Schaub (1999: 214f.) of some of the earliest epigraphical and textual records making reference to Ye shes 'od, he seems to have been referred to in the time(s) subsequent to his passing away primarily as ancestor (*mes*) (in particular by those who must have known him personally—as a relative or otherwise) or as glorious divine ruler (*dpal lha btsan po*), in addition to this as spiritual master (*slob dpon*), often also as bodhisattva (*byang chub sems dpa'*). The shortened designation as *lha bla ma* seems to be an abbreviation which became more widespread and dominant with increasing temporal distance (and in times when not only the religious but also the societal esteem for *bla ma* was established throughout all levels of society).

[10] Here the author follows the account in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* ["Royal Genealogies of Western Tibet"] and *Ye shes 'od rnam thar rgyas pa* ["Extended Biography of the Royal Monk Ye shes 'od"]. See Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan*: The Tibetan text", this volume, p. 133.

[11] Contemporary Tibetan sources do not entirely agree on the date when this period began. For Western Tibet (sTod mNga' ris), Vitali, who based himself on the data in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*, set the beginning for around the Dog year 986 (Vitali 1996: 186; Vitali 2003: 56).

[12] The "three *pālas*" refers to three disciples of *paṇḍita* Dharmapāla, who was invited by Ye shes 'od to Western Tibet and seems to have been the key figure in the religious conception and building of the mTho gling *gtsug lag khang* in the late 10th/early 11th century (see *Ye shes 'od rnam thar* 2011: 302f.; see also Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od* by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan: The Tibetan text", this volume, p. 142). According to *Deb ther sngon po* ["Blue Annals"], "the three Pālas [were] Sādhupāla, who was the chief among the disciples who expounded and practised the Vinaya, Guṇapāla, Prajñāpāla and others. Their lineage (brgyud-pa) is called the 'Upper Vinaya' (sTod-'Dul-ba)." (Roerich 1988: 69). As stated in *Deb ther sngon po*, *stod 'dul ba* should be understood as the *Vinaya* tradition of (that is, transmitted via and disseminated from) sTod or Western Tibet. Cf. also Shakabpa 2009: 17.

A ti sha [Lord Master Śrī Atiśa][13] and other famous *paṇḍita*s, and later for having sacrificed his own life in the country of the Gar log,[14] which was inhabited by adherents of a non-Buddhist religion (*mu stegs pa*).[15] As for what is thus recorded, apart from the postulated reputation which construes his growing achievements, it is by no means in agreement with the historical truth.[16]

In fact, in *Deb ther dmar po* ["Red Annals"] composed by Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje in the mid-14th century, in the Fire Dog year of the sixth sixty-year cycle in the Tibetan calendar (1346),[17] it says: "The father was called *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od. When he too travelled to India he was captured on the way by Gar log troops. After collecting gold from Tibet and despite a plan for paying ransom having been worked out, [gold] having been obtained equal to his body [weight] but not to his head, he was killed." (*Deb ther dmar po* 1981: 42–43).[18] As for what is thus recorded, in various historical chronicles which I [Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po] inspected until now [it has been stated that] *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od was captured by Gar log troops, and although this [*Deb ther dmar po*'s account] is the first report concerning the way he was killed, nothing has been written about the reason he had to travel to India was in order to invite Jo bo rje [Atiśa].

In *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* ["The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies"], composed by Sa skya bSod nams rgyal mtshan at the end of the 14th century, in the Earth Dragon year of the seventh sixty-year cycle in the Tibetan calendar (1388), it says: "At the time

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[13] In Tibet, Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (982–1054) is more commonly known under his honorific title of A ti sha (Atiśa). In Tibetan sources he is usually referred to as Jo bo ("Lord") or Jo bo rje ("Lord Master"). "[H]is 13-year (1042–1054 C.E.) presence [from 1042–1045 in Western Tibet, followed by a longer stay in Central Tibet; editor's note] is nostalgically recounted in a number of Tibetan historical sources, the actual social and institutional impact that Atiśa had while in Tibet has recently been re-evaluated" (Apple 2013: 264). See also n. 44.

[14] The Tibetan Gar log is a rendering of Qarluq (also Karluk, etc.). According to Golden (2013: 48), "The Qarluqs were among the most important Turkic tribal groupings that entered the central zone of Central Asia following the fall of the Türk and Uighur empires." On the Qarluqs, see also Karev 2013: 101 and *passim*.

The identification of the Gar log of the Tibetan sources with the Qarluq goes back to Helmut Hoffmann, who discussed this question for the first time in some detail by analysing a number of relevant Tibetan and other language sources that were available to him (Hoffmann 1950). As shown more recently by Samten Karmay and Christopher Beckwith, towards the end of the 8th century the Tibetans were already in contact with the Gar log/Qarluq and around the same time the Qarluq were even allies of the Tibetans in military campaigns in the area of Khotan (Karmay 1980a: 158, Beckwith 1987: 155). See also Vitali, "Territory and trends in land control: The Byang thang 'Heartland" and the mNga' ris 'periphery'", this volume, pp. 12–13, and Jahoda, "On the foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, Ladakh", this volume, n. 74, pp. 295–296.

[15] The Tibetan word *mu stegs pa* which corresponds to the Sanskrit *tīrthika*, is (and historically was) used to designate non-Buddhist or "heretic" doctrines and belief systems (and by consequence those adhering to them). It should be stressed that this word clearly reflects a classification based on religious (and not on ethnic) criteria. For a discussion of this term in Tibetan doxographical writings of the 13th century see, for example, Kapstein 2000: 104, 244, n. 81.

[16] The author is hereby following the example of the Tibetan historian Samten Karmay, who in 1980 had already commented critically that "the Buddhist historians of Tibet seem to have felt that it was enough just to mention this story and repeat it through the ages. However this legendary account is in conflict with an almost contemporary source, the short biography of Rin-chen bzang-po [...]" (Karmay 1980a: 150. (In the reprinted version "the Buddhist historians of Tibet" is replaced by "the Tibetan Buddhist historians"; cf. Karmay 2003: 134).

Despite this and other critical comments (for example, by Sørensen 1994: 457), entries on the Gar log in various dictionaries, such as in *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*, continue(d) to adhere to the legendary tradition that Ye shes 'od was killed in the 11th century by a king of the Gar log (who are named as a branch of the Turkic people in historical Kashmir): "*gar log: sngar kha che yul gyi mi rigs tu ru ka'i nang gses yan lag cig yin zhing/ dus rabs bcu gcig par de'i rgyal po zhig gis lha bla ma ye shes 'od bkrongs pa/*" (*Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* 1986: 352–353) or uncritically quote from just one or a few selected historiographical sources (such as *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo* ["The Great Dungkar Dictionary"], which refers to *Jo bo rje rnam thar rgyas pa* ["Extended Biography of Jo bo rje"] by 'Brom ston pa; see *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo* 2002: 492).

An extended version of this pious legend was reportedly told by the present Dalai Lama bsTan 'dzin rgya mtsho. According to his story, the decapitated body of Ye shes 'od was kept in salt in the Potala palace when he was a boy (see Laird 2006: 78–80).

[17] Throughout the translated text corresponding years in the Western calendar (*spyi lo*), which the author adds in parentheses, are given without AD or CE.

[18] Quoted Tibetan text (as in Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005b: 75, with minor corrections and additions in square brackets based on the text edition cited): "*yab ni lha bla ma ye shes 'od ces bya'o//*[single *shad*] *khong rang yang rgya gar du byon pas* [/ ]*lam du gar log gi dmag gis bzung ste/ bod kyis* [kyi] *gser bsdus nas* [*slu* (]*blu*[)] *bar brtsams pa na'ang/ sku lus tsam gcig rnyed pa la dbu tsam gcig ma rnyed par dkrongs* [*bkrongs*]/".

A slightly different version of this story is contained in the edition of *Deb ther dmar po*, which was published with the Tibetan text and in translation by Giuseppe Tucci (1971): "*lde gtsug mgon 'di sras 'khor re dang srong nge gnyis/ srong nge'i sku tshe'i stod la nā ga rā dzā dang/ de wa rā dzā sras gnyis byung smad ja rab tu byung ba lha bla ma ye shes 'od ces grags te/ mthon lding gi lha khang bzhengs pa dang/ khye'u blo rno ba nyi shu rtsa gcig rgya gar du chos slob pa la rdzong ba mdzad cing paṇḍita warmā rnam gsum spyang drangs ste/ mdo sngags kyi gsung rab mang du bsgyur/ phyis jo bo spyan 'dren pa'i dus su gser 'tshol bar byon pas gar log gi rgyal pos bzung/ mnga' ris nas gser mang pos slu bar rtsams na'ang jo bo gdan 'dren la gnod dogs nas slur ma bcug par chos phyir sku srog gtang ba yin 'dug/*" (Tucci 1971: 39, f. 38a1–6). His translation reads: "IDe gtsug mgon had two sons: ąK'or re and Sroṅ ṅe. In the first part of his life, the latter had as sons: Nā ga rā dsa and De va rā dsa; in the later part he was ordained and known as Lha bla ma Yes šes 'od. He founded the temple of mT'o ldiṅ and sent to India, in order to learn the Law, twenty-one boys of sharp intellect, and he invited the three Paṇḍitas called Varma; many texts of sūtras and mantras were then translated. Afterwards, when Atīśa was invited, the Garlok (Qarluk) who had come in search of gold, took the king prisoner. Though mÑa' ris had begun to ransom him with much gold, lest this might be an obstacle to the invitation of the Jo bo, giving up the ransom, he sacrificed his life for the sake of the Law." (*ibid*.: 168).

of these three,[19] when *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od, having reflected on the teaching of the Buddha, went to India in order to invite *paṇḍita*s [to Western Tibet], he was captured on the way by non-Buddhist troops (*mu stegs pa'i dmag*). All his subtle energy channels[20] which generate the spiritual qualities of virtuous orientation were burned by moxibustion, which put him in a deeply clouded mental state. When rumours about this came to *lha bla ma* Byang chub 'od, he sent immeasurable riches as a ransom payment but, rather than this, gold equal to the weight [of Ye shes 'od] was claimed. Again, when all gold was loaded, at the time the weight was measured and the gold did not come up for the portion of his head he [Ye shes 'od] said: 'Now, even if you ransom me there is no merit.' (…) Jo bo rje [Atiśa] (…) was invited to Tibet." (*rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* 1981: 244).[21] In this chronicle the main reason why Ye shes 'od went to India was for the diffusion of the teaching of the Buddha in the region of Western Tibet and that he went into a land of non-Buddhist foreigners (*phyi pa mu stegs yul*)[22] in order to invite *paṇḍita*s, and that as a result he was captured by the foreigners etc. Although this is written very clearly it is not stated whether the country where he was captured was that of the Gar log.

Besides this, in *rGya bod yig tshang chen mo* ["Chinese and Tibetan Documents"] composed by sTag tshang pa dPal 'byor bzang po in the mid-15th century, in the Wood Tiger year of the seventh sixty-year cycle in the Tibetan calendar (1434), [it is stated that] "while *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od also searched for gold as a means for inviting *paṇḍita*s, he went to the Indian borderlands (*rgya gar mtha' khob*)[23] where he was taken prisoner by the king of these non-Buddhists (…) *lha bla ma* [Ye shes 'od] passed away in the borderland (*mtha' khob*)." (*rGya bod yig tshang chen mo* 1985:[24] 218–219).[25] Although at first it is thus written that Ye shes 'od went to the non-Buddhist Indian country in search of gold for the purpose of inviting *paṇḍita*s and in the end passed away there, it is not stated whether that country in the Indian border lands was [that of] the Gar log.

Next, in *Deb ther sngon po,* composed by 'Gos lo gZhon nu dpal at the end of the 15th century, in the Fire Monkey year of the eighth sixty-year cycle in the Tibetan calendar (1476), [it is stated that] "*lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od, though he had given up kingship (*rgyal srid gtad*),[26] acted as commander of the army. When fighting with the Gar

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[19] The text refers to Zhi ba 'od (1016–1111), Byang chub 'od (984–1078) and 'Od lde (983–1037) who are mentioned in the passage immediately preceding as the three sons born to King lHa lde—however, making Zhi ba 'od the eldest (see also Sørensen 1994: 457). The dates given here for Zhi ba 'od and Byang chub 'od in parentheses follow Vitali 1996: 146–147, *passim*, and Vitali 2003: 56–68. On the dates suggested for 'Od lde, see Jahoda, "On the foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, Ladakh", this volume, pp. 293–296.

[20] This translates the Tibetan *rtsa,* which is also known from beliefs adhered to by trance mediums in Nepal as well as from rituals (*rtsa sgo phye ba*) practised by their counterparts (*lha pa*) in Western Tibet (Bellezza 2005: 156). In this context the meaning of *rtsa* (Skt. *nāḍī*, "channel") is not "vein, artery" but relates to the concept of "channels of the subtle body" (Berglie 1982: 152). Each "channel has at its opening a door (*rtsa sgo*) "through which trance mediums send away their consciousness (*rnam shes*) and through which possessing gods can enter the trance medium" (*ibid*.). See the bibliography in Berglie 1982 for a selection of sources pertaining to this topic. Cf. also Berglie 1976: 90.

[21] Quoted Tibetan text (as in Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005b: 76, with minor additions in square brackets based on the text edition cited): "*'di gsum gyi dus su lha bla ma ye shes 'od kyis*[/ ]*sangs rgyas* [*kyi*] *bstan pa la dgongs nas*[/ ]*rgya gar du pa paṇḍi ta gdan 'dren par* [par omitted in the quoted source] byon pas lam du mu stegs pa'i dmag gis bzung/ dge phyogs kyi yon tan skyed pa'i rtsa sgo thams cad me btsas bsregs te rmongs par byas so// de'i *gtam lha bla ma byang chub 'od kyis gsan te*[/ ]*nor dpag med bskur nas* [(bslu) (]blu[)] ru btang bas[/ ]*gser dang ljid mnyam pa dgos zer ba dang/* yang gser gang yod bskur bas rgya ma la bteg dus dbu'i *cha tsam cig gser gyis ma long par khong na re/ da ni khyed rnams kyis bdag* [*bslus*) (]*blus*[)] *kyang yon tan med … jo bo rje … bod du gdan drangs/*". Cf. also Sørensen 1994: 457–458 for a translation of the whole passage not quoted by Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po.

[22] In current colloquial Tibetan the word *phyi pa*, literally "outsider", is usually used to differentiate non-Buddhists from Buddhists (*nang pa,* literally "insider"). By combining *phyi pa* with the word *mu stegs* (*pa*), an additional aspect of differentiation or "othering" in terms of geographic distance is expressed, which is given in the translation as "foreigners".

[23] Regarding the notion and location of these "Indian borderlands" or "fringe countries of India" (*rgya gar mtha' khob*), it should be noted that this notion is based on Indocentric Buddhist concepts, such as that of the Sixteen Great Countries (Mahājanapadas), with the centre lying in areas of northern or north-western India which is surrounded by a large number of fringe countries (*mtha' khob*) (already referred to and explained by Hoffmann 1950: 203, n. 2). The country of the Gar log is named as one of these, located between Tibet and Hor (Mongolia). As shown by Dan Martin (2012 [1994]), from the mid or late 12th century onward, these earlier concepts were replaced in Tibetan sources by "Tibetocentric" models. In addition to this, according to Martin, a distinction between two types of centres emerged, between a "geographic" centre (identified with Bodhgayā, the place where the Buddha is said to have obtained Enlightenment) and a "qualitative" centre (of flourishing Buddhism). In this way, countries such as that of the Gar log—as well as Tibet—continued to be understood and described geographically (from an Indocentric perspective) as lying at the margins (*mtha' khob*), while qualitatively Tibet could be described as partaking in the "essence of the centre" (*dbus kyi snying po*).

[24] The original publication by the author gives 1983 as the publication date of this source, which, however, only refers to the foreword by the editor Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las (see *ibid*.: 2).

[25] Quoted Tibetan text (as in Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005b: 76, with minor additions in square brackets based on the 1985 text edition cited): "*lha bla mas* [*<rgyal srid gcung la gtad nas>*] *kyang*[/ ]*paṇḍi ta gdan 'dren pa'i cha rkyen gyi gser 'tshol ba la*/ *rgya gar mtha' 'khob la byon pas*[/ ]*mtha' 'khob tu mu stegs rgyal pos btson du* […] *bzung … lha bla ma mtha' 'khob tu sku gshegs so* [/]".

[26] In this case the translation of *rgyal srid* as "kingship" is preferable to "state affairs" or "political power". It is clear that Ye shes 'od gave up kingship or secular power, but the idea that he fully gave up control of state affairs or secular power with his ordination as a Buddhist monk is dubious.

log, he was defeated and imprisoned. The Gar log told Ye shes 'od: 'If you cease taking refuge in the Three Jewels (*dkon mchog gsum*),[27] we will release you from prison. If not, upon receipt of gold equal to the weight of your whole body, we will let you go.'" (*Deb ther sngon po* 1984: 299–300).[28] It is written here at first that Ye shes 'od acts as commander of the army and it is clearly stated that he himself led the army into the Gar log country and that after fighting a battle he was finally defeated and imprisoned. It is not explicitly written that the search for gold in order to invite *paṇḍita*s was the reason for leading [his] troops against the Gar log.[29]

Moreover, in *Deb ther dmar po gsar ma* ["New Red Annals"], composed by Paṇ chen bSod nams grags pa in the 1530s[30] or [more precisely] in the Earth Dog year of the ninth sixty-year cycle in the Tibetan calendar (1538), [it is stated that] "later, when [Ye shes 'od] went in search of gold in order to invite Jo bo [Atiśa], he was captured by the king of the Gar log. Although it was undertaken to pay ransom with a lot of gold from Western Tibet (mNga' ris), [he] sacrificed his life for the sake of the teaching of the Buddha, not allowing himself to be ransomed, as it might endanger the invitation of Jo bo [Atiśa]." (*Deb ther dmar po gsar ma* 1989: 37).[31] It is very clearly stated that Ye shes 'od went to the Gar log in order to invite Jo bo [Atiśa], and also that the reason for going to the Gar log was specifically the search for gold.

In a similar fashion, in (*Chos 'byung*) *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* ["(Religious History:) A Feast for Scholars"] composed by mKhas dbang dPa' bo gTsug lag phreng ba in the 1540s, in the Wood Snake year of the ninth sixty-year cycle in the Tibetan calendar (1545), [it is stated that] "this *lha bla ma* [Ye shes 'od], in order to invite Jo bo rje [Atiśa] gave up his body to the king of the Gar log and died." (*Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston* 1986: 435).[32] In this chronicle it is conspicuously written that the reason Ye shes 'od sacrificed his life among the Gar log was precisely for the purpose of inviting Jo bo rje [Atiśa].

Furthermore, in *'Brug pa'i chos 'byung* ["Religious History of the 'Brug pa (bKa' brgyud pa School)"] composed by 'Brug pa Padma dkar po in the 1580s,[33] in the Iron Dragon year of the tenth sixty-year cycle in the Tibetan calendar (1580),[34] [it is stated that] "at this time *lha bla ma* [Ye shes 'od], in search of gold with the intention to invite Jo bo [Atiśa], went to the borderlands (*mtha' khob tu*) with an army battalion to look for gold. After the Gar log learned of this, they sent an army. When they met and fought [and Ye shes 'od's soldiers] were defeated, the royal monk (*lha btsun*)[35] was captured." (*'Brug pa'i chos 'byung* 1992: 264–265).[36] This is similar to the above-quoted *Deb ther dmar po gsar ma* and [it can be stated that] the reason for him going to the Gar log and the circumstance of his passing away were written in an increasingly extended form.[37]

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[27] The expression "The Three Jewels" or "The Three Most Precious Ones" (*dkon mchog gsum*, Skt. *triratna*) stands for Buddha (the originator of the doctrine), *dharma* (*chos,* Buddhist doctrine, doctrinal scriptures) and *saṃgha* (*dge 'dun*, monastic community). These are the three "things" in which Buddhists take refuge (see Jäschke 1881: 10; Powers and Templeman 2012: 209).

[28] Quoted Tibetan text (as in Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005b: 77): "*lha bla ma ye shes 'od kyis rang gi rgyal srid gtad zin kyang dmag gi dpon mdzad de/ gar log dang 'thabs pas pham ste gar log gis btson du bzung/ gar log gis ye shes 'od la khyod dkon mchog gsum la skyabs su 'dzin pa gtong na nged kyis btson las gtong/ de lta ma yin na lus ril po dang ljid mnyam pa'i gser byung na gtong zer*".

[29] The literal meaning of *gar log tu dmag drangs* is "to lead [his] troops to the Gar log".

[30] Thirties translates the Tibetan *lo rabs sum bcu*, which should be read in this and similar cases as at one point in the decade (*lo rabs*) of the thirties (*sum bcu*), etc.

[31] Quoted Tibetan text (as in Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005b: 77, where the page reference is wrongly given as *Deb ther dmar po gsar ma* 1989: 435): "*phyis jo bo spyan 'dren pa'i don du gser 'tshol bar byon pas gar log gi rgyal pos bzungs/ mnga' ris nas gser mang pos blu bar brtsams na'ang jo bo gdan 'dren la gnod dogs* [*dwogs*] *nas blur ma bcug par chos phyir sku srog btang ba yin 'dug*". The addition in square brackets is based on the text edition cited (*Deb ther dmar po gsar ma* 1989: 37).

[32] Quoted Tibetan text (as in Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005b: 78, where the page reference is wrongly given as *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston* 1986: 35): "*lha bla ma 'dis jo bo rje spyan 'dren pa'i phyir sku lus gar log gi rgyal po la btang nas 'das*".

[33] Or the decade of the eighties (*lo rabs brgyad cu*), cf. n. 30.

[34] See Martin 1997: 183 for various editions of this work.

[35] The meaning of *lha btsun* is royal monk, or literally divine (*lha*) monk (*btsun pa*). This title was used in historical Western Tibet for male members of the royal family who acted as rulers (or were at least eligible for this function) and who at some point in their life took vows and became monks (or who were monks when ascending the throne, like for example Byang chub 'od, on whom see below n. 38). In this case, it is clearly (and uncommonly) used with regard to Ye shes 'od although at the beginning of the quote he is referred to as *lha bla ma* which is the usual designation found in historiographical texts from around the 14th century.

[36] Quoted Tibetan text (as in Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005b: 78): "*de'i dus lha bla mas gser btsal ba la jo bo spyan drangs dgongs mtha' 'khob tu gser 'tshol ba la dmag du ma* [*dum*] *zhig dang bcas te byon pas gar log gis shes nas dmag btang/ de dang thug 'thab pas pam nas lha btsun rang brtson* [*btson*] *la shor*". My translation follows the sPungs thang edition (as quoted in Hoffmann 1950: 201 and Eimer 1976: 191) the variant readings of which are given in squared brackets.

[37] Padma dkar po's rendering of this story was discussed by Helmut Eimer in his article "Die Gar log-Episode bei Padma dkar po und ihre Quellen" (1976), where he collated and compared pertinent passages mainly from four different texts: two biographical accounts of Atiśa (*Jo bo rin po che dpal ldan a ti śa'i rnam thar rgyas pa yongs grags* and *Jo bo rje rnam thar lam yig chos kyi 'byung gnas*), furthermore *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*, *Deb ther sngon po* and also *Deb ther*

In *bKa' gdams chos 'byung* ["Religious History of the bKa' gdams pa (School)"] by Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams Grags pa rgyal mtshan, [it is stated that] "at that time *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od went to search for gold and after having been captured by the king of the Gar log, his grand-nephew (*dbon po*), the royal monk (*lha btsun*) Byang chub 'od[38] ransomed the paternal grand-uncle (*khu bo*) [Ye shes 'od] and invited Atiśa." (*bKa' gdams chos 'byung* 1996: 54–55).[39] Similar to the chronicles mentioned above, the point of view of this chronicle is not exceptional either.

In *Thu'u bkwan grub mtha'* ["Thu'u bkwan's Philosophical Tenets"] composed by Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma at the beginning of the 18th century, in the Iron Bird year of the thirteenth sixty-year cycle in the Tibetan calendar (1801), [it is stated that] "furthermore, after having thought to send an invitation [to Atiśa] and trying to obtain a lot of gold, when he [Ye shes 'od] went to obtain gold he was captured by the king of the Gar log and not released anymore. Although Byang chub 'od, the grand-nephew (*dbon po*) of Ye shes 'od, having searched for a large quantity of gold, went to ransom his paternal grand-uncle (*khu bo*), he was not able to free him. Ye shes 'od was then killed by the Gar log." (*Thu'u bkwan grub mtha'* 1985: 85).[40] Although a clear point of view is expressed, it cannot be said whether the similarity with most of the chronicles mentioned above is because of the very late period when this particular chronicle was composed.

To summarise, the essential point recorded in the group of chronicles mentioned above is that in order to invite a famous Indian *paṇḍi ta*—Jo bo rje dPal ldan A ti sha [Lord Master Śrī Atiśa]—to Gu ge, *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od himself went to the country of the Gar log in search of gold, or that [there] while leading an army he was captured and held prisoner by the king of that country, and that because of the severe legal punishment in the human realms (*mi yul du*), let alone in the end [any] means to return to his own country, he decided to sacrifice his own life. In any case, for the most part the basis for these chronicles was *Deb* (*ther*) *dmar* (*po*) and *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*. If one compares the chronicles written after the 14th century or from the 15th century with the group of chronicles written in the 14th century, apart from [the fact] that the content in terms of the grace, glory, and excellencies of wealth was increasingly augmented and became more comprehensive, this differentiation and distinction of the essential meaning was not there at the beginning. As for the *Deb ther dmar po*, composed in the 1340s, at that time the attachment to the *Vinaya* tradition of Western Tibet (sTod) was strong in the dBus region[41] in the centre of the Land of Snow (*gangs can ljongs*).[42] In fact, headed by the bKa' gdams pa monasteries Sol nag thang po che, gSang phu sne'u thog and Rwa sgreng, built by the three excellent "spiritual sons" (*thugs sras*)[43] of Jo bo rje, namely Khu ston brTson 'grus g.yung drung, rNgog Legs pa'i shes rab and 'Brom ston rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas, the three (*khu rngog*

*dmar po gsar ma* (that is, the version published by Tucci 1971). As a conclusion to his analysis Eimer arrived at the hypothesis that Padma dkar po composed his Gar log account on the basis of source material as represented by *Jo bo rin po che dpal ldan a ti śa'i rnam thar rgyas pa yongs grags*, *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* and *Deb ther sngon po* and in additon also by expanding his template(s) (Eimer 1976: 190). Eimer did not express any doubts regarding the original validity of the story as contained in *Jo bo rin po che dpal ldan a ti śa'i rnam thar rgyas pa yongs grags*, and accordingly saw no need to trace the provenance of this narrative, which was considered a myth by Samten Karmay as early as 1980 and qualified as a legend by Sørensen (cf. Sørensen 1994: 457).

Nevertheless, Eimer's analysis offers valuable insight into how Padma dkar po made use of these four different textual sources and how he rearranged and wove them into an account that places new emphases on certain aspects of the story by "creative" selection and arrangement of the material at his disposal, without basically inventing new "facts" (Eimer 1976: 189).

A similar legend is contained in the *dPe chos rin chen spungs pa* ("Teachings by Example, A Heap of Gems"), a bKa' gdams pa work (going back to oral instructions given by Po to ba Rin chen dpal [1027/31–1105]; see Sørensen 1999: 178f. and Roesler 2013: 143). In this case as the example illustrating the reverence for the Three Jewels is that of the Buddhist king of Khotan, who was captured by the non-Buddhist king of the Qarluq and subsequently sacrificed his life for pious reasons (see Roesler 2011: 255–256).

[38] The earliest evidence for a reference to Byang chub 'od as a grand-nephew of Ye shes 'od is found in the so-called Renovation Inscription in the assembly hall (*'du khang*) of the Tabo *gtsug lag khang*. There one finds the expression *dbon lha btsun ba* [*pa*] *byang chub 'od*. Ye shes 'od is mentioned as *mes byang chub sems dpa'* ("the ancestor, the Bodhisattva") (Steinkellner and Luczanits 1999: 16, 21) while in the inscription in the entry hall dating from the late 10th century it says: ".. .. [illegible] *chen po ye shes 'od*" (great .. .. Ye shes 'od). See also Luczanits 1999: 105.

[39] Quoted Tibetan text (as in Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005b: 78, with minor corrections in square brackets rendering the text edition cited): "*dus der lha bla ma ye shes 'od gser 'tshol du byon pa/ gar log gi rgyal pos bzung bas/ de'i dbon* [*dpon*] *po lha btsun byang chub 'od kyis khu bo blu* [*bslu*] *ba dang/ a ti sha spyan 'dren pa/* [/ omitted]".

[40] Quoted Tibetan text (as in Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005b: 79, with minor corrections in square brackets based on the text edition cited): "*da dung gser mang po btsal nas spyan 'dren par mngags dgongs nas gser 'tshol* [*tshol*] *du phebs pa gar log gi rgyal pos bzung nas ma btang/ ye shes 'od kyi dbon po byang chub 'od kyis gser mang po btsal nas khu bo blu bar phyir* [*phyin*] *kyang gtong ma nyan/ de nas ye shes 'od gar log gis bkrongs*".

[41] dBus is the area around Lhasa (lHa sa) in Central Tibet. At certain times in history it also constituted a province (see Goldstein 1991 [1968]: 10, Goldstein 1989: 66, Tsering Gyalbo, Hazod and Sørensen 2000: 51).

[42] Like *gangs can* and *kha ba can*, *gangs can (gyi) ljongs* is another variant of the common sobriquet for Tibet.

[43] The literal meaning of *thugs sras* is "heart son". In the religious context where this term is used it can be translated as "spiritual son" or, from a more secular perspective, also as "chief disciple".

*'brom gsum*), the bKa' gdams pa school, or else the influence of the *Vinaya* tradition of Western Tibet (sTod) was particularly strong. Because of this, the need to speak highly about the famous Indian *paṇḍita* Atiśa was as great as before and (so) indeed praising was not only far from low for having left behind a great achievement in terms of the increase of the influence of the bKa' gdams pa school and once more the spread and expansion of the teaching of the Buddha in Tibet, the Land of Snows, undertaken by him but also because of invitations to famous *paṇḍita*s or such great scholars. And [there was also praising] of the unsurpassable achievement of the highly renowned Ye shes 'od, that is, of one who acted earlier as king of mNga' ris Gu ge and later, after having been ordained as monk, established incredible success with the dissemination of the *Vinaya* tradition of Western Tibet (sTod) and the Later Diffusion of Buddhism (*bstan pa phyi dar*). And by virtue of the desire to play the sweet sounding melody of a tambura hailing the gratitude which is difficult to measure [this] is imagined from the perspective of somewhat exaggerating the real historical developments.[44]

In fact, there was no reason why *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od should have gone to the borderland country of the Gar log in search of gold. If one asks why, the region of sTod mNga' ris in Upper Tibet in the Land of Snow (*bod gangs can ljongs*) was from ancient times an important centre of gold mining. The whole landscape of this country is full of sites where gold was roasted (*khrog pa*).[45] In the past in [the field of] Buddhism many erudite *paṇḍita*s were invited to Tibet, or else not to mention, as it may be clearly known, that at the time of sending Tibetan children zealous in the teaching of the Buddha, to India in order to ask for religious instruction, usually a great deal of gold was also taken with them. As *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od had abundant gold mines in his own country, there was no need whatsoever to go in search of gold in a country in need of other countries' gold.

Analogously, [it is written] in *Deb ther sngon po* [that] at the time of Ye shes 'od, when in Gu ge the Great Translator (*lo chen*) Rin chen bzang po, the Lesser Translator (*lo chung*) Legs pa'i shes rab and many other excellent scholars lived, "Jo bo [Atiśa] said: 'If men such as you [Rin chen bzang po] appear to live in Tibet, then there is no need for me to come to Tibet!'" (*Deb ther sngon po* 1984: 305).[46] According to these words, and in conformity with the great influence of the three Pālas who were especially invited from India, there was furthermore no urgent reason to invite the famous *paṇḍita* Jo bo rje dPal ldan A ti sha [Śrī Atiśa] to Gu ge. Moreover, at that time in Gu ge the roots of the teaching of the Buddha (*chos*) and of knowledge (*yon tan*) were profoundly implanted by the outstandingly learned translator Rin chen bzang po and his disciples and also the foundation of the textual tradition of the gSang sngags gsar ma ["Secret New Mantra"][47] was laid out in an excellent form. In fact, at the end of the 11th century or beginning of the 12th century, in *lDe'u chos 'byung* by lDe'u Jo sras and in *mKhas pa lde'u mdzad pa'i rgya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa* by mKhas pa lde'u [it is stated that] "also in the later part of the life of the translator (*lo tsā ba*) Rin chen bzang po, after the royal monk (*lha btsun*) Byang chub 'od had sent Nag tsho lo tsā ba[48] to India, Hi dang ka ra was invited and among many the level to put into practice both mantra and philosophy (*sngags* [*dang*] *mtshan nyid*) was established" (*lDe'u chos 'byung* 1987: 147–48)[49] and "in the later part of the life of the translator (*lo tsā ba*) Rin chen bzang po,

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[44] The author's scepticism concerning the overwhelming influence of Ye shes 'od and Atiśa on the religious landscape of Central Tibet is to a large degree in accordance with a critical rereading of the real historical development by Ronald Davidson who states: "the initial impact of West Tibetan Buddhism on Ü-Tsang [dBus gTsang] in the eleventh century was modest" (Davidson 2005: 112). There also seems to be some agreement with regard to a critical evaluation of later accounts (from the 14th/15th century): "Both the Kadampa connection and the authority of kings like Lha-lama [*lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od] and Jangchub-Ö [Byang chub 'od] have been accorded great significance throughout later Tibetan and secondary Western literature. Why such a skewed emphasis? I believe there are at least three reasons: the Tibetan privileging of the Ösung ['Od srung] line, with a consequent historical amnesia about the activities of Yumten's [Yum brtan] descendants, the importance of the Kadampa [bKa' gdams pa school] or Kadampa-related doctrinal and teaching systems in the late eleventh century onward, and the overwhelming rewriting of history after the founding of the New Kadampa lineage [this is, the dGe ldan pa or dGe lugs pa school] by Tsongkhapa in 1409." (*ibid*.: 113).

[45] According to the author, the meaning of *khrog pa* in this case is "relics or ruins". The translation is based on the meaning of *khrog* as "to be roasted" and consequently *gser khrog pa* is understood to refer to the roasting or calcination of gold in order to effect "the elimination of the arsenic and antimony associated with gold and silver ores" (see, for example, Johnson 1898: 100) the traces of which are still visible in the form of remains or relics.

[46] Quoted Tibetan text (as in Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005b: 81): "*jo bo'i zhal nas/ e khyed lta bu bod na bzhugs nas snag pas* [recte: *snang bas*]/ *kho bo bod du 'ong mi dgos par 'dug*". Cf. also Roerich 1988: 249.

[47] All the Tantras that were translated after the Great Translator (*lo chen*) Rin chen bzang po (958–1055), also known as author of *sNgags log sun byin* ["Critique of False Tantras"], were conventionally called gSang sngags gsar ma, in order to distinguish them from previously translated erroneous tantric texts (see Cabezón and Lobsang Dargyay 2007: 23; Raudsepp 2011: 35).

[48] Nag tsho lo tsā ba Tshul khrims rgyal ba (1011–1064). Cf. Roesler 2008: 396 and Wedemeyer 2013: 182.

[49] Quoted Tibetan text (as in Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005b: 81, with minor additions in square brackets based on the text edition cited): "*yang lo tsā ba de'i sku tshe'i smad la lha btsun byang chub 'od kyis nag tsho lo tsā ba rgya gar du btang nas*[/ ]*hi pang ka ra spyan drangs nas sngags mtshan nyid gnyis ka'i lag tu blang ba'i rim pa mang du phab*[/ ]".

after the royal monk (*lha btsun*) Byang chub 'od had sent Nag tsho lo tsā ba to India, the master Di pam ka ra was invited and the level to apply both mantra and philosophy (*sngags* [*dang*] *mtshan nyid*) in practice was established." (*mKhas pa lde'u mdzad pa'i rgya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa* 1987: 382).[50] Then, a short period of time before these two chronicles were written, the name of Jo bo rje—Hi pang ka ra or Di pam ka ra—was also retained in Sanskrit as it is. Who precisely invited him, or that it was *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od rather than *lha btsun* Byang chub 'od, is never mentioned. There is not the slightest trace [of evidence] for the made-up history that *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od went on some military affair to the Gar log in order to invite Jo bo rje (Atiśa) and so on.

In *Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud* ["A Religious History: The Sweet Essence of Flowers"], composed by Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer before the 1190s, [it is stated that] "Byang chub 'od thought: 'If one excellent learned *paṇḍita* is invited, the benefit will be greater'. After rGya brTson 'grus seng ge was appointed as leader … in the land of Za hor in eastern India … the one known as Master (*rje*) Di pam ka ra shrī dznyā na [Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna] … was given a gift accompanying the request (upon which) he replied … and agreed to come to Tibet … and went to mTho ling." (*Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud* 1988: 466–467).[51] In terms of the content of this particular chronicle and the description in all respects, there is also not a great difference in the degree of detail from *lDe'u chos 'byung* mentioned above, and the historical facts are for the most part comparable.

In *Bu ston chos 'byung* ["Bu ston's Religious History"], written by Bu ston Rin chen grub in the 1320s, in the Water Dog year of the fifth sixty-year cycle in the Tibetan calendar (1322), [it is stated that] "Byang chub 'od bestowed gold on five men, such as Nag tsho Tshul (khrims) rgyal ba and so on and after the translator (*lo tsā ba*) rGya brTson 'grus seng ge had been elected as their leader, [he] said: 'May a good *paṇḍita* be invited!' upon which Dwi bam ka ra shri dza nya na [Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna] was invited." (*Bu ston chos 'byung* 1988: 201).[52] Although of course this chronicle was composed in the 14th century, nevertheless as regards what is said in this highly reliable reference book quoted here, its straightforward point of view is consistent with the group of chronicles composed in the 12th century.

In addition, in *Yar lung jo bo'i chos 'byung* ["Yar lung jo bo's Religious History"], composed by Yar lung jo bo Shwakya Rin chen sde thirty years after Tshal pa's [Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje's] *Deb* [*ther*] *dmar* [*po*], in the 1370s of the fourteenth century, [it is stated that] "his [lHa lde's] sons 'Od lde and *pho brang*[53] Zhi ba 'od and *btsun*

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[50] Quoted Tibetan text (as in Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005b: 81–82 where the page reference is wrongly given as *mKhas pa lde'u mdzad pa'i rgya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa* 1987: 38): "*lo tsā ba rin chen bzang po'i sku tshe'i smad la*[/ ]*lha btsun byang chub 'od kyis nag tsho lo tsā ba rgya gar du btang nas/ rje di pam ka ra spyan drangs nas sngags mtshan nyid gnyis ka* [*kha*] *lag tu len pa'i rim pa gtan la phab*". Minor additions and corrections in square brackets based on the text edition cited (*mKhas pa lde'u mdzad pa'i rgya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa* 1987: 382).

[51] Quoted Tibetan text (as in Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005b: 82, with minor corrections in square brackets based on the 1988 text edition cited): "*byang chub 'od kyi thugs dgongs la* […] *paṇ ḍi ta mkhas pa* [*bzang ba*] *zhig spyan drangs na phan che bar 'dug bsams pas … rgya brtson 'grus seng ge la dpon bgyis nas/ rgya gar shar phyogs za hor gyi yul na … rtse* [*rje*] *di pam ka ra shri* [shrī] dza nya [dznyā] na zhes bya bar [ba] … *zhu rten phul nas zhus pas … bod du byon par zhal gyis bzhes nas* […] *mtho* [*tho*] *ling du byon* [nas]/". Cf. Meisezahl 1985: 338.3.3–339.2.2.

[52] Quoted Tibetan text (as in Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005b: 82–83 where the page reference is wrongly given as *Bu ston chos 'byung* 1988: 69–70): "*byang chub 'od kyis nag tsho tshul rgyal ba la sogs pa mi lnga la gser bskur/ lo tsā ba* [*lotstsha ba*] *rgya brtson 'grus seng ge dpon du bskos nas*[/ ] *paṇḍi ta bzang po gdan drongs la shog byas pas … dī bam* [paṃ] ka ra śrī dznyā na spyan drangs/". Alternative readings as provided in the critical edition of this text by Szerb 1990: 86 are given in square brackets. Cf. also Obermiller 1932: 213.

[53] The application of the epithet *pho brang* (literally meaning [king's] palace, court palace, king's residence and also used as an honorific for king) with regard to Zhi ba 'od and in various passages in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*, also with regard to his elder brother Byang chub 'od, was discussed by Vitali (1996: 296–297, n. 459). He came to the conclusion that "since there is no clear instance of its use, I am in no position to propose an interpretation" (*ibid*.). However, at least in the case of Byang chub 'od he assumes that *pho brang* was a religious title given to him upon his ordination.

It seems that a clarification of this title or designation can be achieved by briefly reviewing the religio-political transformation that was initiated by Ye shes 'od. In 986 he issued a *bka' shog chen mo*, "a document in which the population was called upon to follow the Buddhist doctrine. This summons was followed two years later (988) by a 'religious edict' (*chos gtsigs*) containing a code of conduct for all social groups (royal family, monks, the laity) with clear-cut legal regulations both for the religous and the secular sphere (*chos khrims* and *rgyal khrims* respectively)." (Jahoda and Kalantari 2016: 84). This edict also regulated the succession in the royal line by taking into account these religious endeavours: "If there are many (king's) sons, [all] have to become monks except the heir apparent (rgyal.tshab). If the btsan.po is ordained (rab.tu.byung.ba), he has to protect the sangha [or more precisely, as added in a footnote by Vitali, the "Vinaya realm" (*'dul zhing*), that is the "realm of ordained monks"]. If the line (gdung) of lay rulers (btsan.po skya.bo) is interrupted, it is to be restored from the monks' side [of the royal family]." (Vitali 1996: 110). The title *pho brang* was therefore clearly reserved (as is made fully clear in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*) for (male) members of the royal family who, after their ordination, had the duty to protect this realm as members of the palace or from the palace (*pho brang*). The phrase used for this is to protect the *Vinaya* realm (*'dul zhing srung ba*) or to protect the teachings (*bstan pa skyong ba*). This function was fulfilled first (from 989–996) by Ye shes 'od himself, who set the example, and then by his sons De ba ra dza (Devarāja) (996–1023 [1027 according to the *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od*]) and Na ga ra dza (Nāgarāja) (1023–1026 [1027–1030 according to the *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od*]), both following a direct order (*bka' lung*) by Ye shes 'od. In 1026 bKra shis 'od was ordained and became known as *pho brang* Byang chub 'od. He seems to have implemented this function (according to *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*

*pa*[54] Byang chub 'od, the three, bestowed great amounts of gold on five men, such as Nag tsho Tshul khrims rgyal ba and so on and that, after the Translator (*lo tsā ba*) rGya brTson ['grus] seng ge had been elected as their leader, [they] said: "'May a good *paṇḍita* be invited!', upon which *paṇḍi ta* Di pam ka ra shri dza nya na [Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna] was invited." (*Yar lung jo bo'i chos 'byung* 1987: 69–70),[55] and that, quoting another passage from this chronicle, "in the chapter on the nephew(s) of *lha bla ma* [Ye shes 'od], it was written in accordance with the *Chos 'byung* of *lo tsā ba* Bu ston (*Bu ston chos 'byung*)." (*ibid*.: 70).[56] Being thus clearly stated, there is no need to mention that its point of view is the same as that of *Bu ston chos 'byung*.

Further, as regards Ka thog Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu, in consequence of the fact that he stayed in those countries (*yul*)[57] for a long time and enjoyed the experience of going on pilgrimage to many places in the area of sTod mNga' ris [Western Tibet], as he was blessed to see many reliable reference materials about the history etc. of this region, he came to write in the *Bod rje lha btsan po'i gdung rabs* ["Genealogy of the Divine Emperors of Tibet"],[58] which deals with the arising of the precious doctrine of the Buddha in the north, [that] "on account of Byang chub 'od's invitation of Jo bo rje to Tibet and so on, extremely great gratitude was expressed for the teaching of the Buddha" (*Bod kyi lo rgyus deb ther khag lnga* 1990: 74).[59] What is written (here by him) is to a large degree in accordance with historical reality and he is unhindered by the bias of a Buddhist school.

In *Bod kyi deb ther dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i glu dbyangs* ["Annals of Tibet: The Melody of the Spring Queen"][60] composed by the Fifth Dalai Lama in the 1640s, in the Water Sheep year of the eleventh

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predesignated by Ye shes 'od in 1023) until his death in 1078 (at the same time also holding between 1037 and 1057) upon which he was succeeded by this younger brother Zhi ba 'od (1078–1111). See Jahoda, "On the foundation of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*, Ladakh", this volume, p. 296, for the references to *Ye shes 'od rnam thar rgyas pa*.

As mentioned by Vitali, the word *brang chung* also occurs in another source. This may have been used for a younger brother of somebody with a (senior) *pho brang* status. This designation must therefore have been a formal one based on the original "constitution" proclaimed by Ye shes 'od. This explains also its self-referential use by Zhi ba 'od in his *bka' shog* (see Karmay 1980b: 18 whose translation of "pu hrangs kyi pho brang zhi ba 'od"—"Zhi ba 'od of the palace of sPu-hrangs"—makes his socio-political and religious status fully clear). Some of those falling within the *pho brang* category received additional titles and designations (such as *lha bla ma*, *lha btsun pa*, *lha rje bla ma*, *byang chub sems dpa'*), which were therefore more commonly used for them, at least in later periods. Obviously, it was not felt necessary to name all those, like De ba ra dza (Devarāja) or Na ga ra dza (Nāgarāja), who belonged to this category (and were deemed mature enough) explicitly as *pho brang* or to even mention their personal names. Even in contemporary historical inscriptions (for example those in the *sgo khang* of the Tabo *gtsug lag khang* dating from the end of the 10th century), Na ga ra dza as a younger (male) member of the royal lineage is referred to as *lha sras na ga ra dza* (Luczanits 1999: 105), combining his lay title *lha sras* (prince) with his name as *dge bsnyen* (ordained lay practitioner, Skt. *upāsaka*, following the example set by king Aśoka; cf. Gombrich 1994, Thapar 1994). Similarly, those belonging to the lay aristocracy or nobility are also designated as *lha sras* (prince or nobleman's son) or *lha lcam* (princess, nobleman's wife) to which their personal (lay) name is added (*ibid*.: 112). While the usage of the designation *lha sras*, etc. in this case occurs clearly within a Buddhist context, it cannot be understood in the same way as an acquired Buddhist title (such as *btsun pa*, *dge slong*). It rather designates "a descendant whose behavior is worthy of his 'noble ancestral spirits'" and *lha* can be understood as "a collective term for the nobility" (Walter 2009: 118). In this case *lha sras* is determined predominantly by socio-political concepts and is used to express an inherited social position, while religious status based on Buddhist concepts is expressed by distinct Buddhist designations and names. The differing usage corresponds to the spatial differentiation of the two communities depicted in the *sgo khang* on opposing walls, on the south wall the assembly of religious figures (including those of royal descent) and on the north wall the assembly of lay figures headed by the nobility.

[54] The word *btsun pa* means monk. For the usage of this word with regard to members of the royal lineage, see also n. 35 and 53. In this case a clear differentiation was observed with regard to the functions and titles of the three brothers: 'Od lde, who succeeded his father lHa lde as king, is only mentioned as his son. Zhi ba 'od is named as *pho brang*, obviously his most important title and a function which he seems to have carried out between 1078 and 1111. Despite the fact that he seems to have fulfilled the function of *pho brang* for a long period (and presumably until the end of his life), Byang chub 'od is named as *btsun pa* (monk), which most probably stands for *lha btsun pa* (royal monk). The reason may be that between 1037 and 1057 he also held secular power, so that his function (and qualification) as *pho brang* may have been constrained somewhat (not allowing him to act as a translator of texts like Zhi ba 'od). The designation as (royal) monk seems to have been used as a compromise which also allowed for a plausible differentiation (as the functions of *pho brang* or king could only be fulfilled by one person at a time).

[55] Quoted Tibetan text (as in Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005b: 83, with minor variant readings in square brackets based on the text edition cited): "*de'i sras 'od lde dang*[/ ]*pho brang zhi ba 'od dang/ btsun pa byang chub 'od gsum gyis nag tsho tshul khrims rgyal ba la sogs pa'i mi lnga la gser mang po bskur/ rgya brtson* [*grub*] *seng ge dpon du bskos nas paṇḍi ta bzang po spyan drongs la shog byas pas*[/ ...] *paṇḍi ta di pam ka ra shri dza nya* [dznya] na spyan drangs/".

[56] Quoted Tibetan text (as in Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005b: 83, with minor variant readings in square brackets based on the text edition cited): "*lha bla ma khu dbon gyi skabs 'dir lo tsā* [*tsatsha*] *ba bu ston gyi chos 'byung ltar bris pa yin* [*gyi*]/".

[57] "Those countries" should be understood to refer here mainly to sPu rang, Gu ge and La dwags, which constituted the three main divisions or countries of mNga' ris skor gsum or historical Western Tibet.

[58] The full title of this work is *rGyal ba'i bstan pa rin po che byang phyogs su 'byung ba'i rtsa lag bod rje lha btsan po'i gdung rabs tshig nyung don gsal yid kyi me long* (*Bod kyi lo rgyus deb ther khag lnga* 1990: 57–87).

[59] Quoted Tibetan text (as in Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005b: 83, with a minor addition in square brackets based on the text edition cited): "*byang chub 'od* [*yin smras la/ ]des jo bo rje bod du spyan drangs pa sogs bstan pa la bka' drin shin tu che/*".

[60] Spring Queen is a metonym for the cuckoo. Another possible translation of the title is therefore "The Song of the Cuckoo".

sixty-year cycle in the Tibetan calendar (1643), [it is stated that] "as for the report[61] that *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od went to search for gold and was taken prisoner by the Gar log: that is, an ordinary person, appearing like one asking for riches, would be of weak intellect. But as this particular one [*lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od] was a great king of Western Tibet (mNga' ris), it is faulty on account of the fact that the circumstances were not thoroughly examined." (*Bod kyi deb ther dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i glu dbyangs* 1980: 81).[62] Although this chronicle was written in a late period, given that in this historical problem it is the view written initially which is to be refuted and taking [this] as [his] point of doubt, his unusual opinion is also frankly expressed. It is not possible, however, to give a clear reason why [he] went into the crucial point or [why he did this] without materials to be analysed. As it was not possible even to bring some clarity to the foundation of the reference materials, from the 14th century, the famous scholars in the history [of Tibet] were never able to correct and clarify the mistaken view adhered to with regard to this problem.

In fact, in the group of historical chronicles written around the beginning of the 12th century by mKhas pa lde'u and lDe'u Jo sras, and in the 1320s by the Lord of Scholars (*mkhas pa'i dbang po*) Bu ston Rin chen grub, it says: the one who invited *paṇḍita* Di pam ka ra shri dza nya na [Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna] to mTho lding monastery of Gu ge was the Royal Monk (*lha btsun*) Byang chub 'od. There is no mention of *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od going to the Gar log in search of gold, inviting an Indian *paṇḍita* or Jo bo rje [Atiśa], then sacrificing his life, or that in conformity with his final words his nephew Byang chub 'od made a great and continuous effort to invite Jo bo rje. On the one hand, at that time the *Vinaya* tradition of Western Tibet (sTod) was not particularly widespread in the dBus region and the influence of the bKa' gdams pa (school), which started with Jo bo rje dPal ldan A ti sha [Lord Master Śrī Atiśa] or because of him, was not that great. On the other hand, at that time the partiality of the perspective of a Buddhist school among those competent in the history was not very strong and there was no necessity as it were to make such a great evaluation and praise the great achievement of *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od on account of the invitation of a famous *paṇḍita* from India or Jo bo rje (Atiśa) respectively. Though generally there is no problem concerning what happened in history, [considered] from the viewpoint of the degree of conformity with facts, [it can therefore be stated that] there were a few deliberate efforts at exaggeration in what was said. After that, apart from the *Yar lung* [*jo bo'i*] *chos 'byung*, in the group of religious chronicles written after the 1340s, conditioned by the partiality of Buddhist schools, one can evidently discover a distortion of the truth of historical reality.

Then, the facts of this historical problem are very clearly recorded in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*: at the end of his life when he resided at mTho gling and Mang nang in Gu ge, about the way he lived his life or concerning the activities he carried out, it is stated that "even at the time when he was of a very senior age he performed many ritual circumambulations (*bskor ba*) in his personal sanctuary, holding his walking-staff, and besides this encouraged all kinds of worship, acting [for the benefit of] himself and others, all. At this time, with the exception of one attendant, he did not encounter anybody when he pronounced: 'Until the termination of my life within three years I will perform spiritual practice'". After departing from his meditative retreat, he showed his face to those to be trained, [acting] like a subject for a while. In order to give his final instructions on religious regulations (*chos rtsigs*),[63] he went to Mang rgyud.[64] Furthermore, until he reached the end of his life he resided at mTho gling and acted for the welfare of the teaching of the Buddha and that of sentient beings." (*mNga' ris rgyal rabs* 1996: 58–59).[65] Based on what

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[61] It should be mentioned that immediately prior to this passage, one Las chen Kun rgyal ba is named as author of the report referred to. Contrary to Ahmad (2008: 193, n. 592, basing himself on Petech 1995: 293, who identified Las chen Kun rgyal ba as Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan), it must be assumed that this refers to Las chen Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, known as the author of *bKa' gdams kyi rnam thar pa bka' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me* composed in 1494 (see Eimer 1989: 22–23, Martin 1997: 91, Roesler 2008: 396).

[62] Quoted Tibetan text (as in Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005b: 84, with a minor correction in square brackets based on the text edition cited): "*lha bla ma ye shes 'od gser 'tshol du byon pa/ gar log gis btson du bzung par* [*bar*] *bshad pa ni/ skye bo phal pa nor slong ba lta bu'i rnam pa shar ba blo gros dman pa ste/ 'di nyid mnga' ris kyi btsad po chen po yin pas/ rgyu mtshan zhib tu ma dpyad pa'i skyon no//*". Cf. also the edition of this text published by Kalsang Lhundup (1967: 107) and the translation by Ahmad 2008: 62.

[63] The word *chos rtsigs* occurs several times in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*. As stated by Vitali, it seems to be a variant spelling of *chos gtsigs*, which was used in inscriptions of the Yar lung dynasty to refer to edicts engraved on stone pillars (Vitali 1996: 193). In this he follows Richardson's translation and explanation of *chos gtsigs* in the lCang bu inscription as "edicts concerning religion" (Richardson 1985: 94–95). In this case, its meaning is similar to the word *gtsigs yig*, denoting in particular letters carved on stone pillars.

Notwithstanding the literal meaning of *chos rtsigs*, which is always rendered by Vitali in parentheses and between inverted commas as "religious edict" (Vitali 1996: 108, 186, 190, 193), a more appropriate translation of this word that also includes the late-10th-century context and (signified) concept—clearly related to the idea of defining a general framework and foundation for the whole kingdom—seems to be religious regulation(s), religious or religion-based constitution, or even code of law(s) (see *ibid*.: 209f.).

[64] The location or (if not a place name) meaning of *mang rgyud* which was translated by Vitali (1996: 113) as "place of public assembly" remains unclear.

[65] Quoted Tibetan text (as in Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005b: 85–86, with minor corrections in square brackets based on the text edition cited in Vitali 1996:

is thus recorded, it can be clearly understood that it is devoid of any substance that *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od went to the Gar log in search of gold and sacrificed his life in order to invite the famous Indian *paṇḍita* Jo bo rje (Atiśa).

In addition, in historical reality 'Od lde, the grandson of 'Khor re and son of lHa lde, of a fierce and haughty character, led his army against the king of Mar yul La dwags,[66] one of [the countries of] sTod mNga' ris bskor gsum and finally he waged war even on Gru sha ('Bru sha),[67] a territory belonging to Bal ti,[68] with the result that he was taken prisoner by the king of this country [that is, 'Bru sha] and faced a severe sentence. Although his younger brothers[69] Byang chub 'od and Zhi ba 'od brought a lot of gold and [wanted to] ransom [him] and that, because gold equal to the weight of his body was not received immediately, on that occasion, he died, is recorded as follows in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*: "The eldest (son) 'Od lde btsan, possessing extraordinary bodily strength from a young age, was endowed by birth with egocentric pride. When once running up in a fight (*'khrug pa la 'jam thengs gcig*)[70] he went to Mar yul,[71] he built the *gtsug lag khang* of dPe thub.[72] […] Afterwards when he made war on the country of Bru sha,[73] he was arrested (*dbu 'jam so*)[74] there. As his two younger brothers [wanted to] ransom [him] they were told that gold equal to his weight was required. As this was not obtained he remained in this condition for a while. …… After liberating himself from iron chains (*lcags drang*),[75] he ran away and owing to his former karma he suffered iron poisoning and it was said that he died at Shul dkar. …… At last [Byang chub 'od] went down to the established gold mines in dBus to gather gold in order to ransom his elder brother. He obtained[76] a lot of gold." (*ibid*.: 61–63).[77] Thus, based on this, in historical reality 'Od lde died in Gru sha. One can clearly conclude that *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od was not killed in the Gar log country of the non-Buddhist Indian borderlands,[78] that all the gold gathered by *lha btsun* Byang chub 'od and so on was brought from his own country, so that, although he went to ransom his elder [brother] he had already died, and that because of this, after those [quantities] of gold to be paid as price for ransom were sent to rGya brTson ['grus] seng ge etc., Jo bo Dhi pam ka ra shri dza nya na [Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna] was invited. Regarding this, too, it is very clearly

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58–59): "*sku na* [*nas*] *shin tu bgres pa'i dus su yang nyid kyi thugs dam gling la phyag 'khar bsnams nas bskor ba mang du mdzad cing/ gzhan yang mchod pa thams cad la skul zhing/ rang gzhan kun gyis mdzad pa yin no//*[/] *de yi tshe yang nye gnas gcig ma gtogs pa su yang mi mjal bar bka' stsal nas/ lo gsum gyi bar du sku mtshams bcad nas thugs dam mdzad cing mtshams las thon pa dang/ re zhig 'bangs kyi tshul gyis gdul bya rnams la zhal bstan pa dang*[/ ] *chos rtsigs kyi bka' lung mtha'* [*tha*] *ma stsal ba'i phyir du*[/ ] *mang rgyud du gshegs* [… 16 lines left out …]/ *slar yang sku tshe mtha' phyin pa'i bar du mtho gling du bzhugs shing bstan pa dang sems can gyi don mdzad pa yin no//*".

[66] *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* and *Ye shes 'od rnam thar* (from which it draws) and other sources, like the middle-length biography of *lo tsā ba* Rin chen bzang po, use the word Mar yul for the third "circle" or territory (*skor*) constituting 11th-century mNga' ris skor gsum. Neither La dwags nor Mar yul La dwags, which is used here by the author in order to refer to Mar yul, occurs in these sources. See Vitali 1996: 135, *Byang chub sems dpa' lo tsā ba rin chen bzang po'i 'khrungs rabs dka' spyad sgron ma rnam thar shel phreng lu gu rgyud ces bya ba bzhugs so* 1996 and *Ye shes 'od rnam thar* 2011: 299, passim; see also Tsering Drongshar and Jahoda, "The *Extended Biography of the Royal Lama Ye shes 'od* by Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan: The Tibetan text", this volume, p. 137. See also Jahoda, "Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's chapter on the history of mNga' ris in his *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs*: Notes on the author and the content", this volume, p. 82.

[67] Gru sha or 'Bru sha—also the variant spellings Bru sha, Bru zha and 'Bru shal occur (see *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* 1992: 33)—is the Tibetan name of Little Balūr/Bolor, an area in the Gilgit valley (Beckwith 1987: 116).

[68] Bal ti is the Tibetan word for Baltistan. The equation of Great Balūr/Bolor with Baltistan which is suggested by Chinese and other sources (see, for example, Vitali 1996: 325 and Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 274) was recently critically discussed by Zeisler (2010: 381ff.).

[69] The author follows *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* (1996: 61), where 'Od lde is named as the eldest brother and Byang chub 'od and Zhi ba 'od as the younger brothers.

[70] The translation of *'jam thengs gcig* is based on an explanation given by the author (personal communication, January 2014).

[71] See n. 66.

[72] dPe thub, located in historical Mar yul, corresponds to present-day Spituk in Ladakh. On dPe thub see also Vitali 1996: 301f. and Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, "Relating the history of mNga' ris as as set down in writing in Paṇḍita Grags pa rgyal mtshan's *Nyi ma'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs skye dgu'i cod paṇ nyi zla'i phreng mdzes*: The Tibetan text", this volume, p. 111.

[73] See n. 67.

[74] The translation of *dbu 'jam so* is based on an explanation given by the author (personal communication, January 2014).

[75] The translation of *lcags drang* is based on an explanation given by the author (personal communication, January 2014).

[76] Also the translation "he bought a lot of gold" is possible according to the author (personal communication, January 2014).

[77] Quoted Tibetan text (as in Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005b: 86–87, with minor corrections in square brackets based on the text edition cited in Vitali 1996: 61–63): "*gcen 'od lde btsan sku shed shin tu che bas sku na* [*nas*] *gzhon nu nas thugs rgyal can du 'khrungs pa/ 'khrug pa la 'jam thengs gcig mar yul du gshegs pa'i dus su dpe thub kyi gtsug lag khang bzhengs* [… 1 line left out …] *mjug tu bru sha'i yul du dmag mdzad pas*[/] *der dbu 'jam so/ gcung gnyis kyis sku blus pas/ khong nyid dang skar ba'i gser dgos zer nas/ ma khugs te re shig de nyid du bzhugs so …… lcags drang grol nas bros pas sngon las kyi rkyen gyis lcags dug byung nas/ bshul dkar grong so zer …… mjug tu gcen blu'i ba'i gser bsdud du dbus kyi na sra gser kha tshun du phebs/ gser mang po gzigs so//*".

[78] Translation of *rgya gar mtha' khob mu stegs pa'i yul gar log*. See also n. 15 and 23.

recorded in *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*: "After he heard about the death of his elder (brother),[79] an aspiration arose in him. On account of the death of his elder (brother), by inviting a masterly *paṇḍita* from India to Tibet, he intended to spread the teaching of the Buddha in Tibet even more widely than before (and) dispatched Nag tsho lo tsā ba Tshul khrims rgyal ba as the leader together with four attendants and bestowed rGya brTson ['grus] seng ge with a wooden measure able to hold eleven measures of gold and an assistant (*thig po shing srang bcu gcig 'khor ba gcig*)[80] and with great amounts of gold dust. Following the invitation of Jo bo Dhi pam ka ra shri dza nya na [Lord Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna], on his arrival, *pho brang btsun pa*[81] himself travelled half a day on foot to welcome him." (*ibid*.: 63–64).[82] This quote expresses exactly according to historical reality how in the end the younger [brother] *pho brang lha btsun pa* Byang chub 'od used those [quantities] of gold [intended] to ransom the body of his elder [brother] 'Od lde to invite of Jo bo rje [Atiśa] to Gu ge and how he personally welcomed Jo bo rje in the form of coming into the presence of a person of high(er) status. In addition, in the middle-length biography of *lo tsā ba* Rin chen bzang po it is also said that finally at the end of his life *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od suffered from a severe illness and died and that the Great Translator (*lo chen*) Rin chen bzang po personally performed the ceremony for the remains of the deceased: "when *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od lived in a state of illness the Great Translator (*lo chen*) Rin chen bzang po immediately came to meet him. As he was afflicted by a severe illness he did not meet him. The rituals for his remains, *Durgatipariśodhana* and so on,[83] were performed by the *lo tsā ba* himself." (*Byang chub sems dpa' lo tsā ba rin chen bzang po'i 'khrungs rabs dka' spyad sgron ma rnam thar shel phreng lu gu rgyud ces bya ba bzhugs so* 1996: 24).[84] Whether the middle-length biography of *lo tsā ba* Rin chen bzang po written by the great scholar Gu ge Khyi thang pa dza nya na shri, a native of this country (Gu ge), corresponds to a high degree with historical reality cannot be said.

To summarise, in the historical reality of sTod mNga' ris Gu ge of that time, the one who abandoned his life in a foreign country in order to return to his own country was 'Od lde[85] rather than *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od. Later, from around the middle of the 14th century, scholars of the history of Tibetan Buddhism made use of this historical incident. The reason it was necessary to exaggerate by pretending that it was Ye shes 'od [is as follows]: it was the rekindling of the remainder of the old tradition of Buddhism from Western Tibet (sTod) and the beginning of the transformation of the "New Mantra Traditions" (gSang sngags gsar ma), [and] the spreading and expansion of the Western Tibetan (sTod) *Vinaya* tradition or of the branch communities of the preceptor lineages [for monk's vows]. Moreover, along with the invitation to Tibet of the creator of the bKa' gdams pa (school), Jo bo rje dPal ldan A ti sha [Lord Master Śrī Atiśa], it is understood that this was postulated as a great achievement by *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od. Only the fact that he was praised deliberately is historical truth: in the end the passing away of *lha bla ma* Ye shes 'od, who lived to a very great age, definitely took place at mTho gling in Gu ge.

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[79] See n. 69.

[80] The translation of *thig po shing srang bcu gcig 'khor ba gcig* is based on an explanation given by the author (personal communication, January 2014). Vitali's translation of this passage—"a piece of gold weighing eleven shing. srang" (Vitali 1996: 117) is incomplete.

[81] Obviously, the person referred to here by the title *pho brang btsun pa* is Byang chub 'od. As discussed above (see nn. 35, 53 and 54), these titles designate him as (royal) monk, (*lha*) *btsun pa*—a designation that must have been appropriate since Pig year 1023, when "he was ordained to the *bsnyen rdzogs* vow" (Vitali 2003: 61) and received the monk's name Byang chub 'od—and at the same time as *pho brang* (a function he assumed in Tiger year 1026; see *ibid*.: 62 where the related title is however wrongly given as *lha btsun*). One can conclude from this that at the time (in 1042) when this episode happened he was referred to by both titles and that *pho brang*, given in the first place, was formally the more important title.

[82] Quoted Tibetan text (as in Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005b: 87 where the page reference is wrongly given as *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* 1996: 63–65; minor corrections in square brackets are based on the text edition cited in Vitali 1996: 63–64): "*gcen grongs pa gsan nas/ der thugs dgongs brdzangs* [*rdzangs*] *pas/ gcen ni grongs khong gi don du rgya gar nas paṇḍi ta mkhas pa gcig gdan drangs nas bod du sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa sngar bas kyang dar bar mdzad dgongs nas/* nag tsho lo tsā [tsa] ba tshul khrims rgyal ba dpon g.yog lnga/ rgya brtson seng ge [ge omitted] la thig po shing srang bcu gcig 'khor [ba] gcig [cig] dang/ gser gyi phye ma mang po bskur nas brdzangs [rdzangs] pas/ jo bo d*hi pam ka ra shri dza nya* [rdznya] na gdan drangs nas phebs pa na/ pho brang btsun pa nyid kyis nyi ma phyed zhabs thang du byon nas bsu ba mdzad".

[83] See also Heller 2010: 68, n. 35, who presents evidence which suggests that the rituals and offerings referred to in this passage relate to a ruined *mchod rten* in Tholing that was excavated some years ago by Chinese archaeologists. In her view, "the term *gdung mchod* used in this passage implies that, after the initial funerary rites, offerings were made for the *sku gdung*, the *mchod rten* housing a corpse, which constitutes a funerary *mchod rten*" (in this case the funerary *mchod rten* of Ye shes 'od). Heller's interpretation of this passage seems to be supported by the medium-length biography of *lo tsā ba* Rin chen bzang po from Pooh in Upper Kinnaur, which reads *gdung mchod dang ngan song sbyong ba la sogs pa*, thus indicating a differentiation between *gdung mchod* and *ngan song sbyong ba* etc. (see Gu ge'i Khyi dang ba dPal ye shes, *Lo tsha tsa ba rin chen bzang po'i rnam thar*, f. 34a1-2).

[84] Quoted Tibetan text (as in Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po 2005b: 88, with minor corrections in square brackets based on the original text edition cited): "*lha bla ma ye shes 'od snyung bar gnas nas/ myur du zhal mjal du byon pas la snyung gzhi drag po gcig gis zin nas zhal ma mjal lo//*[/] *gdung mchod ngan song sbyong ba la sogs pa ni/ lo tsā ba khong rang gis mdzad do//*[/]".

[85] Both the 2005 and 2012 versions of Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po's Tibetan text have lHa lde although certainly his son 'Od lde is meant and referred to.

Although in this case I tried my best to correct this historical problem, as for myself, besides [my] very limited perspective and humble level of knowledge of history, being as it were polluted by the taint of a wealth of flaws and errors of misinterpretation and foolish ignorance, I bear in the very heart the hope that suggestions and advice will be abundantly bestowed [upon me] by scholars and learned readers.

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Eva Allinger and Christian Luczanits

# A Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* in a *Prajñāpāramitā* Manuscript of Tabo Monastery*

In the introduction to his part of the *Catalogue of the Manuscript Collection of Tabo Monastery* Paul Harrison describes the unfortunate fate of the collection in considerable detail (see Harrison 2009: xiiiff.). In the course of its history this collection has been so often and severely disturbed, including incidents of burning, that less than 20 per cent of the original corpus remained.[1] In addition, Harrison (*ibid.*: xvii) notes that "The unusually small number of illustrated folios left at Tabo and the almost total absence of *gser yig* manuscripts remains strongly suggest that the collection has been picked over by travellers passing through the region." It is thus not surprising that the few illustrated folios preserved in the collection belong to a number of different manuscripts. Among them, the illuminations of the deities of the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*, the focus of this article, are exceptional in this regard.

## The Illustrated Manuscripts at Tabo

Even though the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature (the *yum mdo* section of the Tibetan canon), which most often contains illustrations, represents the main corpus of the texts preserved at Tabo, altogether only 53 of roughly 35,374 manuscript folios contain illuminations. Fortunately, more than half of the Tabo illustrations, namely 28 folios, come from a single manuscript, a *Pañcaviṃśatikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Fig. 1), while the remaining 25 illuminations come from nine different manuscripts. Statistically, the number of illustrated folios among the latter group

1. Tabo, *Pañcaviṃśatikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript (RN 5), folios Kha-Na 96 und Ka-Na 19 (C. Luczanits, 1994).

* We would like to thank Gudrun Melzer, who not only generously shared her own observations with us, but also contributed her analyses of the diverse *Prajñāpāramitā* sources. Helmut Tauscher generously provided the photo documentation of the Tabo manuscripts. Documentation used as comparison to develop the argument of this article has been provided by Carlo Cristi, Paul Harrison, Jaroslav Poncar, Tom Pritzker, and Helmut Tauscher among others.

The abbreviation WHAV refers to images housed at the Western Himalaya Archive Vienna.

[1] For earlier descriptions of the state of the Tabo manuscripts see, for example, Francke 1914, describing his visit in 1909, Tucci 1935; Tucci 1988 and Steinkellner 2001, all of which are also cited by Harrison.

2. Buddha with red robes on pink lotus performing the argumentation gesture (*vitarkamudrā*); Tabo, manuscript RN 6 (E. Allinger, 1994).

3. Buddha touching the earth; Tabo, manuscript RN 7 (C. Scherrer-Schaub, 1998; WHAV).

4. Blue, earth-touching Buddha in red robes; Tabo, manuscript RN 9 (E. Allinger, 1994).

5. White Buddha with red shading and green patchwork robe; Tabo, manuscript RN 13 (E. Allinger, 1994).

6. Red Buddha in pink patchwork dress; Tabo, manuscript RN 167 (C. Luczanits, 1994; WHAV).

of manuscripts remains well below the average for the collection as a whole, indicating that picking of illustrated folios may well have contributed to the present state of the collection.[2]

Among the manuscript illuminations, 51 can stylistically be attributed to the earliest part of the collection.[3] Usually such illuminations are representations of the Buddha with little or no direct connection to the text they are found in, but the Tabo manuscripts preserve some interesting other examples. A number of scenes preserved at Tabo illustrate the story of the Bodhisattva Sadāprarudita and his quest for the Perfection of Wisdom, and thus directly relate to the texts they are found in (see Luczanits 2010 and below). The illuminations of the manuscript discussed in detail below, in contrast, illustrate a topic with no direct connection to the text's content, the deities of the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*.

To put this manuscript with the Vajradhātu assembly in context, we first summarise the other types of illuminations as preserved at Tabo. Five of the Tabo manuscripts contain depictions of seated Buddhas:

- Running No. 6: Harrison (2009: 45) records two folios of an *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript under Cat. No. 1.1.5.2, which contain stylistically quite different Buddha depictions. It is thus very likely that these folios stem from two different manuscripts, most probably Cat. No. 1.1.5.2 and Cat. No. 1.1.5.6 (Running No. 167, see below).[4] Here we thus consider only one of the depictions to be part of RN 6, which shows a seated Buddha performing *vitarkamudrā* with his right hand and with his left hand at his side (Fig. 2).
- Running No. 7: Of the 57 preserved folios of another *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript (Cat. No. 1.1.2.16, Harrison 2009: 31f.) six preserve very similar Buddha depictions, each of them with the earth-touching gesture (*bhūmisparśamudrā*; Fig. 3).
- Running No. 9: Of the 86 folios of a *Ratnakūṭa* manuscript (Cat. No. 1.3.4, Harrison 2009: 95f.) three show a seated Buddha performing the earth-touching gesture (*bhūmisparśamudrā*; Fig. 4).
- Running No. 13: Of altogether 257 preserved folios of a *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript (Cat. No. 1.1.2.5, Harrison 2009: 23f.) one folio has three seated Buddhas on it and four folios contain a single Buddha each (Fig. 5).
- Running No. 167 (Cat. No. 1.1.5.6, Harrison 2009: 47, see RN 6) comprises only eight folios of an *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript. On folio Ka 85 a seated Buddha is depicted showing the gesture of fearlessness (*abhayamudrā*; Fig. 6).

All these illustrations are found at the end of a chapter or another marked section of the text (*le'u*, *bam po*). The quality of the illuminations varies, as do the Buddha depictions. Generally speaking, the five manuscripts represent three different types of Buddha depictions which likely also reflect a chronological range.

[2] All statistics of Harrison 2009, in particular xvii–xviii and n. 17.

[3] The earliest manuscripts of Tabo can be attributed to the 10th and 11th centuries, as corroborated by C-14 examples reported by Scherrer-Schaub and Bonani 2002. For a Tabo manuscript datable to the first half of the 11th century due to its historical information see Scherrer-Schaub 1999.

[4] The two folios are the same size, but one has ten lines of text and the other only nine. The folio with nine lines (Ka 85) possibly fits to RN 167 (Cat. no. 1.1.5.6; Harrison 2009: 47). This manuscript is 20.5 x 66.5 cm (RN 6 is 20.5 x 66.4 cm) and also shares the large red circles. Further, folio Ka 85 is missing in RN 167.

Among them the Buddhas of Running No. 9 (short RN 9; Fig. 4) and RN 6 (Fig. 2) appear to be the earliest, as they represent Buddha types known from contemporaneous wall paintings in the region. Of these the Buddhas of RN 9 (Fig. 4) with the two-coloured edge of the robe and the fine rays in the halo reflect the Buddha depictions in the murals of the Tabo Main Temple (*gtsug lag khang*), but the excessive shading of the body is not found as such there, but appears to represent a further development from the latest phase of the Tabo paintings. The Buddhas of manuscript RN 13 in the list above also reflect the early Western Himalayan type, but they also have numerous idiosyncratic features, such as a disproportionately small head, multicoloured halos with unusual decorations, and complex textile patterns (Fig. 5). In most cases the edge of the robe is still a different colour and the robe falls the same way as in early depictions, but its decoration and that of the halo are entirely different. This type is thus already considerably removed from the 11th century comparisons.

RN 7 then represents an entirely different Buddha type deriving from north-east India (Fig. 3). Everything about this Buddha's representation is atypical for the region and the Buddha is even seated on a cushion. New strands of art deriving from north-east Indian prototypes only become established in Western Tibet in the course of the 13th century, the Buddhas of this type thus belong to a later phase of the Tabo manuscripts. The red Buddha, presumably belonging to RN 167, wears a pink patchwork robe (Fig. 6). Although largely following the early Western Himalayan type in proportions its somewhat naïve rendering and the swallow-tail end of the robe over his left shoulder indicate that this illumination is not much earlier than those of RN 7. These Buddha depictions thus span approximately 300 years, but the formal appearance of the manuscripts they are found in has hardly changed from the earliest to the latest.

The illuminations of two other Tabo manuscripts clearly refer to the narrative of Sadāprarudita in search for the Perfection of Wisdom. This narrative is found at the end of three texts from the *Prajñāpāramitā* corpus, namely the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā, Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* and the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*.[5]

7. Buddha Śākyamuni and a bodhisattva in conversation; Tabo, manuscript RN 10 (D. E. Klimburg-Salter, 1994; WHAV).

8. A reflective Bodhisattva Sadāprarudita wearing the traditional dress of local West Tibetan youth; Tabo, manuscript RN 10 (D. E. Klimburg-Salter, 1994; WHAV).

9. Bodhisattva Dharmodgata teaches Bodhisattva Sadāprarudita, the merchant's daughter and her maidens; Tabo, manuscript RN 10 (D. E. Klimburg-Salter, 1994; WHAV).

- Running No. 10: A *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript (Cat. No. 1.1.1.23, Harrison 2009: 13f.) is preserved only through three beautifully illuminated folios:

Folio 312 (Tha-Nga 12) *recto* contains the last lines of chapter 73 and is further marked as the end of *dum bu* 10 and *bam po* 20. With the upper left corner of the picture exactly at the end of the chapter, the large illumination is off centre to the right and towards the bottom of the page. It shows a teaching Buddha and a red bodhisattva in 3/4 profile to his proper left facing the Buddha and

[5] We would like to thank Gudrun Melzer for providing her research on the most common versions of the Kanjur: The number of chapters differs in the diverse editions of the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. Those of the Derge, Beijing and Stog Kanjur end with only 72 chapters and do not contain the chapters dedicated to the Bodhisattvas Sadāprarudita und Dharmodgata. The Narthang edition has 75 chapters and includes those containing the story of Sadāprarudita and Dharmodgata. The Phugbrag and London editions have 77 chapters and differ somewhat from the Narthang version. Similar to a *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* from Tholing (see 'Phrin las mthar phyin 2001: 41) the Tabo manuscript RN 10 had 76 chapters (probably counting chapters 74 and 75 of the Phugbrag and London version as one chapter), and thus an equal number of chapters as the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. However, Tholing and Tabo (see e.g. Harrison 2007: 242–243, no. 11) also preserve other manuscripts in 77 chapters, which presumably are somewhat later than the manuscript in the focus of this article.

10. Bodhisattva Sadāprarudita, the merchant's daughter and her maidens prepare the seat for Bodhisattva Dharmodgata; Tabo, manuscript RN 11 (E. Allinger, 1994).

11. Indra fills the bowl of Sadāprarudita with Mandārava blossoms; Tabo, manuscript RN 11 (D. E. Klimburg-Salter, 1994; WHAV).

12. Bodhisattva Dharmodgata teaches Bodhisattva Sadāprarudita, the merchant's daughter and her maidens; Tabo, manuscript RN 11 (E. Allinger, 1994).

13. One-eyed *stūpa*; Tabo. manuscript RN 153 (C. Luczanits, 1994; WHAV).

14. Book topped by a flaming jewel; Tabo, manuscript RN 153 (E. Allinger, 1994).

obviously in conversation with him (Fig. 7).[6] This depiction can not be identified exactly. It neither illustrates the conversation at the end of chapter 73, where the Buddha talks with the monk Subhūti, nor those of the beginning of chapter 74, where Maitreya and Śāriputra converse.

The text on Folio 320 (Tha-Nga 20) *recto* is from chapter 74 but marks the end of *dum bu* 10 and *bam po* 30.[7] Just underneath the record of the *bam po* in the first line an illumination depicts the Bodhisattva Sadāprarudita, wearing the traditional dress of the West Tibetan youth of the time and seated in a posture of reflection with the right hand raised towards his face (Fig. 8).[8] It may well be that this depiction illustrates the textual content of this folio, which narrates how a voice from the sky suggests that he should proceed towards the east to find the Perfection of Wisdom.

Folio 349 (Tha-Nga 49) *verso* contains the end of chapter 75 in the fifth line. The corresponding illustration shows the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata teaching Sadāprarudita, the merchant's daughter and her maidens, who are shown kneeling to one side and wearing local West Tibetan dress (Fig. 9).[9] Between them the book of the Perfection of Wisdom (Prajñāpāramitā) rests on a stand. As in the previous illustration, Sadāprarudita's removed hat is also represented. In fact, the end of chapter 75 and at the beginning of the following chapter 76 describe the teaching of Dharmodgata and how Sadāprarudita attains the Perfection of Wisdom.

- Running No. 11: Of the second manuscript only a single considerably damaged folio is preserved (Cat. No. 1.1.5.1, Harrison 2009: 45). It contains text of chapter 75 of a *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* and unusually there is no other text section marker, such as *bam po* or *dum bu*, either.[10] This folio contains three depictions directly illustrating the text found on these pages. In contrast to the depictions in RN 10, Sadāprarudita is shown as a bodhisattva, and only the maidens are dressed in local fashion.

The single picture on the *recto* page depicts how Sadāprarudita, the merchant's daughter and her maidens offer the blood of their body to moisten the dusty floor in front of the throne they have prepared for the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata to teach the Perfection

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6 The illumination has previously been published in Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 225.

7 The beginning of the new *bam po* relates the Sadāprarudita episode. It roughly corresponds with the beginning of chapter 75 of the Phugbrag and London versions; however, the exact wording is different.

8 The exact posture of the hand is not clear, as much of the illumination has been affected by water. However, it does appear as if one finger is pointing towards the cheek, which would be a clear reference to representations of the Bodhisattvas Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara in reflective pose. Even if the actual sitting posture of Sadāprarudita differs from the usual *lalitāsana*, given the popularity of these Bodhisattva representations in the north-west, it is quite likely that this is an intended reference. This depiction has previously been published in Luczanits 2010: fig. 6.

9 Previously published in Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 229.

10 As this damaged folio preserves neither a chapter marker nor a page number, it has been attributed to chapter 31 of an *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Harrison 2009: 45). However, since the text of this folio diverges considerable from that those of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* and also the *Śatasāhasrikā* as found in the common Kanjur editions, it can be securely attributed to a *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. For example, the Tibetan rendering of the personal names differs among the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts; in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* and the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* Sadāprarudita and Dharmodgata are referred to as *rTag tu ngu* and *Chos 'phags*, but in the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* their names are more fully given as *rTag par rab tu ngu ba* and *Chos kyis 'phags pa*. We would like to thank Gudrun Melzer for sharing these observations with us, and also for her analysis of the relationship of the text on the folios to the illustrations.

of Wisdom (Fig. 10). They have to resort to this method, as Māra has hidden the water to hinder their preparations.

The *verso* page contains two illustrations. In the first one Indra is filling Sadāprarudita's bowl with heavenly Mandārava blossoms so that he can cover the seat of Dharmodgata with them (Fig. 11). In the second picture, the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata is teaching Sadāprarudita and his company (Fig. 12).

Stylistically the illustrations of RN 10 are very close to the Tabo renovation murals finished before 1042 CE and it is thus likely that they were made around the middle of the 11th century. In terms of the rendering of the hair, the teaching Buddha in one of the illustrations (Fig. 7) can be seen as direct predecessor to the Buddha in Fig. 3. The hairstyle of the Bodhisattva in this illustration and the main Bodhisattva in Fig. 9 is not found in the Tabo murals, and their jewellery is painted in gold. However, other details as well as the local dresses worn by the other figures depicted in this manuscript are consistent with the Tabo renovation phase.

The three illuminations of manuscript RN 11 found on the two sides of the same folio are of lesser material and artistic quality than those of RN 10 and also in a poorer state of preservation, but the proportions of the figures and the details of the scenes are still more reminiscent of the Tabo murals than of any other comparative monument. This manuscript may thus be attributed to the second half of the 11th century.

Another noteworthy manuscript from Tabo shows illustrations of a different type and relationship to the text:

- Running No. 153: From this *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript (Cat. No. 1.1.5.5, Harrison 2009: 46f.) two of the 40 preserved folios are illuminated.

At the end of the third chapter titled "Reverence for the receptacle of the perfections, which holds immeasurable good qualities" there is a picture of a *stūpa* with a single eye on the dome (Fig. 13). The second picture marks the end of chapter five titled "The revolution of merit" and shows a book topped by a flaming jewel (Fig. 14). Although not narrative, in both cases the illuminations actually illustrate the content of the preceding chapter. Chapter three describes the merit gained from building and venerating a *stūpa*, and chapter five emphasises the merit accrued from copying the Perfection of Wisdom text.

With its high base, multiple cornered terraces and the almost circular dome, the *stūpa* represents a type which on the basis of comparisons to *stūpa* shapes in Ladakh can be attributed to the 13th century. The eye painted on the dome also supports an attribution to this time or even later. Eyes on *stūpa* domes are not found in the earliest depictions from the Western Himalayas, but appear in the course of the 13th century in monuments painted in a style derived from Central Tibet. It remains unclear so far whether this feature is also an expression of a Nepalese background.

Thus the Tabo manuscript illustrations of RN 10, 11, and 153 further expand the chronological range visible in the Buddha depictions. RN 10 is likely the earliest manuscript with an illustration preserved at Tabo, and RN 153 is possibly the youngest we have discussed so far. Now that we have surveyed the comparative illuminated manuscripts found at the site, we can turn to the manuscript that preserves most of the illuminations.

### The Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* Assembly

As mentioned above, Running No. 5, a *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript (Cat. No. 1.1.2.7, Harrison 2009: 25f.), preserves more illuminations than all the others together, namely 28. Of these, 26 are on fully preserved pages and two on fragments. The sequence of the depictions was established through the page and chapter numbers, but the iconographic relationship of the depictions has remained unstudied and is the subject here. This only became possible by the complete photo documentation of all the pages in their sequence by Helmut Tauscher[11] and the catalogue of the Tabo manuscripts by Paul Harrison (2009).

An analysis of the folios shows that the illuminations are always found at the end of a chapter, regardless of whether that is on the *recto* or *verso* page. Thus, we can assume that originally there were at least 76 illuminations, one for each chapter. Of the approximately 1100–1200 folios of the manuscript itself, 675 folios are preserved, which is considerably more than 50 per cent of the text. In contrast, the 28 illustrations represent less than 40 per cent of the original illuminations, a difference in ratio that may be accidental, but may also be another indication of selective picking.

In terms of their relationship to each other and to the text, the illuminations of this manuscript are exceptional for the Tabo corpus. In contrast to the manuscripts discussed so far, at least a part of the illuminations on this manuscript represents a theme not related to the text at all, namely the deities of the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*. Even before the exact relationship of the depictions was studied in detail, some of the deities could easily be recognised as belonging to this or a closely related *maṇḍala*, even more so as captions written in cursive script at the bottom of most of the pages identify the deities. That this subject is found on a Western Himalayan manuscript did not come as a surprise, as depictions of such deities have long been

15. Buddha Vairocana; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (E. Allinger, 1994).

[11] We would like to thank Helmut Tauscher for generously providing this material.

16. Bodhisattva Vajrarāja with a bird shaped *aṅkuśa*; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (C. Luczanits, 1994; WHAV).

17. Bodhisattva Vajrarāga holding bow and arrow; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (D. E. Klimburg-Salter, 1994; WHAV).

18. Bodhisattva Vajratejas holding a sun-disk; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (D. E. Klimburg-Salter, 1994; WHAV).

19. Bodhisattva Vajradharma holding a lotus to his side; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (E. Allinger, 1994).

20. Bodhisattva Vajradharma holding a lotus to his side; Alchi, Sumtsek (gSum brtsegs), left wall, left side *maṇḍala* (J. Poncar, 1981; WHAV).

known from a few folios collected by Giuseppe Tucci from Tholing and now housed in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Inv. nos. M.81.90.6–17).[12] However, the captions underneath these illustrations remained puzzling,[13] and a future article by Gudrun Melzer will suggest an explanation for them. More recently, further folios of Western Himalayan manuscripts with Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* deities have turned up in publications[14] and on the art market.[15]

In the following each illustration is listed in the order of its occurrence within the manuscript. Each deity is identified and briefly described. If there is a caption identifying the depiction, usually found at the bottom of the page underneath the main text and in cursive script, a transcription and interpretation of this caption is provided as well. The order of illustrations and their relation to the chapter ends clarifies some characteristic features of this Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* assembly.

1. Buddha Vairocana (Fig. 15)

The first illustrated folio preserved of this manuscript (Ka 25) contains the end of the first chapter in the first line of the *verso* page (*gleng bzhi'i le'u*). Buddha Vairocana is depicted in the middle of this page. He is white, sits on a lion-throne, and is performing the gesture of highest enlightenment (*bodhyāgrimudrā*).

From the succeeding illuminations it is clear that the four goddesses surrounding Vairocana are not represented in this variant of the assembly. Instead, Vairocana at the end of chapter one was immediately followed by Buddha Akṣobhya at the end of chapter two, who then was followed by the bodhisattvas that surround him on the eastern lotus. Chapter three accordingly ended with a representation of Bodhisattva Vajrasattva, who is not preserved either, whereas the following bodhisattva is.

2. Bodhisattva Vajrarāja (Fig. 16)

Chapter four ends in the second line of the *verso* page numbered Ka-Na 19. In the centre of the page the Bodhisattva Vajrarāja is shown holding an *aṅkuśa*, the hook of which is shaped as a bird.

> Caption: *rdoe rgyal po lag pa nya kyis lcags kyu mdog ser* = Vajrarāja [holding] an *aṅkuśa* with both(?) hands[16] [and] yellow coloured.[17]

[12] These illustrations have been published several times, the most important among them being Tucci 1949: pls. C and D; Klimburg-Salter 1982: 183, pl. 101; and Pal 1990: pls. 1–2, figs. M1, b–f, h, i.

[13] See Harrison 2007, in particular p. 236.

[14] Pal 2009: fig. 4 contains up to seven relevant deities, one represented twice.

[15] In particular Carlo Cristi, who in recent years had a number of folios with Vajradhātu related deities for sale, which will be referred to here in comparison.

[16] While the reading of the Tibetan leaves no other choice, the meaning of *nya* in this context remains unclear. It would be tempting to read *bya* and thus "bird-hook" instead, but such a reading contradicts both the shape of the letter and the agentive particle *kyis* between the two words. We thus prefer to interpret the *nya* as an incomplete *nyi* for *gnyis*, as the attribute is indeed held in both hands and other captions sometimes specifically mention the hand an attribute is held with.

[17] It is remarkable, that all yellow (*ser po*) deities (nos. 2, 7, 12, 14 and 18) in this manuscript have a strong orange hue.

3. Bodhisattva Vajrarāga (Fig. 17)
Chapter five ends in the sixth line of the *recto* page numbered Ka-Na 39. The Bodhisattva Vajrarāga is shown at the lower centre of the page. He is red, holds an arrow pointing downwards in his right hand at his side and a bow in his left hand resting on his hip.

Caption: *rdoe chags pa dmar po lda' zhu*[18] = Vajrarāga, red, [with] arrow and bow.

The order of these two bodhisattvas surrounding Akṣobhya conforms to the usual enumeration. The last bodhisattva of the eastern lotus would then be Vajrasādhu at the end of chapter six. Thus in the manuscript illustrations the Tathāgata of the respective direction is followed immediately by the four *vajra*-bodhisattvas surrounding him, and only then the next Tathāgata is listed, which in the usual succession is Buddha Ratnasambhava, at the end of chapter seven, followed by the primary bodhisattva of his direction, Vajraratna, at the end of chapter eight.

4. Bodhisattva Vajratejas (Fig. 18)
Chapter nine ends in the seventh line of the *recto* page Ka-Ma 34. In the lower centre of this page is the red-coloured Vajratejas holding a red sun in his hand.

Caption: *rdoe zi 'rjid nyi ma'i mdog cen g.yas na pad ma'i steng na nyi ma snaṃ yon kur*[19] = Vajratejas, sun-coloured, holding a sun on a lotus in his right [hand, and] his left at his side.

The following two bodhisattvas of the southern assembly are missing, as is the Buddha following them, Amitābha, who should be represented at the end of chapter twelve. However, the next securely identifiable illumination is Vajratīkṣṇa at the end of chapter thirteen, but in the usual order there is another bodhisattva between Amitābha and Vajratīkṣṇa, and it is this bodhisattva who is represented on one of the fragmentary pages.

5. Bodhisattva Vajradharma (Fig. 19)
A fragmentary page with a chapter number between 10 and 19 (*le'u bcu* ...) in the seventh line preserves an image that can only represent the Bodhisattva Vajradharma, a form of Avalokiteśvara heading the bodhisattvas in the west surrounding Amitābha. In the depiction the bodhisattva is red (the texts are ambivalent concerning his colour) and holds a lotus in his right hand at his side. His second hand is on his hip. Usually, as is described for this deity, it is this hand that holds the stalk of the lotus, while the right hand opens the lotus at the heart. It is likely that this illustration is found at the end of chapter twelve, as also assumed by Harrison (2009: 26). Vajradharma is the main Bodhisattva of the western assembly.

This means that if every deity marks the end of a chapter, one deity between Vajratejas and Vajradharma is missing. Where that deity was represented is a matter of speculation, but it seems clear that a mistake was made in the arrangement of the deities. Another error is illustrated through the following illumination.

6. Bodhisattva Vajratīkṣṇa (Fig. 21)
The small depiction of this bodhisattva at the end of chapter 13 is clearly an afterthought. The chapter ends in the eighth line on the *recto* page numbered Kha 82 (*rab 'byord kyi'u*). Unlike the other deities in the manuscript, the deity is not set in a picture space of his own. Instead, the illustration is only of the size available between the lines of text at the end of the chapter. Vajratīkṣṇa is blue and brandishes a sword.

21. Bodhisattva Vajratīkṣṇa brandishing a sword; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (D. E. Klimburg-Salter, 1994; WHAV).

22. Bodhisattva Vajrahetu, holding a wheel at his side; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (D. E. Klimburg-Salter, 1994; WHAV).

23. Bodhisattva Vajrahetu, holding a wheel at his side; Alchi, Sumtsek (J. Poncar, 1981; WHAV)

24. Bodhisattva Vajrabhāṣa, holding his (*vajra*-) tongue on a white lotus; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (D. E. Klimburg-Salter, 1994; WHAV).

25. Buddha Amoghasiddhi; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (D. E. Klimburg-Salter, 1994; WHAV).

[18] Read *mda' gzhu*.

[19] In accordance with other captions of this manuscript, here we read *g.yon skur*.

26. Bodhisattva Vajrakarma seated in a palace; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (D. E. Klimburg-Salter, 1994; WHAV).

27. Bodhisattva Vajrarakṣa holding a mail shirt; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (C. Luczanits, 1994; WHAV).

28. Bodhisattva Vajrayakṣa, holding his fangs; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (D. E. Klimburg-Salter, 1994; WHAV).

29. Bodhisattva Vajrayakṣa, holding his fangs; Nako, lHa khang gong ma, Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* on the right side wall (C. Luczanits, 1996; WHAV).

7. Bodhisattva Vajrahetu (Fig. 22)
Chapter 14 ends in the sixth line of the *recto* page numbered Kha-Na 1. In the centre of the page is the dark yellow coloured Vajrahetu. He holds a wheel at his side and his left hand rests on his hip.

Caption: *rdoe rgu ser po khor lo g.yon kur* = Vajrahetu/rDo rje rgyu, yellow, [with] wheel [and] the left [hand] by his body.

8. Bodhisattva Vajrabhāṣa (Fig. 24)
Chapter 15 ends in the eighth line of the *verso* page numbered Kha-Na 15. In the lower right area of the page Vajrabhāṣa is shown along with a small square ornament reminiscent of a ritual *maṇḍala* depiction. The bodhisattva is red and at his side he holds a lotus that supports an elongated red object with a rounded top. Only the context makes it possible to identify this object as a (*vajra*-)tongue. His left hand rests on his hip.

9. Buddha Amoghasiddhi (Fig. 25)
Chapter 16 ends in the seventh line of the *recto* page Kha-Na 37. The Buddha is placed in the centre of the page. He is green and shows the gesture of fearlessness (*abhayamudrā*), and his family attribute is not represented.

Caption: *don yod grub pa myi 'jig*[20] *sbyin gyon ku* = Amoghasiddhi, bestowing fearlessness [and] his left [hand] by his side.

The presence of Amoghasiddhi in this position is the final proof that the Buddhas are followed by their surrounding bodhisattvas. Three of his bodhisattva retinue are preserved in the manuscript, this group thus being the most complete.

10. Bodhisattva Vajrakarma (Fig. 26)
Chapter 17 ends in the second line of the *recto* page Kha-Na 47. The picture of Vajrakarma is slightly off centre to the right. The bodhisattva is green and unusually is seated within a palace structure. He should hold a *viśvavajra* in his hand in front of his breast, but the attribute cannot be recognised on the available photographs. His left hand rests on his hip.

Caption: *rdoe las sna tshogs kyi mdog can sna tshogs due*[21] = Vajrakarma, of variegated colour [and holding] a *viśvavajra*.

The divergence in colour is the only clear case where the information in the caption differs substantially from the actual depiction. Of variegated colour means that different body parts are of different colours, just like the prongs of the crossed vajra (*viśvavajra*). While this feature is shown in a number of cases,[22] most often deities of variegated colour are green.[23]

11. Bodhisattva Vajrarakṣa (Fig. 27)
Chapter 18 ends in the seventh line of the *recto* page Kha-Na 59. Vajrarakṣa is shown in the middle of the page, he is yellow and holds

[20] Read *mi 'jigs pa*.

[21] The reading of the last syllable is uncertain. It should read *rdoe* for *rdo rje*, this can, however, not be read into the remaining traces.

[22] In the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvaramañjuśrī *maṇḍala* of Khartse the Bodhisattva Vajrakarma is of variegated colour.

[23] This is also the case on another depiction of this bodhisattva in a manuscript illumination on the *recto* page of a *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript folio numbered Tha-Na 32 from Carlo Cristi, where he is represented at the end of chapter 41. Here the bodhisattva holds a crossed vajra (*viśvavajra*) in front of his breast, while the second attribute cannot be recognised on the available pictures. See Pal 2009: fig. 4, top left corner. Green forms of this bodhisattva are also found in the Nako Translator's temple and the Alchi group of monuments, while Vajradhātu sculptures in the Tabo Assembly Hall and Sumda are a dark greenish blue and pale white with bright blue shading.

a mail shirt with *vajra* ends in front of his breast.[24]

Caption: *rdoe bsrung ba ser gyi mdog can go cha snams* = Vajrarakṣa, yellow coloured [and] holding armour.

12. Bodhisattva Vajrayakṣa (Fig. 28)

Chapter 19 ends in the second line of the *recto* page Kha-Na 65. The somewhat damaged illustration of Vajrayakṣa is in the centre of the page. He is black and holds two long teeth in front of his breast.

Only Vajrasandhi, who was probably depicted at the end of chapter 20, is missing from the group of bodhisattvas around Amoghasiddhi. With him the group of the five Buddhas with their surrounding bodhisattvas is concluded.

The deities in the centre of the *maṇḍala* are then followed by the Eight Offering Goddesses.[25] In contrast to the previous deities, the goddesses are not shown frontally but off centre in three-quarter profile and facing the centre of the manuscript page. This conforms to their common depiction in *maṇḍala*s and is certainly also a visual means of indicating their subsidiary role and position. The first five goddesses of this group are preserved in order, which conforms to the usual sequence.

13. Goddess Lāsyā (Fig. 30)

Chapter 21 ends in the ninth line of the *recto* page Kha-Na 79. The picture of the offering goddess is at the bottom right corner of the page and is severely damaged. Lāsyā is white and holds a *vajra* in her right hand on her hip; her left hand is not preserved. The caption is immediately underneath the depiction.

Caption: *sgeg mo kar mo lag mar rer #o de de*[26] *snaṃs*[27] = Lāsyā, white, holding [a *vajra* in each hand].

14. Goddess Mālā (Fig. 31)

Chapter 22 ends in the second line of the *verso* page Kha-Na 96. The illustration is in the left area of the page. The goddess, facing

30. Offering goddess Lāsyā; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (C. Luczanits, 1994; WHAV).

31. Offering goddess Mālā, holding a jewel garland in both hands; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (C. Luczanits, 1994; WHAV).

32. Offering goddess Mālā, holding a jewel garland in both hands; Phyi dbang cave, Western Tibet (C. Luczanits, 2007).

33. Offering goddess Gītā, not playing her *vīṇā*; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (E. Allinger, 1994).

34. Offering goddess Gītā, not playing her *vīṇā*; Alchi, Sumtsek, gallery floor, main wall, right *maṇḍala* (J. Poncar, 1989; WHAV).

[24] Vajrarakṣa is also depicted on the *recto* page of a *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript folio numbered #-Na (the upper letter uncertain) 30 from Carlo Cristi, where it is found at the end of chapter 24. See Pal 2009: fig. 4, bottom left corner.

[25] These goddesses belong to the core deities of the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*, and thus to the inner assembly. However, in mandala depictions they are commonly represented in the corners of the two inner squares, four in the corners of the inner palace and four together with the Sixteen Bodhisattvas of the Bhadrakalpa.

[26] Although this reading is uncertain, the meaning can be concluded from the remains of the caption and the usual depiction of this goddess.

[27] Above this caption, another longer *dbu med* text can be recognised but it is no longer legible. The function of this text thus remains unclear.

35. Offering goddess Nṛtyā raising both hands; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (C. Luczanits, 1994; WHAV).

36. Offering goddess Dhūpā, dancing with an incense burner; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (D. E. Klimburg-Salter, 1994; WHAV).

37. Gatekeeper Vajrapāśa, holding a noose; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (D. E. Klimburg-Salter, 1994; WHAV).

38. Gatekeeper Vajrāveśa, holding a bell with both hands; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (D. E. Klimburg-Salter, 1994; WHAV).

39. Bodhisattva Bhadrapāla, holding a lotus with a triple jewel; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (E. Allinger, 1994).

the centre, is yellow and holds a garland of jewels with *vajra* ends in front of her.

Caption: *'sreng*[28] *ba ma ser mo rin po che 'i breng ba snaṃ* = Mālā, yellow [and] holding a jewel garland.

15. Goddess Gītā (Fig. 33)

Chapter 23 ends in the sixth line of the *recto* page Kha-Ma 17 (*brgya byin gyi le'u*). The goddess of song, Gītā is shown in the right-hand part of the page and facing the centre. She is red and holds a bow and *vīṇā* at her sides, not playing the instrument.

Caption: *glu ma dmar skya bi bang*[29] *snams* = Gītā, bright red [and] holding a *vīṇā*.

16. Goddess Nṛtyā (Fig. 35)

Chapter 24 ends in the third line of the *recto* page of *Kha-Ma* 38 (*yongs su sngo ba'i le'u*). Nṛtyā, the goddess of dance is shown in the centre of the page but facing the right. She is green with her hands raised to the sides of her head.

Caption: *g # # ljang gu gar byed ba'i tshul* = [Nṛtyā], green [and] in the manner of performing a dance.

It is interesting to note that the dance posture of Nṛtyā, with both feet on the ground and only her arms shown as moving, may well reflect the local dance style, in which the hands do most of the rhythmic movement, while the legs move in a comparatively slow and restrained way.[30]

17. Goddess Dhūpā (Fig. 36)

The goddess of incense, Dhūpā, is presumably depicted at the end of chapter 25. Only the fragment of this page containing the illumination is preserved. The goddess is presumably represented on the right of the central text area and faces left. She stands in a dance pose and holds an incense burner.

Caption: *dug*[31] *pa ma kar mo s s n b ng*[32] *snaṃ* = Dhūpā, white [and] holding ...

The remaining offering goddesses, presumably depicted at the ends of chapters 26 to 28, are missing. Two of the following four gatekeepers, depicted in the usual succession at the end of chapters 29 to 32, are preserved. Like the offering goddesses, they are shown standing and facing the centre of the manuscript page.

18. Gatekeeper Vajrapāśa (Fig. 37)

Chapter 30 ends in the second line of the *recto* page Ga 42. The picture with Vajrapāśa is in the centre of the page. The gatekeeper is orange and holds a noose in both hands in front of him, its *vajra* ends dangling from his hands. He is the protector of the south.

Caption: *sgo ba zhags pa ser po zhags pa snaṃs* = gatekeeper Pāśa, yellow [and] holding a noose

19. Gatekeeper Vajrāveśa (Fig. 38)

Chapter 32 ends in the fourth line of the *recto* page Ga 71. Vajrāveśa is

[28] For *'phreng*; this actually looks like a copying mistake, or the writer did not know how to represent the *ph* in this script. The same issue is found again at the end of the line, although there in a different variant.

[29] Read *pi wang*.

[30] Vajranṛtyā is also represented on the *recto* page of a manuscript folio numbered Ja-Nga 23 from Carlo Cristi, where she is seated and only moves her arms. See Pal 2009: fig. 4, second row left and bottom centre illustration (shown twice). This illumination is remarkable for its frame.

[31] Read *bdug*.

[32] The resolution of the available picture is too low for this part of the text to be readable. What is recognisable differs too much from the expected *spos snod*.

shown in the centre of the page facing left. He is green and holds a bell in with both hands in front of his breast. He is the protector of the north.[33]

Caption: *sgo ba 'bebs pa ljang ku rdo rje*[34] = gatekeeper Vajrāveśa, green [and with] *vajra*

The gatekeepers are followed by the Sixteen Bodhisattvas of the Fortunate Aeon (*bhadrakalpa*), which end chapters 33 to 48. However, only one of this large group is preserved, which indicates that this group is again shown frontally and seated.

20. Bodhisattva Bhadrapāla (Fig. 39)
Chapter 43 ends in the fifth line of the *recto* page Ga-Na 89 (*gang 'ga'i lha mo'i le'u*). Bhadrapāla is shown somewhat off centre to the right (in the right third of the page). He is white and holds a red lotus carrying a large triple jewel.

Caption: *bzang skyong kar pad ma'i steng na rin po che* = Bhadrapāla, white [and with] a jewel on a lotus

It is a shame that only one deity of this large group is preserved. There are different versions of this group both in texts and illustrations, and the order of these bodhisattvas might have been particularly telling.

The representation of the main deities of the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* assembly is concluded with the Sixteen Bodhisattvas of the Fortunate Aeon. Theoretically the gatekeepers could be repeated here, as is the case in some *maṇḍala* depictions, but this appears rather unlikely, as in this case the inner gatekeepers are commonly represented as peaceful or even female.

The following chapters of the text are then illustrated mostly with unidentified Buddha representations.

21. Buddha (Fig. 40)
The Buddha at the end of chapter 54 is centred on the page, the chapter ends in the seventh line of the *recto* page (Nga 52). His original depiction has largely been smudged and was replaced by a—presumably rather recent—line drawing. This Buddha has his hands joined in front of his breast in a way that only the tips of the fingers are touching each other.

22. Buddha (Fig. 48)
Chapter 55 ends in the first line of the *verso* page Nga 56 (*'og ma*). The Buddha is seated in meditation (*dhyānamudrā*) and wears a green robe that covers both shoulders.

23. Buddha (Fig. 41)
Chapter 59 ends in the third line of the *verso* page Nga 93. The Buddha is yellow and has his hands in a strongly simplified variant of the teaching gesture (*dharmacakramudrā*) in front of the breast. He wears a red robe with the right shoulder covered from behind.

24. Buddha (Fig. 53)
Chapter 60 ends in the fifth line of the *recto* page (Nga-Na 12). The Buddha is orange-yellow with green shading, performing the gesture of touching the earth (*bhūmisparśamudrā*) and has his left hand in front of his breast. He wears a red patchwork robe leaving the right shoulder exposed.

40. Teaching(?) Buddha redrawn; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (D. E. Klimburg-Salter, 1994; WHAV).

41. Yellow teaching Buddha; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (E. Allinger, 1994).

42. Kneeling Buddha; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (E. Allinger, 1994).

43. Bodhisattva meditating in palace; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (E. Allinger, 1994).

[33] The same gatekeeper is found at the end of chapter (*le'u*) 47 on a *verso* page of a *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript folio numbered Tha-Ma 26 owned by Carlo Cristi. See Pal 2009: fig. 4, middle image in the second row. In this case the deity holds both *vajra* and bell side by side in front of his breast.

[34] If this reading is correct, then the verb is missing. The word *snaṃ* or one of its variants used in these captions for "holding" is unreadable in this case.

25. Buddha
Chapter 66 ends in the third line of the *recto* page (Nga-Ma 7). The Buddha is yellow, holds his hands in the teaching gesture in front of his breast and wears a green robe leaving the right shoulder exposed.

26. Kneeling Buddha (Fig. 42)
Chapter 68 ends in the eighth line of the *verso* page (Nga-Ma 20). Unusually, this Buddha is represented kneeling sideways. The page is torn on the right and the small depiction partly lost. The figure has his hands raised in what is to be interpreted as the veneration gesture (*namaskāramudrā*) towards the right. He wears green robes and his right shoulder is covered from behind. As the illumination is cut off on the right it remains unclear whether the Buddha is facing some other representation to his side.

27. Buddha
Chapter 69 ends in the fifth line of the *verso* page (Nga-Ma 26). The Buddha is yellow, is performing *dharmacakramudrā* and wears a red patchwork robe with the right shoulder covered from behind.

Remarkably, the last chapters of this manuscript were probably accompanied by illustrations of the Bodhisattva Sadāprarudita's quest for the Perfection of Wisdom, although this identification cannot be considered entirely certain.

28. Meditating Bodhisattva (Fig. 43)
A meditating bodhisattva is depicted at the end of chapter 74, the chapter of Sadāprarudita (*rtag par rab tu ngu ba'i le'u*) as in line nine of the *recto* page (Nga-Ma 62), this time seated in an architectural frame. The bodhisattva is red, wears rich jewellery and a yellow cape covering the shoulders from behind.

Given the place in the manuscript where this illustration is found, it is very likely that this scene illustrates the story of the Bodhisattva Sadāprarudita in search for the perfection of wisdom, possibly representing the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata meditating in the city of Gandhavatī. After their first meeting the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata went into his house, where he "remained for seven years immersed in one uninterrupted state of trance, and he dwelt in countless thousands of concentrations, peculiar to Bodhisattvas, issued from perfection of wisdom and skill in means." (Conze 1958: 220). As we have seen, Dharmodgata can be shown in red (Fig. 9) as well as white (Fig. 12).

This manuscript is remarkable for a number of reasons. First of all, its illuminations (likely) show three different, unrelated themes, namely the deities of the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*, repeated Buddhas and (possibly) the narrative of Sadāprarudita. As we have seen above, the two latter themes occur in other Tabo manuscripts as well, and the narrative at the end has a direct relationship to the text's content. Due to these three themes, but also within them, the manuscript has an unusual variety of illustrations, which appear both intentional, such as setting the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata within an architectural frame, and unintentional, such as the miniature representation of Vajratīkṣṇa.

Also the direct relationship of the illustrations to the text is noteworthy. Not only are the illuminations always found at that side of the folio where the chapter actually ends, but at least some of its locations are chosen in direct relation to the end of the chapters. Consequently, the placement of the pictures on the page appears random. Even more remarkable, with the Vajradhātu deities the placing of the illustration also considers their iconography and usual depiction within a *maṇḍala*. To our knowledge, such relationships are not found in Indian manuscripts such as the "Manuscript in Five Collections".[35] Finally, the representations of the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* deities in this manuscript offer the possibility to compare them with the same deities in roughly contemporaneous murals of the same region.

## Iconographic Comparisons

There is no direct relationship between the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* and the Prajñāpāramitā literature, but both were extremely prominent in early Western Himalayan Buddhism. In fact, diverse topics of teachings traditionally classified as Yoga Tantra are found throughout the early monuments of the Western Himalayas. In most cases, the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* represents the main theme and complementary topics cover the other walls, partly featuring the same groups of deities.[36] Much less is preserved in Central Tibet, but it can be assumed that there Yoga Tantra topics, and particularly the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*, were of equal importance and thus were also frequently depicted. However, only few of these representations are preserved today.[37]

In contrast to later canonised versions of *maṇḍala* assemblies, these early representations and in particular the Yoga Tantra topics are represented in many variants distinguished by composition, the number of deities and their relationship, as well as the iconography of individual deities, providing the possibility that the Tabo manuscript deities can actually be related to a particular place and time. Given

[35] See Allinger 2008.

[36] On the most important topics in the early Western Himalayan monuments, see Luczanits 2004: 201–223.

[37] Besides the monuments cited below, see also the temples centred on Vairocana mentioned in Richardson 1990.

that the manuscript is found at Tabo, the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* as preserved in the Tabo Assembly Hall (*'du khang*) is of course the first reference comparison, but comparative examples are utilised from all the Western Himalayan region and beyond.

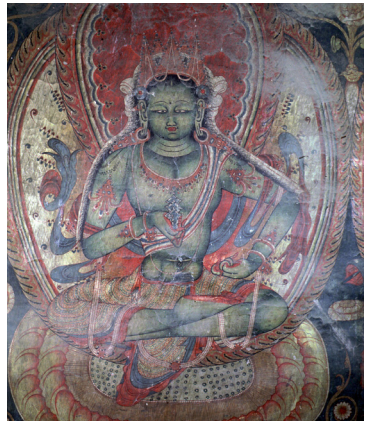
As mentioned above, the Tabo manuscript is also part of a small group of illuminations depicting the Vajradhātu deities. The most important and most well-known among these are the above-mentioned manuscript leaves originally brought by Giuseppe Tucci from Tholing and now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.81.90.6-17; see n. 13, p. 347). These, and some additional ones that turned up on the art market in recent years, offer an additional body of comparison. As they lack context, these comparisons are only of secondary importance and mainly serve to demonstrate that the typological and possibly also chronological range of such depictions is broader than it appears from the market.[38]

Sadly, the title page of the manuscript is not preserved and it remains unclear what might have been represented there. Obviously, the goddess Prajñāpāramitā is a likely candidate, but in the only comparison in this respect, the LACMA manuscript fragments, the goddess is actually at the end of a manuscript, and is not the same one as is shown with the Vajradhātu deities.[39] Interestingly, this page has a verse invoking the example of Sudhana or Norzang (Nor bzang), the hero of the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* added to it.[40] Another possibility is a Buddha representation and an interlocutor represented on the sides of the folio, as frequently occurs in other manuscripts.[41]

In the Tabo manuscript, Buddha Vairocana (Fig. 15) is white and has his hands joined in front of his breast in what probably represents a variant of the gesture of highest enlightenment (*bodhyāgrimudrā*). Although our picture is not entirely clear, it appears that his right hand turned towards himself—and thus with the back towards the viewer—covering almost all his left hand. Further the mandorla is smaller than the figure and the lions are squeezed underneath the lotus seat of the deity. The Vairocana sculpture of Tabo has its hands in exactly the reverse positions. Instead the closest comparisons are found in the Alchi group of monuments, with those depicted in two *maṇḍala*s of the Sumtsek (gSum brtsegs) gallery floor being the closest.[42]

From the illuminations succeeding Vairocana it is clear that four goddesses of the core assembly of the *maṇḍala* are not represented in the manuscript. There is neither space for four goddesses surrounding Vairocana, as they are shown in the earliest depictions, nor for the four consorts of the surrounding Buddhas shown in later versions of the *maṇḍala*. This is immediately reminiscent of the Tabo Assembly Hall, where the four goddesses are also missing, but there they could be reconstructed as once having been present at the corners of Vairocana's throne.[43]

The Bodhisattva Vajrarāja holds an unusually shaped elephant goad (*aṅkuśa*), with the hook in the shape of a bird (Fig. 16). In the earliest West Tibetan monuments, as in the Tabo Assembly Hall



44. Offering goddess Mālā, holding a noose like garland; Tholing, northwestern *mchod rten* (after Namgyal 2001: 131).

45. Bodhisattva Vajraratna, from Tholing (photo courtesy of Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M81.90.7).

46. Bodhisattva Mahābala; Tabo, *gtsug lag khang*, ambulatory, north wall, lower register (J. Poncar, 1984; WHAV).

47. Buddha Padma, the 97th Buddha of the Bhadrakalpa, yellow and in green robes; Tabo, *gtsug lag khang*, ambulatory, inner wall west (C. Luczanits, 1994; WHAV).

48. Meditating Buddha in green robes; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (C. Luczanits, 1994; WHAV).

38 Traditionally any West Tibetan illumination is attributed to the 11th century.

39 Harrison 2007: 238–40 (no. 8).

40 Translated in Harrison 2007: 239.

41 See, for example, the many examples in Heller 2009, likely following an earlier convention, as also demonstrated by the depiction in the Tabo ambulatory of the Bodhisattva Pramuditarāja requesting the Buddha Śākyamuni to teach the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* (Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 161). A similar pair, both appearing to be Buddhas, occurs in a folio offered by Carlo Cristi, but these are not at the beginning of the text but mark the end of the first *bam po*.

42 See Goepper and Poncar 1996: 189.

43 See Luczanits 2004: 46–51 and fig. 40.

or the Alchi monuments, the *aṅkuśa* is consistently shaped as the head of a *makara*, his trunk forming the hook. Besides the attribute itself, the way it is held across the body with two hands can also be compared. In this case the depictions in the oldest temples of Alchi, Nako and Sumda Chung conform to that on the manuscript, the closest in terms of hand positions being that of the Alchi 'Du khang.

The Bodhisattva Vajrarāga (Fig. 17) has his bow and arrow in an inactive position, the arrow head pointing downwards and the bow at his hip. This contrasts with the active shooting position found in most of the early Western Himalayan depictions, including the Tabo Assembly Hall. In fact, so far only a single comparison to the passive depiction in the manuscript has been found, namely in the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*s in the recently discovered Khartse cave.[44]

Little can be deduced from the depiction of the following bodhisattva, Vajratejas (Fig. 18), who is shown in most comparative examples alike, but the representation of Vajradharma is again rather unusual (Fig. 19). The red bodhisattva holds a lotus in his right hand, but it is held at his side and the second hand does not "open it at the heart" as described[45] and commonly pictured. The illustration in the manuscript, in contrast, is found in several instances among the Alchi monuments, in the wrathful depiction of this bodhisattva in the Alchi Dukhang ('Du khang) and two other ones in the Alchi Sumtsek (gallery, both *maṇḍala*s on the right side wall; Fig. 20).[46] While this comparison is important, it needs to be noted that the last three bodhisattvas of the Tabo manuscript are practically identical in their posture and the location of their arms.

Bodhisattva Vajratīkṣṇa, painted as an afterthought in-between the text lines, brandishes a sword, but does not hold a book in his left hand (Fig. 21), as certainly was the case in the Tabo Assembly Hall. However, he is too varied in the comparative depictions—in colour (blue and yellow), posture (brandishing the sword or holding it upright in front of his breast), and attribute (holding a book or not)—for any meaningful conclusions to be drawn from them.

In the case of the Bodhisattva Vajrahetu, the only telling detail is the shape of the wheel he holds at his side, which is shaped like a yellow blossom with five petals (Fig. 22). Again the depictions of the deity and the way the attribute is held, if it is shown at all, vary across the Western Himalayas, but the depiction in the manuscript again has its best comparisons again in the Alchi Sumtsek, where even the attribute is a similar shape (Fig. 23).

The Bodhisattva Vajrabhāṣa is again very distinctive. Instead of holding the (*vajra*-)tongue in his hand, it is placed on a white lotus at his side, standing upright on it as if it were the red stigma of the lotus pistil (Fig. 24). This attribute has always been very difficult to depict, even more so as it has the same colour as the bodhisattva, and there are consequently many variants in its representation. In most cases it is clear that the attempt has been made to depict an actual physical tongue, a red often slightly bent object, and occasionally a *vajra* head is added on one side. Although in most depictions the tongue is at the side of the body, none of the comparisons uses a lotus base for the attribute.

Following Buddha Amoghasiddhi (Fig. 25), the only other of the five Buddhas besides Vairocana preserved in this manuscript, is the primary bodhisattva of his family, Vajrakarma (Fig. 26). The photos available to us are too blurred to verify his attribute, the *viśvavajra*, and the posture alone varies quite considerably in other depictions of this deity. What is interesting though, is the architectural frame around the bodhisattva, the palace within which he is shown. Supported by two pillars, it has a raised central section with corner finials and each of the two platforms is topped by a structure similar to the one-eyed *stūpa* from another Tabo manuscript discussed above (RN 153, Fig. 13). More decisive, however, is that in the wall paintings such more architecture-oriented frames only occur in the course of the 12th century.[47] Comparative frames, although not with this peculiar *stūpa*-like shape are found in Lalung and the Alchi group of monuments.

As usual, Bodhisattva Vajrarakṣa holds a mail shirt in front of his breast, the *vajra*-heads on both sides clearly visible (Fig. 27). More interesting is the black Vajrayakṣa, who holds two long silver fangs (Fig. 28). The latter is interesting, since he is described as a black wrathful figure, but in depictions he is rarely shown this way, and often even the colour is brighter. The Tabo manuscript depiction most closely compares to those at Nako, in particular his two representations in the side wall *maṇḍala*s of the lHa khang gong ma (Fig. 29).

While the Buddhas and bodhisattvas discussed so far demand more hieratic and static representations, there is considerable freedom with the offering goddesses. In fact, in the Tabo manuscript these are shown with agitated movements and exaggerated postures. This can best be demonstrated by the representation of

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[44] We owe the documentation of this cave to the Pritzker family. The cave is also the subject of Tshe ring rgyal po et al. 2009.

[45] For a summary of the relevant details in the iconographic description of Ānandagarbha see Luczanits 2004: 296–99. Unless otherwise noted, it is this description we refer to.

[46] For the full *maṇḍala* and details of some of its deities see Goepper and Poncar 1996: 186–99.

[47] See Luczanits 2004: 249–56.

Lāsyā (Fig. 30), which is so far the only representation of this goddess that is shown so much in profile that her two hands are joined at hip level at the side she is looking towards. Usually the hands are on both sides regardless of whether she is represented frontally or looking sideways.

The Goddess Mālā faces to the right, but her body is twisted in such an extreme way that her breasts face the left (Fig. 31). She holds a garland with hanging jewels and *vajra* ends, which corresponds most closely to representations in the Alchi Dukhang and the Khartse cave. A similar but much less pronounced body posture, in contrast, is only found in a Phyang (Phyi dbang) cave (Fig. 32). Gītā, the goddess of song, is shown in a similar extreme posture and holds her instrument, the bow and the *vīṇā* passively at her sides (Fig. 33). With the exception of one depiction of the Alchi Sumtsek (Fig. 34) in all other depictions available to us the goddess is actually playing the *vīṇā* or has her right hand very close to the instrument.

With Nṛtyā, the goddess of dance, the movement is expected, but it is unusual that she raises both her hands (Fig. 35). Most commonly the goddess raises one hand above her head, but occasionally she may have both hands raised, usually holding the ends of a scarf that falls behind her body. Of these, the portrayal in the Nako lHa khang gong ma and one Alchi Sumtsek depiction, from the same *maṇḍala* as the comparison for Gītā, are closest to the one in the manuscript. In terms of movement, the most extreme depiction on the manuscript is certainly that of the goddess Dhūpā (Fig. 36). Her motion is so exaggerated that her breast projects underneath her arm. The shape of the incense burner she is holding is very distinctive and we have not yet found it elsewhere.

The two gatekeepers, Vajrapāśa (Fig. 37) and Vajrāveśa (Fig. 38) do not provide much additional information, their depictions are too varied to be significant. In the case of Vajrāveśa—also called Vajraghaṇṭā in reference to his main attribute, the bell—the holding of the bell with both hands in front of his breast is shared by depictions in the Nako Translator's temple (Lotsāba *lha khang*) and the Khartse cave temple, and another manuscript illumination that has recently been on the market is very similar to it.

The iconography of the Sixteen Bodhisattvas of the Fortunate Aeon (*bhadrakalpa*) included in the Yoga Tantra *maṇḍala*s is too varied to allow for a similar comparison in case of the Bodhisattva Bhadrapāla (Fig. 39). The two groups of Sixteen Bodhisattvas are even inscribed in the ambulatory of the Tabo Main Temple, but as the example of Bhadrapāla there makes clear it is far from certain that these captions are actually correct.[48] In any case, the iconography of this Bodhisattva on the manuscript, white with a triple jewel on a lotus, conforms to one of his descriptions, and the triple jewel is his common attribute.[49]

Although these iconographic comparisons relate the Tabo manuscript depictions of the Vajradhātu deities to most of the Western Himalayan monuments, there are a few general observations that can be made from them. The variations in the depictions of the Vajradhātu deities found throughout the Western Himalayas are an indication of numerous parallel traditions on this topic in both religious and artistic terms. There are also indications of substantial variations in the depictions of individual deities even if their iconography is firmly established. While found at Tabo, the illuminations of the manuscript do not compare well to the Tabo Main Temple. Instead the closest comparisons are found at sites such as Nako and Alchi, and there is a general trend for comparisons to monuments most likely dating to the 12th century, or even its second half.

**Stylistic Observations**

As we have seen from the discussion of the Buddha depictions, the Tabo manuscript illuminations reflect the stylistic development of Western Himalayan painting from the 11th to the 13th century. It is thus possible to relate the murals to the book illuminations, and it is generally assumed that the same artists that worked on the large mural programmes also participated in the creation of manuscript illuminations. However, the situation would seem to be more complex, in that the manuscript illuminations are only rarely of the same quality as the murals. In the following section we will attempt to outline a stylistic development of Western Himalayan art that also takes these qualitative differences into account.

The oldest comparative paintings in the region probably date to the first half of the 11th century, and were rediscovered in the north-west chörten (*mchod rten*) at Tholing, one of two such partly preserved structures in the vicinity of the temple of Ye shes 'od (also referred to as brGya rtsa).[50] This chörten once contained three sculptures housed in niches and flanked by secondary painted deities. As many of the physical features in these paintings are also found on more or less contemporaneous Kashmiri bronzes, they are generally assigned to the Kashmiri tradition.[51] Since virtually no Kashmiri paintings have been preserved, the question of how these paintings came to be executed at Tholing remains a matter of speculation. The figures in

[48] See Luczanits 1999: 151.

[49] de Mallmann 1986: 116.

[50] See Namgyal 2001: 126–31, and Heller 2010.

[51] See, for example, Luczanits 2004: 226–28 and Heller 2010.

49. A *pratyekabuddha* of a Sarvadurgatipariśodhana *maṇḍala*; Alchi, Dukhang, right side wall (J. Poncar, 1989; WHAV).

50. Buddha Ratnasambhava; Nako, Translator's temple, Dharmadhātuvāgīśvaramañjuśrī *maṇḍala* (C. Luczanits, 1998; WHAV).

51. Goddess Cundā with 18 arms; Pooh, *Prajñāpāramitā* Manuscript, folio 2 (C. Luczanits, 1993; WHAV).

52. Four-armed Green Tārā; Alchi, Sumtsek, left side wall of the Avalokiteśvara niche (J. Poncar, 1981; WHAV).

the chörten are painted in an extremely hard linear style (Fig. 44). The body is modelled with a thick application of pigment that creates an almost pattern-like effect but does not result in the impression of depth or plasticity. All details, such as the opulent jewellery and the textile patterns, are painted with precision. The superb quality of these paintings makes it likely that the artists were brought in from an important cultural centre, at that time probably Kashmir.

The same artists may have been responsible for the Tholing manuscript paintings of Vajradhātu deities held at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Fig. 45**).** However, there are a number of deviations from the harsh linearity of the Tholing murals. While the facial features are the same—with the small elongated eyes, the projection of the further eye in three-quarter profile, prominent nose, small mouth and the marked chin, and the bodies have similar proportions—the overall impression is softer and more playful, as evinced by the narrow diaphanous scarves around their shoulders. The only modelling occurs as shading along the outlines.

The paintings in the ambulatory of the Tabo Main Temple, which can be securely attributed to the mid-11th century, are very similar to those of the Tholing manuscript (Fig. 46).[52] There is the same faint shading along the outlines of the body, although there is considerable variation here depending on the base colour,[53] and while the heads are somewhat broader and the shape of the mouth a little narrower, the facial features are similar. At Tabo there is occasional slight modelling of the face, making the figures more sensual than those of the Tholing manuscript. Due to their large size, the Tabo depictions are exceptional in terms of their detailed and varied representation of jewellery, textile patterns and attributes.

While the Buddha depictions of the Tabo manuscript RN 9 (Fig. 4) exhibit similarities to the style of the Tabo Ambulatory paintings, they are clearly of far inferior quality. In this respect the depictions of the Thousand Buddhas in the same ambulatory offer a better basis for comparison, especially those on the inner wall, which while refined are still of lesser quality than those on the outer wall (Fig. 47).[54] The way the body and dress are drawn is similar, in particular the bi-coloured edge of the robe. The rays drawn within the nimbus are actually finer in the manuscript than in the murals. The modelling of the body is still rather harsh, which compares well to some of the Tholing manuscript illuminations.[55]

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[52] See also Klimburg-Salter 1997: 154–71, in particular figs. 163–80; the bodhisattvas belong to her Period IIA (see Klimburg-Salter 1997: 49ff).

[53] In the Tabo ambulatory the blue and green bodhisattvas have considerably more shading than those with white and red complexions.

[54] See also Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 162.

[55] This representation of the Buddha in the Tabo ambulatory is essentially the same type as one of the Buddhas of manuscript RN 5 (Fig. 48). Nonetheless, if we compare these Buddhas, we notice that despite the similar appearance some crucial features in the depictions have changed: the bodily proportions, in particular the body-head ratio, are different; in the manuscript illuminations, the body is revealed through the dress, which has a hem of only one colour, and

In their treatment of the hieratic figures, the narrative depictions at Tabo exhibit a number of similarities to the style of the paintings in the ambulatory. By and large, however, the depictions are of a wholly different character: the figures are conceived in purely graphic terms and lack any kind of corporeality. The focus of interest here is the rendering of motion and the interplay between the figures.[56] The same profane characteristics are also found in the paintings illustrating the Sadāprarudita chapters in manuscripts RN 10 and RN 11. Here too it is the graphic manner of representation that is important and not the corporeality of the figures.

The style of the Tholing chörten continued to exert an influence, as can be seen from the early 13th-century paintings of the Alchi Sumtsek (Fig. 52).[57] The crisp outlines of the body are further enhanced through the contrasting colour of the background. Here the modelling of the body is no longer pattern-like, instead clearly emphasising its plasticity. The shading is frequently executed in contrasting colours. The facial features are similar to those of Tholing and Tabo, while the head is relatively small in relation to the body. The jewellery and opulently decorated dress are even more richly depicted than at Tabo, both conveying a sense of luxury.

The same elements are already present in the earlier Alchi Dukhang. The depiction of a Buddha from this temple (Fig. 49) shares the same proportions and modelling, and with his richly patterned patchwork robes can be compared to the Buddhas of the Tabo manuscript RN 13 (Fig. 5). Despite the substantial difference in size, both Buddhas wear rich robes, their heads are relatively small and the bodies exhibit modelling, albeit of a considerably more schematic nature than that in the Tabo manuscript illuminations.

If one compares the hard linear style of the Tholing chörten and its modifications in Tabo and Alchi with the 12th-century murals of the Translator's temple at Nako[58] it is evident that the latter has a very different, painterly style, even though a number of the motifs are similar (Fig. 50). The outlines of the body are considerably softer than in the linear style; lacking the tension of the graphic lines, the bodies give a looser, more "relaxed" impression. In contrast to Alchi, where the bodies seem almost like jointed dolls, at Nako the various parts of the body flow organically into one another. Furthermore, the modelling does not follow the contours of the body more or less

53. Dark yellow earth-touching Buddha with green shading; Tabo, manuscript RN 5 (C. Luczanits, 1994; WHAV).

54. Green teaching Buddha; Pooh, *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, folio 92 (C. Kalantari, 2009).

schematically, that is from the outline to the centre of the respective part of the body, but is adjusted individually for each part and appears to have been finely smudged with the ball of the thumb in order to allow parts of the body to stand out independently of the outlines. The colours are not as strong and hardly contrast with one another, while neither dress nor jewellery are emphasised to any great extent.

This more painterly style also occurs in manuscript illuminations, most clearly on the title page and in the first group of illuminations of the first volume of a *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript from Pooh village in Upper Kinnaur (Fig. 51).[59] The shading is here barely visible. Illuminations further on in the manuscript are much more schematic and of inferior quality, and may thus be the work of pupils. However, a number of leaves from this manuscript offer good opportunities for comparisons with the Tabo manuscript featuring the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* (RN 5; compare Fig. 53 with Fig. 54). While there are major differences in the appearance of the Buddhas, the details of their dress, the lotuses and even the halos all share a similar schematic approach in the execution. The comparison also demonstrates how crudely the Tabo depictions were executed.

The illuminations in the Tabo manuscript RN 5 are obviously not painted by one of the main artists—one of the latter would probably have been commissioned with the title page, which has not been preserved—but by pupils, as can be seen from the clumsiness of many of the details. A telling example is the representation of the breasts of female deities in three-quarter profile. In more sophisticated depictions, as for example from Phyi dbang cave, Western Tibet (Fig. 32), the countermovement of the breasts is used to suggest the elegant flexure of the body, but

the way the dress falls at the legs as well as the halo are completely different.

56 See Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 128.

57 See also the diverse forms of Green Tārā on the left-hand wall of the Avalokiteśvara niche and the Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā ar gallery level (Goepper and Poncar 1996: 72ff., 159).

58 On the date of Nako see Luczanits 2004: 85.

59 On the different styles and hands in this manuscript see Allinger 2006. We would like to thank C. Kalantari for the identification of this goddess as Cundā.

in the manuscript this feature has been executed in an extreme, almost grotesque manner (Fig. 35).

The figures in the paintings of Tabo RN 5 also have minimal shading but exhibit the same soft lines as in the Nako murals. In the latter, the Pooh manuscript and RN 5 the heads tend to be broad, while the mouth is of normal size, or at least not as thin as in the linear style, and the eyes are almond-shaped, with the exception of the Pooh manuscript, where they are very narrow or almost slit-like.

While these stylistic comparisons are not conclusive, they help to locate the Tabo manuscripts in time and place. Despite the striking differences in quality, the style of Tabo manuscript RN 5 can probably best be compared to the paintings of the Nako Translator's temple.

**Attribution and Context**

It is very fortunate that two of the themes preserved in the few illustrated folios of the Tabo manuscripts are also depicted in the Tabo Main Temple: the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* in the Assembly Hall and the story of Sadāprarudita's quest for the Perfection of Wisdom in the ambulatory. Both themes belong to the renovation of the Tabo Main Temple likely concluded in 1042 CE. However, this fact should not lead us to assume that the manuscript illuminations are all from the same period. As we have already seen, the Buddha depictions of the manuscripts cover a wide chronological range, while those of the Sadāprarudita narrative are roughly contemporaneous (RN 10 and 11) and slightly later than the Tabo mural depiction. It is thus clear that we should not generally assume that all distinctively early Western Himalayan (or Purang-Guge) manuscript depictions are of the 11th century.

If the chronology of Western Himalayan temples as suggested in Luczanits 2004 is taken as a base,[60] the closest comparisons to the Tabo Vajradhātu manuscript RN 5 in both stylistic and iconographic terms are found in 12th-century monuments. Stylistically, the manuscript most closely resembles the Nako murals, but this association is not close enough to establish an origin for the painters. However, as artists and workshops have been working at different sites throughout the region, usually the origin of the painters cannot be established for most of the manuscripts. The itinerant background of the artists is one possible explanation why the iconographic comparisons are spread over a wide geographic region and time scale. Some of the iconographic comparisons are exclusively from the Alchi Sumtsek, which is datable to the early 13th century.

Thus, despite depicting the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* and likely also the Sadāprarudita episode, the Tabo manuscript dates to the mid 12th century at the earliest. Such a date and a local, itinerant workshop setting would also explain some of the idiosyncrasies found in this manuscript, especially some of the more grotesque figures, the type of architectural frame found in one depiction (Fig. 26) and the flame-shaped *ūṣṇīṣa* of the Buddhas along with characteristics that clearly continue from the Tabo mural paintings.

In conclusion, we hope that this analysis of the Tabo manuscript illuminations suffices to establish a number of important points:

- Similarly to the monuments found throughout the region, Western Himalayan manuscript illumination is not restricted to the 11th century but actually has a long and complex history, which includes changes in the subjects the manuscript illumination depict and the relationship of text and illuminations. In this respect, a larger body of evidence may make it possible to work out how Western Himalayan manuscript illumination has developed in terms of style and the subjects depicted.
- Once a more detailed chronology of manuscript illuminations has been established, it may help to refine the chronology for early Western Himalayan manuscripts as well.
- The Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* assembly is an important topic among the early manuscript illuminations, and the iconography of the deities depicted has the potential to establish relationships to monuments in the region.

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[60] While this chronology has not been accepted by a number of senior scholars, it also has not been challenged seriously in terms of the arguments it presents.

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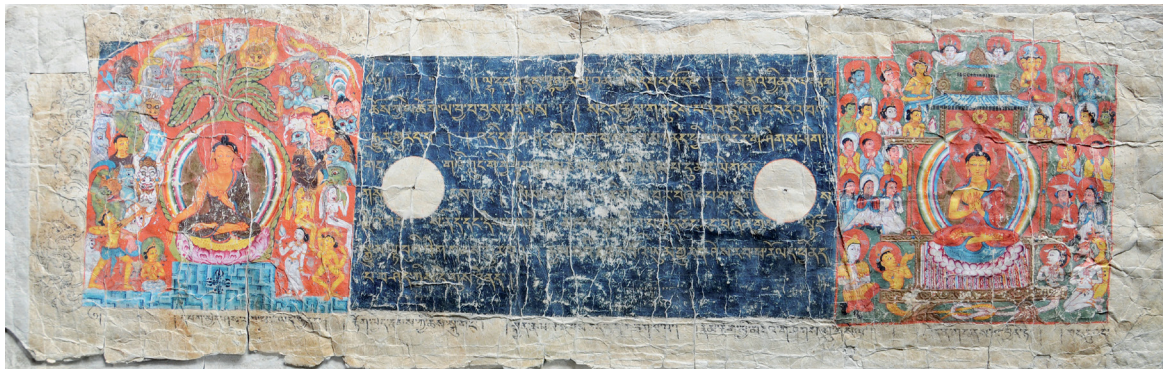
Christiane Kalantari

# Shaping Space, Constructing Identity: The Illuminated *Yum chen mo* Manuscript at Pooh, Kinnaur*

Recent finds of manuscripts in Western Tibet, their documentation and analysis[1] as well as those of regions in Nepal (Dolpo) (see Heller 2009), which were historically linked, have substantially enlarged our knowledge of early Tibetan miniature painting. On the basis of the illustrations in the *Yum chen mo* (*Prajñāpāramitā*) manuscript (abbreviated YM) at Pooh, Upper Kinnaur, in historical Western Tibet, the processes of cultural transfer will be examined and the integration of models to make a wholly new artistic entity, creating an entirely new type of manuscript in comparison to those produced in India and Nepal. The following study will focus on the relationship between text and image, as it were transcending the "traditional" borders between genres. The close connection between manuscripts and mural paintings will be illustrated with concrete examples. In addition, this study will examine both how local architectural features and elements of courtly material culture and luxury art were transformed to represent a typical sacred space and the way in which the importance of the donors and the ruling elite of the emerging West Tibetan dynasty was emphasised in a previously unknown form.

The village of Pooh (Fig. 1) lies on an important position on the trade route that once connected the north-west Indian plains with the Western Himalayas, and in particular the area of historical Western Tibet (mNga' ris skor gsum). The historical importance of the village as part of the West Tibetan kingdom is shown inter alia by a carved stone pillar (*rdo ring*) with an inscription recording the name of Ye shes 'od (Jahoda 2011, Jahoda and Kalantari, "Power and religion in pre-modern Western Tibet: The monumental Avalokiteśvara stela in lCog ro, Purang", this volume, pp. 34–35).[2]

1. Pooh village with the Translator's temple (Lotsāba *lha khang*), Pooh, Upper Kinnaur, Himachal Pradesh, India (C. Kalantari, 2009).



2. *Prajñāpāramitā* (*Yum chen mo*) MS, folio 1 *verso* (C. Kalantari, 2009).

* This study is based on field research in 2002 and a documentation campaign in 2009, both funded by the FWF; the latter within the framework of the FWF research project "Society, Power and Religion in Pre-Modern Western Tibet" (P21806-G19) directed by Christian Jahoda.

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1 See Allinger 2006; Harrison 2007, 2009; Allinger and Kalantari 2012; Allinger, Tsering Gyalpo and Kalantari 2012, Allinger and Luczanits, "A Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* in a *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript of Tabo monastery", this volume; Melzer, forthcoming. (Earlier works dealing with selected aspects of this manuscript are Klimburg-Salter 1994a, 1994b and 1994c: 62–64.)

Furthermore, in recent years a huge body of manuscripts has come to light in many places, some brought from hiding places to monasteries or found in locked chambers in temples (such as in Khorchag), which makes it possible to undertake comparative research on manuscripts from various centres of historical Western Tibet.

2 Earlier contributions regarding the historical classification of this *rdo ring* are by Thakur 1994, Vitali 1996 and Petech 1997.

3. *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, final page, Dolpo (after Heller 2009: fig. 136).

4. Pooh, Lotsāba *lha khang*, *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* MS, detail Fig. 2 (left): Māravijaya (C. Kalantari, 2009).

The provenance of the YM is not entirely certain. Today it is stored in a small temple called the "Translator's temple" (Lotsāba *lha khang*), the sanctum of which contains wooden images that are the temple's only remaining ancient artefacts (Luczanits 2004: fig. 62). While the latter are datable on stylistic basis to the 11th century, the manuscript is perhaps from a later, perhaps 12th century date, as will be shown, due to stylistic similarities with paintings in the Nako Lotsāba *lha khang*. Thus the manuscript perhaps cannot be directly related to the time of foundation of the temple at Pooh. However, the quality, in technological and stylistic terms, as well as the use of gold (in contrast to simpler renderings produced at the same period, as can be seen in various libraries such as Tabo and Khorchag), suggests an aristocratic donorship, perhaps in connection with the decoration or restoration of a temple, associated with the local elite.

The manuscript has been identified as a *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Allinger and Kalantari 2012). Folio 2 *recto* gives the title of the book in the first line: *rgya gar skad du* [in Indian language] *sha ta sa ha sri ka prad nya pa ra myi ta* [*Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*], *bod skad du* [in Tibetan language] *shes rab kyi pha rold tu phyind pa stong phrag brgya pa* [*Prajñāpāramitā* in 100,000 stanzas, *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*], and also indicates the volume (*dum bu dang po*, first volume) and section (*bam po thog ma*, first section).[3]

The book (Fig. 2; Cat. nos. 1 and 2, pp. 387–388) has the typical oblong format and horizontal orientation and consists of pages made of fine, ivory-toned paper with illustrations commonly on the *recto* side. The wooden cover is perhaps a later (13th century) addition. The format and the two circles are reminders of the original palm-leaf manuscripts of the Indian tradition, indicating that they were held together by thread. In the 11th century the palm leaf was replaced by paper. The folios are typically first wrapped in a textile cover (*dpe ras, na bza'*), then they are placed between the wooden covers (*glegs shing*) and bound together with thread (*glegs thag*). The manuscript kept at Pooh comprises 326 folios, which are published here for the first time as an entirety. Folio 1 (Fig. 2) is smaller then the rest of the pages and measures 18.0/18.5 to 53 cm, while the following folios (starting with folio 2; Fig. 7) are ca. 19.5 high and 65 cm wide. The cover is slightly larger (ca. 22 x 73 cm). There are ten lines of text on each page and—beginning with folio 1 *verso* (Fig. 2)—an illustration (ca. 6.8 x 7 cm), with a few exceptions in the centre of the *recto* side.[4]

[3] *Bam po* are placed as "titles" at the beginning of the section, whereas chapter indications (*le'u*) are always at the end of the chapter (see Steinkellner 1994 on the structure of foliation or pagination system of West Tibetan manuscripts). The extant YM at Pooh contains the first five chapters of this text as the last folio (*Ka Nga* 26, this is folio 326 *recto*) ends with *le'u lnga pa'o*, "[end of] chapter five". Thus the volume contains roughly one tenth of the whole text (as the various editions are divided into 72 to 77 chapters; see Allinger and Luczanits, "A Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* in a *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript of Tabo monastery", this volume, n. 6, p. 344, referring to research by Gudrun Melzer).

[4] Based on the photographic documentation of the YM by the author in October 2009 and a re-examination by Patrick Sutherland (University of the Arts, London) and Dechen Lhundup from Tabo village in Pooh in December 2012 (as contained in a report sent to Christian Jahoda on Dec. 10, 2012), the pagination of the first one hundred folios (1 to 100) is identified by the letter *Ka* (written in red) and the written number. The first folio has no pagination. On the *recto* side at the centre is the short title of the text (*Yum chen mo shes*

5. Pooh, Lotsāba *lha khang*, *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* MS, detail Fig. 2 (left): Māravijaya (C. Kalantari, 2009).

6. Pooh, Lotsāba *lha khang*, *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* MS, detail Fig. 2 (right): Buddha assembly (C. Kalantari, 2009).

As shown in Allinger (2006) and Allinger and Kalantari (2012), the concept and organisation of the illuminated books in Western Tibet developed independently of their Indian models. On the first illustrated folio (folio 1 *verso*) (Fig. 2) there is a large image in both the left-hand and right-hand margins, and the intervening panel with text is richly inscribed—with a graceful and confident script—in gold on a dark ground. As a unique feature, the verses on the first folio command the reader to approach the text—the true teachings of the Buddha—with intensiveness and respect. Also the relation between text and image shows a completely new approach: not only does the image on the first page refer to the succeeding text in a previously unknown form, but also the text on the intervening panel, the text for an invocation, is interrelated with the image on this folio and the subsequent text. Though this text follows specific Sanskrit models, it usually does not occur in this position in books, as has been shown by Gudrun Melzer, who also provided a translation (see Allinger and Kalantari 2012: Appendix). Usually the last page with the colophon has detailed images of donors and their families (cf. the folio in the Pritzker collection, Fig. 3). In this respect there must have been established rules in Nepal and Western Tibet, while in Indian palm-leaf manuscripts donors are mentioned in the colophon but as a rule not depicted.

### The Frontispiece

The first illustrated page is remarkable for the ample use of brilliant colours and highlights, with gold and silver, creating a space bathed in the light of the rising sun. Folio 1 *verso* shows Māra's assault in the left-hand margin (Figs. 2, 4, 5) and a Buddha assembly in the right (Fig. 6). The latter scene is perhaps referring to descriptions of the Buddha realm at the beginning of the book, as will be shown.[5] The

*rab kyi pha rol du phyin pa bzhugs so*; see Cat. no. 2). On folio 2 *recto* the pagination starts with *Ka gnyis*, etc. up to folio 100. There is no folio 57 but folio 56 is paginated 56/57. The second hundred folios (from 101 to 200) are identified by the letters *Ka Na* (*na* is subscribed under *ka*) and the next (from 201 to 300) are identified by *Ka Ma* (*ma* is subscribed under *ka*). The rest of the folios (up to folio 326) are identified by *Ka Nga*. This system corresponds to Volume Pagination III ("letter volume signature and hundreds marked noted by subscript letters") in Scherrer-Schaub's classification (Scherrer-Schaub 1999: 22). [editor's note/CJ].

[5] In previous research, the close relation to the scene of Māra and typical iconographic elements namely gazelles and a wheel which appear to be depiced in the upper level of the shrine's superstructure led me to identify this as the First Sermon of the Buddha. Recent findings of related textual sources suggest an identification as a Buddha assembly.

scene features a palace, or rather two-dimensional throne-frame, of the Buddha consisting of an assemblage of architectonic elements used as set-pieces in a very decorative form, not intending to mimic real architecture. Complex architectonic thrones—which developed parallel to thrones crowned by animals—are a *leitmotif* of Western Himalayan art in different media. We find a combination of abstract geometric elements, zoomorphic forms, features of buildings (perhaps alluding to wooden temples as well as wood-stone architecture typical in this region) and honorific furniture,[6] all arranged in a planar fashion. Also the seat of the Buddha with its sumptuous textile decoration is folded flat to create a decorative element of the abstract frame. This throne or sacred space transcends the heaviness of substance rather than resting on a ground and thus combining an earthly/mundane and a metaphysical space. The decorative appearance of this throne is enhanced through the application of high-relief and gold, rather recalling metalwork. Furthermore, the gold script (chrysography) on the dark blue background enhances the magic and sumptuousness of this sacred space. A very similar hybrid, even more "fantastic" architectonic space combining a throne and palace can be found on a folio in the Pritzer collection (Fig. 3) and another one in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art/LACMA (cf. Pal 1983: Fig. j on p. 125).

The horizontal beams of the shrine provide a grid system for the listeners, gods and humans who have come to hear the teaching of the Buddha. These symmetrically arranged groups of devotees do not create a depth of (mundane) space but they are also arranged in a very planar, decorative manner, without gravity. The donors—members of local elite—are prominently depicted within this space, embedded in the radiance and glory of the sphere of the Buddha.[7]

*The Large Sutra of Perfect Wisdom* (Conze 1979)[8] gives detailed descriptions of the wonderful qualities of the Buddha while demonstrating the *dharma*, recalling the approach towards space of the enthroned Buddha in the YM.[9] At the beginning of the book the scene is described:

> "Thereupon the Lord, having himself arranged the Lion Seat, sat down [...] he entered into the concentration [...]. Thereupon the Lord, mindful and self-possessed, emerging from his concentration [...] surveys with the Heavenly Eye the entire world system. His whole body became radiant." (Conze 1979: 38).
>
> "And through these rays this great trichiliocosm was illumined and lit up. And in the East world systems as numerous as the sands of the Ganges were, by this great illumination of rays, lit up and became illumined. [...] And the beings who were lit up and illumined by his great illumination of rays, they all became fixed on the utmost, right and perfect enlightenment." (*ibid*.: 39).
>
> "There the Tathagata stood in all his glory, shone forth, gleamed and shed light, surpassing with his splendour, lustre, brilliancy and beauty world systems [...]. Thereupon the lord exhibited His own natural body on this great trichiliocosm. The gods of the world of sense desire and of the world of form [...] saw the glorified body of the Tathagata. They took celestial flowers, incense, perfume, garlands, ointments, powders, robes, parasols, flags, banners, and streamers; [...] and they approached with them the glorified body of the Tathagata. [...] In this great trichiliocosm, and in all the world systems, the same thought occurred to each one of these gods and men: 'It is for me that the Tathagata, seated there, demonstrates Dharma'." (*ibid*.: 41).

As a characteristic feature of West Tibetan manuscript painting, luxury and status culture of the ruling elite are integrated and transformed into an expression of the glory and radiance of the Buddha and his realm, as will be shown below. In this religio-artistic sphere, luxury also signifies the wealth of offerings from this elite to the religious establishments in their realm as a means of securing social cohesion and legitimacy; of course the act of donations of sumptuous garments and other costly paraphernalia is a constant element of ritual and redemption in Buddhist culture from very early on.

Also on an iconographic level there are significant parallels with the beginning of the book describing the scene of the sermon:

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[6] This approach to ornament is faintly reminiscent of European manuscript illumination, e.g. an 11th century frontispiece (preface/eulogy before the liturgy) from Canterbury (cf. Pächt 1984: fig. 45).

[7] Of interest is the position of the theme at the beginning of a book cover, C-14 dated to 9th century, attributed by P. Pal (2008: fig. 5) to Kashmir, featuring a Buddha assembly flanked by donors, Indic gods—such as Brahmā—and *nāga*s in the lower zone, all guarding the threshold to the sphere of the Buddha. However, a geographic attribution of this fine piece is extremely difficult. Both the size and the style are unique; while certain figural features recall the Gilgit manuscript covers (*ibid*.), features like the characteristic trapezoid throne rather recall the art of Nepal.

[8] Here I use Conze's work, whose translation is based mainly on the version in 25,000 lines, while passages for chapters 1–21 are from the version in 100,000 lines. Thus parallels between text and image can only be drawn in a general manner.

[9] Conze (1979: 2) described the "wonderful qualities of the Buddha and his great wonder-working power [...] taken as tokens of his capacity to teach the real truth about the actual facts of existence. [...] The descriptions wish to magnify the Buddha's stature in the eyes of the reader, and to generate and foster an attitude of pure faith in his authority. At the same time [...] they try to give an idea of his true body and personality which are immense and inconceivable."

> "Thus have I heard at one time. The Lord dwelt at Rajagriha, on the Vulture Peak, together with a large gathering of monks, with 1,250 monks, all of them Arhats [...] great Serpents, their work done, their tasks accomplished, their burden laid down, their own weal accomplished, with the fetters that bound them to becoming extinguished, their hearts well freed by right understanding, in perfect control of their whole minds—with 500 nuns, laymen, and laywomen, all of them liberated in this present life—and with hundreds of thousands of niyutas of kotis of Bodhisattvas—all of whom had acquired the Dharaṇis [...]." (*ibid*.: 37).

7. Pooh, Lotsāba *lha khang*, *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, folio 2 (*Ka gnyis*) *recto* (C. Kalantari, 2009).

The *nāga*s below the throne and the group of Indic gods on the top, among them Brahmā, as well as laymen and laywomen depicted in the YM correspond to this description.

Also the Māravijaya scene (featuring the Buddha displaying *bhūmisparśamudrā*, standing for the victory over Māra and enlightenment) (Figs. 4–5) shows a specific approach towards nature and ornament: the aureole is encircled by the leaves of a tree (the Bodhi tree, the place of enlightenment of the Buddha). Nature is permitted an expression of an inner emotion and it participates in the situation by the tree protectively embracing the Buddha.[10] The expressive drawings outside the cartouche with the sitting Buddha in them are remarkable. Featuring demonic creatures and scrollwork characterised by a confident, spontaneous stroke, these images appear to transcend the pictorial space and to intrude into the space of script, emphasising the symbiosis of text and image in this folio.[11] As already observed by Allinger (2006), although the image is intended to represent a sequence of events, it initially gives the impression of a coherent group in an imaginary space.

As mentioned above, another characteristic feature is that the organisation of illustrations in West Tibetan manuscripts gradually changed in comparison to their Indian models. The YM images in the first folio refer directly to the succeeding text in the manuscript.[12] In his book *Mittelalterliche Buchmalerei* (a lecture series held at the University of Vienna in 1967/68 and published 1984), Otto Pächt described this process of change in the image-text relationship in European medieval art of the book: "Das Wort ist Bild geworden" (Pächt 1984: 42). A comparable process is also observable in Western Tibet. Accordingly, the book becomes a space that is physically and spiritually graspable while leafing through the book. A parallel phenomenon can also be found in the decorative programme temples (see below).[13] To summarise, the frontispiece plays an integral role in the organism of the book, representing Māra's assault, an invocation text and the essential Buddhist theme of the Mahāyāna assembly. The last of these aim at inviting the local devotees to reflect on and follow the *dharma* significant in this phase of propagation of the new belief system, which was in the region.

### The Second Folio and the Theme of the 1000 Buddhas on the Following Pages

So far the information in the first line of folio 2 *recto* containing the title, volume and section number of the book has not yet been accounted for, nor has the iconography of the images been fully understood (Fig. 7; Cat. no. 4).[14] The text starts in the second line of folio 2 *recto* with the beginning of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* (see Conze 1961). The images on this folio feature vignettes of two seated figures in the centre—one of them is a Buddha while the second is without *uṣṇīṣa*—and two divinities on the margins (Figs. 8–10). There is an 18-armed female deity on the left-hand side and a green bodhisattva on the right. The female goddess represents Cundī, also called the "mother of all Buddhas" and often equated

[10] Cf. also comparable symbolism of trees in the *jātaka* of the starving tigress, the *Vyāghrī*- or *Mahāsattvajātaka* depicted in the Zhag cave (see Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po and Kalantari, "Guge kingdom-period murals in the Zhag grotto in mNga' ris, Western Tibet", this volume, 416–417). Cf. also Pächt 1984: 178 for comparable phenomena in European medieval book illuminations.

[11] Comparable graphic depictions in black showing astonishing variations of human types and facial expressions are depicted at Nako (Lotsāba *lha khang*, protector deity Agni, positioned outside the *maṇḍala*).

[12] Another folio from Tabo featuring the veneration of the *Yum chen mo* manuscript mentions this episode in the text of the same folio (Allinger and Luczanits, "A Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* in a *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript of Tabo monastery", this volume, Fig. 9, p. 345).

[13] A reciprocal process is also observable, namely, "the image became word", as seen in the intervening panel of the Pooh frontispiece describing the intention of the painting, and later in a different way in inscriptions in the *jātaka* of the Zhag cave, which comment and explain the individual pictures, rather than representing independent excerpts of the text as shown at Tabo (cf. Steinkellner 1996).

[14] Klimburg-Salter (1994a: fig. 9) published a part of this folio but without providing an identification.

8–10. Details *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, folio 2 (*Ka gnyis*) *recto* (C. Kalantari, 2009).

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with the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Her function is related to the cult of the book, i.e. rituals with purifying effects from which the donor and any devotee who recites the *mantra* can benefit. Her position at the beginning of the book also supports this assumption, but her function in this context needs further examination.[15] She is shown in one of her different forms, but without attributes (cf. de Mallmann 1986: 143–144). The deity sits on a lotus, is yellow/golden or white, the palm of each hand is marked with an eye. The 'painterly' style with subtle shading is comparable to that of a female deity at Nako representing a local Kashmir-inspired school (Fig. 11). As a characteristic feature of a group of folios at the beginning of the book, silver can be found in the inner circle of the halo and it is also used as highlights. This is also the case at Nako (Lotsāba *lha khang*, south wall). The whole composition and the position and gestures of the gods suggest an inner relationship between them, typical of mandalic configurations in this period. The text on this folio representing the beginning of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* describes a conversation between the Buddha and an elder.

> "The lord said to the Venerable Subhuti, the Elder: Make it clear now, Subhuti, to the Bodhisattas, the great beings, starting from perfect wisdom, how the Bodhisattvas, the great beings go forth into perfect wisdom." (Conze 1975: 89).

The middle scene with a preaching Buddha and a monk facing him recalls this conversation and also a bodhisattva is mentioned in this text. Although Subhuti is one of the most important discussion partners of the Buddha in the text, he is not mentioned on this folio and so the attribution as Subhuti must remain speculative.

At the level of an iconographic configuration and spatial position in a temple it is reminiscent of Bodhisattva Pramuditarāja requesting Buddha Śākyamuni to teach the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* (*sKal pa bzang po'i mdo*). The bodhisattva is depicted in a discourse scene with the Buddha in the entrance (east wall) of the Tabo sanctum's ambulatory (Fig. 12). At Tabo—in close relation to the latter scene—protectors are positioned directly above the door (Indra, Brahmā, and perhaps a form of Avalokiteśvara, as a six-armed multi-headed deity with horse-head on the top),[16] which recalls the protective function of the left-hand-side goddess in the manuscript; also the position, closest

11. Nako, Lotsāba *lha khang*, female deity (C. Kalantari, 2009).

[15] Among the earliest textual sources of Cundī and the Cundī Dhāraṇī is the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra* centered around the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, and that also introduces the popular *mantra oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ* (cf. Studholme 2002: 175, n. 145). According to de Mallmann (1986: 143) Cundī/Cundā is titular of three *sādhanas* (*Sādhanamālā* 129 to 131). The deity was integrated into Buddhist legends as the one who offered the Buddha the last meal before the *parinirvāṇa*. Mallmann (*ibid*.) remarks that she was perhaps originally considered impure and thus of lower rank, which is confirmed by her appearance as *dhāraṇīs*.

According to de Mallmann (1986: 150) the *dhāraṇīs*, or queens of 'magic science' belong to the oldest texts of tantric character; they are short formulas charged with magic power and used for specific purposes. Furthermore in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (21) and *Kriyāsaṃgraha* the term *dhāraṇī* denotes a series of deities—among them is also Cundī/Cundā—placed in specific positions, namely the second circle of the *maṇḍala* of Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara. The ten *dhāraṇīs* and the deities associated with them are visualised and worshipped with their formulas during tantric Buddhist rituals desribed in the aforementioned *Kriyāsaṃgraha*, representing acts of worship "to accumulate merit for the benefit of the construction of monastic buildings", which transform the monastic ground into a perfect abode of deities (Skorupski 2002: 6; cf. *ibid*. also p. 33 on Cundā).

[16] Among other objects, the god holds a lotus and pot. For a comparison see Pal 1975: fig. 78; in this the author proposes influences by the demonic Brahmanical god Hayagrīva.

12. Tabo *gtsug lag khang*, ambulatory, bodhisattva above the portal (C. Kalantari, 2009).

13. Manuscript folio, Khorchag, Purang District (Tsering Gyalpo, 2004).

14. Nako, Lotsāba *lha khang*, detail, *maṇḍala* (C. Kalantari, 2009).

15. Nako, Lotsāba *lha khang*, detail, *maṇḍala* (C. Kalantari, 2009).

to the "portal" of the first page, is similar. This page of the YM is thus another indication of the close relation between image and text and how the book can be perceived spatially.

In contrast to the sumptuous first page and configuration of deities, or Buddha-conversation on the second page, the subsequent folios have rectangular vignettes of single Buddhas and some images of the life of the Buddha (Cat. nos. 192, 194, 201, 221), which appear to be randomly dispersed and no inner relationship is observable. These feature the Buddha with a monkey holding a bowl, representing the miracle of Vaiśālī, the first bath of the Buddha and the Buddha sitting in *bhadrāsana* (representing Buddha in Tuṣita heaven). The scenes are of high technical and artistic quality, reminiscent of the first page.

The single Buddhas most likely represent the widespread spiritual programme of the 1000 Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa (present auspicious aeon) popular in this region from very early on.[17] The Buddhas are depicted sitting on lotus bases and encircled by nimbs (*prabhāmaṇḍala*). Gold is not found on these later pages, in contrast to a manuscript folio at Khorchag featuring a single Buddha in gold executed in a magnificently unique quality (Fig. 13). The single Buddhas, as a rule, have almond-shaped eyes and small, narrow lips. Facial features such as eyes and eyebrows are drawn in a graphic manner with thin black strokes, while at the same time the faces show subtle shading along the contours; these stylistic features are also characteristic of Nako (Fig. 14 and 15). The almost boneless fingers performing different types of *mudra* are also characteristic; these mainly serve for variation rather than representing iconographically fixed types. The robe covers the left shoulder, leaving the body below visible or draped around the whole body forming a U-shaped neck. Folds of the robe are indicated with fine line-drawings. Where patterns of textiles are depicted, they flatten the overall impression of the figure, creating a very decorative, planar figural style.

In her 2006 article, Allinger reconstructed processes of divided labour and workshop hierarchies defining four distinct groups of illuminations. She demonstrated that the figures of the Buddha at the beginning of the manuscript may have been drawn by an experienced master, while throughout the book details such as nimbs were done by another artist. One group (the fourth and last group identified by Allinger 2006: 7; folios 311–326 [*Ka Nga* 11–*Ka Nga* 26], all *recto*; see Cat. nos. 312–327) shows renderings of faces in a much simpler form, indicating perhaps another individual group of artists, but the Buddhas are wearing a wide variety of fine textiles decorated with very detailed ornaments. Due to the fact that comparable patterns are found on the first page, it is possible that they were painted on the basis of a sketchbook by the master artist who painted the frontispiece (Figs. 2, 4–6).[18]

There are significant stylistic and technical commonalities—on account of the use of gold—in the depictions of the theme of 1000 Buddhas outside the *maṇḍala* in the Nako Lotsāba *lha khang* (Fig. 15). Eva Allinger (2006) did not even exclude the possibility that the

[17] An inscription in the "Great Stūpa" at Alchi states that Tshul khrims 'od of the noble 'Bro clan donated images of the Thousand Buddhas and his intention to "attain Enlightenment in one Kalpa" associated with them (Goepper 1993: 114).

[18] Folios were also found at Khorchag (though from different books)—attributable on stylistic and iconographic basis to the same period—that include elaborate styles and simple styles simultaneously. In earlier publications (Harrison 2007, 2009), chronological sequences were derived from these differences, though they may rather reflect different backgrounds of donors and workshop hierarchies.

16. Zhag, cave temple, Thousand Buddha wall, detail (Tsering Gyalpo, 2009).

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same workshop of a master artist at Nako may have also created the YM. Thus a dating of the manuscript to the beginning of the 12th century can be proposed.[19]

Most instructive for the definition of the characteristics of this early 12th-century style of Pooh and Nako is the comparison with later depictions of this theme in the Zhag cave. Luczanits and Allinger ("A Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* in a *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript of Tabo monastery", this volume, pp. 358–359) define two contrasting styles: a graphic (harder modelling) interest in robes, with large patterns under which the bodies disappear represented at Alchi and Tholing and in a related manuscript from Tholing in the LACMA; on the other hand a painterly style with softer modelling at Tabo and Nako, to which also the YM can be attributed as well as a manuscript from Tabo ("Running No. 5") in a local style featuring a *maṇḍala*. A third type can be added to this stylistic attribution; this is seen in the 12th/13th century images of the Dungkar (Dung dkar) and those in the Zhag cave, which differ from the styles both of the Tabo-Nako group and Tholing-Alchi group.

At Zhag the theme of the 1000 Buddhas covers the four walls of the main space of the cave surrounding a *stūpa* (*mchod rten*) in the centre. With regard to the painting process of the individual Buddhas, it is clear from variations in painting styles that different hands were at work, comparable to the YM. While the subtle shading and modelling of some seated Buddhas is at first sight reminiscent of the figural style of the YM, a closer look at the treatment of the individual figures reveals interesting contrasting features to styles in earlier periods (Fig. 16; cf. also Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po and Kalantari, "Guge kingdom-period murals in the Zhag grotto in mNga' ris, Western Tibet", this volume, pp. 407–430).[20] Some of the monk's are represented in a rather naturalistic manner, but most of them suggest that the painter/s did not understand or were not interested in the logic behind the function and use of the robes and how they are draped around the body; this is a contrasting feature to the YM. In particular there is almost no variation in the lower part of the garment, uniformly following the scheme of a loop between legs outlined in white. It thus appears that the robes are not painted from direct models and were perhaps realised from sketchbooks or illustrations in manuscripts. Some of the clothes seem like coats or poncho-like robes with round necks and wide sleeves. In contrast, the standing Buddhas in the corners may reflect different (perhaps Newari-influenced) sartorial and figural traditions.[21]

Most of the robes are in a simple patchwork pattern, treated in a flat fashion, which is often crudely applied on the parts of the figure reserved for the robe. Other designs have decorations applied in thin lines that subtly follow the movement of the body and the fabric (in particular on that of a standing Buddha, perhaps drawing from different models).

In general there are few decorative designs (some of the Buddha's upper garments are adorned simple patterns of leaves, but these are the exception. In general the robes are single-coloured with a border in a different colour. This contrasts with earlier Kashmir-inspired Indo-Tibetan styles in Himachal Pradesh and Western Tibet (Khorchag). In general it appears that the patterns on textiles were not known from direct contact either, but indirectly through other artistic media. This contrasts with the Pooh manuscript, where one finds a clear understanding of the technique of how to decorate cotton fabrics, namely various reserve techniques characteristic of Indian cotton textiles. Some patterns of earlier periods found at Nako are repeated in the ceiling of the entrance hall at Zhag,[22] perhaps from sketchbooks. The intention behind these is perhaps the continuation of a tradition, and to give the temple a time-honoured appearance rather than to represent real textiles.

A contrasting and unique feature in typology and style are the standing monks on lotus buds and rosettes filling the spaces in the corners. These are reminiscent of the standing Buddhas at Dungkar, placed in the niches flanking the eight clay Buddhas flanked by protectors.[23] One standing monk/Buddha at Zhag is remarkable for his

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[19] Klimburg-Salter (1994a, 1994b) proposed stylistic relationships with the paintings in the Tabo '*du khang*, suggesting an earlier, mid 11th century date.

[20] If one compares two Buddha images the faces have been painted by different artists and perhaps also the whole outlines of the figures: some of them have subtle shading with finely drawn facial features, in contrast another is drawn with thick strokes, giving a crude and patchy impression. At the same time, the planar treatment of the robe is similar in both images. This may indicate that elements like ornaments on textiles and perhaps lotus bases were applied using division of labour, reflecting a strict workshop hierarchy.

[21] Round-necked clothes consisting of a thin, sleeved lower garment above which are draped rectangular pieces of cloth of a heavier material are reminiscent of a monk's robes. They are typically made of patchwork laid around the body in various ways.

[22] The decoration of the entrance room's vault contrasts with a ceiling above the main space featuring a large rosette of lotus scrolls covering the ceiling. This new concept contrasts with earlier planar, architectonic grid-systems of organisation of ornament and it temporally coincides with a period in which the upper boundary of the temple is conceived as cosmological vision, either in form of a *maṇḍala* or a composition that opens into a three-dimensional space with freely dispersed figures (cf. a unique cave sanctuary at Nyi dbang in the Tsamda [rTsa mda'] District; see also Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po and Kalantari, "Guge kingdom-period murals in the Zhag grotto in mNga' ris, Western Tibet", this volume, pp. 409–411).

[23] Cf. Luczanits 2004: 116ff. (and 2010) for the discussion of the stylistic characteristics. In some aspects the extremely elongated figural characteristics

facial features drawn with a few confident lines: full red lips, delicately drawn black eyebrows, a sharply drawn nose, a white complexion and a slight smile. The figures appear to show movement and display knowledge of the organic relation between parts of the body, which contrasts to the weightless, schematic figures in the YM. These individual features at Zhag appear to reflect new, perhaps Newar-style artistic trends at the end of the 12th/beginning of the 13th century.[24]

To summarise, the style of the YM at Pooh can be defined as a "decorative style" with strong Indo-Tibetan features. In particular, ornament and the aspect of variation is a feature of the quality of the YM and the early Buddhist art of this region. The textiles depicted at Tabo and at Pooh possibly related to the ornamental and textile tradition of Kashmir (Papa-Kalantari 2007) as well as Gujarat, as proposed by Wandl (1996) in her master's researches and thesis. Cf. also Klimburg-Salter 1994b. It appears that patterns on costumes at Tabo and Pooh were painted from direct experience. The textile representations are particularly rich and naturalistic in the images of the Tabo *gtsug lag khang* wall paintings while the ceilings reflect different ornamental styles and symbolism (most of them imitating Iranianising luxury textiles also to be found on Kashmir-style bronzes).[25] The painters still appear to have understood the function and use of the sartorial and textile traditions in the YM, and perhaps they were known from direct experience, indicating close interaction with artists from the Indian plains. This contrasts with the later paintings at Dungkar and Zhag—there the relation of body and robes is rendered in a completely different way, most likely also reflecting the different climatic conditions in Tibet in comparison to the Indian models, and little knowledge of (or interest in) fine cotton fabrics decorated with characteristic patterns.

Although in the figural style of the YM there is modelling around the contours of faces and body and subtle shading of the internal details, the figures are rather schematic, almost "weightless". While the body is typically hidden behind the costumes, these are defined in greatest detail; thus naturalism is rather represented on the level of material culture. In general, variation and fantasy on the level of ornament is a feature of the originality of the art of this region. In this decorative style—characterised by symmetry and planarity—a supramundane space is created which is to be splendid and glorified. Completely new stylistic trends are to be found in succeeding periods, such as at Zhag and Dungkar, with their interest in naturalism, the physical presence of "mundane" figures and almost "portrait-like" human emotions. As will be shown, these innovative tendencies in the evolutionary history are characterised by a new approach towards an illusionist space, in particular in narrative paintings and ceiling depictions, and an interest in naturalistic forms, such as depictions of "real" architecture.

### Sacred Spaces in the Medium of Books and Wall Paintings

A characteristic and innovative feature in Western Himalayan Tibetan art is its distinctive treatment of architectural representations in various different media. The depiction of the Buddha assembly on the right-hand side of the frontispiece of the YM is one of the early examples of this tradition, featuring a group depiction with an elaborate throne setting (Fig. 6). As already mentioned, here we find an accumulation of various architectural themes consisting of a throne and a palace-like structure.

The Buddha is encircled by an aureole in rainbow colours and seated on a (wooden) throne,[26] with a multi-tiered palatial structure resting on it. The upper levels of this structure are topped by a pitched roof with sheltering eaves, and the whole is crowned by an *āmalaka* and a finial. This light, airy structure imitates certain elements of built architecture seen in wooden temples as well as in forts in the region. A significant feature is the rectangular window frame with characteristic elongated horizontal wooden members in the uppermost part of the shrine in the YM. This demonstrates that such shrine depictions were also inspired by local West Tibetan palace and tower architecture, combining wooden structures and mud mortared stone walls with carved wooden elements for windows, doors and balconies depicted in narrative paintings in Tabo (Fig. 17; cf. Tucci 1935: fig. 29) and Alchi (Fig. 18).[27] Such set pieces—together with characteristic pitched roofs and wooden pilasters—are assembled in the manuscript in a planar structure of great decorative value. The ornamental qualities are

17. Tabo, Tabo *gtsug lag khang*, Assembly Hall (*'du khang*), detail of Sudhana story (P. Sutherland, 2009).

18. Image of a multi-storey wood-stone temple (perhaps dressed with mud) on the *dhotī* of the monumental Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in clay (after Goepper 1996: 59).

are also reminiscent of the clay sculptures at Dungkar; the latter are closely related to sculptures in raised niches at the rear wall of the sanctuaries of that period at Dunhuang. Apart from striking parallels regarding the spatial conception (raised niche for Buddhas in clay with flanking protectors; cf. Cave 159, Whitfield 1996: 97) there, too, monks often flank the main Buddha image.

[24] Some aspects of the wider religio-political background of this phenomenon are discussed in another article (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po and Kalantari, "Guge kingdom-period murals in the Zhag grotto in mNga' ris, Western Tibet", this volume, pp. 407–430) but this still needs to be defined in more detail in the future.

[25] In general, material culture, luxury art, textile, ornament reflect the culture of status and prestige of the aristocratic elite as well as devotional traditions. These depictions were translated into the medium of painting, contributing to the majesty of the Buddha. Originally, textile depictions in Buddhist art have a mythic genealogy, reflecting the non-iconic phase of Buddhism, when the Buddha was represented as a throne decorated with textiles representing him in non-personal form (cf. Kalantari 2016).

[26] The wooden throne is comparable to those depicted in the wall paintings of the Nako Lotsāba *lha khang*.

[27] See Goepper 1996: 49 for an image of a royal palace.

19. Nako, lHa khang gong ma, main wall (C. Kalantari, 2009).

20. Nako, lHa khang gong ma, main wall: Tārā of the Eight Perils flanked by donors below (C. Kalantari, 2009).

21. Detail heavenly palaces, Nako, lHa khang gong ma (C. Kalantari, 2009).

further enhanced through the representation of material culture and luxury art; the gold on pastiglia relief mirrors a parallel development in the wall paintings of the region, notably the paintings of the Nako Lotsāba *lha khang* (Kinnaur, Himachal Pradesh, India) (Figs. 14 and 15). The style of the manuscript can best be compared to folios recently re-discovered at Khorchag monastery (mNga' ris, Tibet Autonomous Region, PR China) (Fig. 13), which show a sacred space filled with light using luminous and vibrant colours; the use of gold is further evidence of this tendency.

A comparable throne or celestial palace theme can be found featuring images of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas (Figs. 19–21) on the lowest register of the main (west) wall at the Nako Gongma temple (lHa khang gong ma)—below a *maṇḍala* which covers the wall above. However, the individual elements and solidity of the structures are reminiscent of actual built forms. The bodhisattvas are in a row of multi-tiered palaces of various shapes linked by massive pilasters forming separate compositional units. Between the supporting wooden elements are walls that are often decorated with textile patterns, underlining the important role of textiles in wood-mud-brick architecture in the region. In general, architectural niches and animal-framed thrones that are used to define separate compositional units are a common feature in western Himalayan portals. The prototypical *toraṇa* of Khorchag is a paradigm for the interrelation between wood carvings of portals and various other genres, such as paintings in temples and manuscripts, on the levels of motifs, composition and symbolism (Fig. 22). In particular, carved wooden panels from a lost portal at Tabo featuring standing Buddhas in elaborate architectonic frames are stylistically close to Nako (cf. Tucci 1935, Tav. XLVI, XLVII).

At the centre of this ensemble at Nako is a depiction of Tārā as protectress against the Eight Dangers being venerated by the local elite (Fig. 20). One of the architectonic units flanking Tārā features a bodhisattva sitting beneath a multi-lobed arch in front of a temple (like the *gavākṣa*s or horseshoe-shaped arches that decorate Indian temples and shrines) (Fig. 21). The inner frame partly takes up the theme of the rainbow aureole. The innermost celestial abode of the deity is filled with light, represented as an aureole and a nimbus encircling the body and the head respectively. The lotus throne on which the god is seated appears to be growing out of a lotus pond that constitutes the background of the whole composition. The palaces consist of superimposed recesses of diminishing width, with small towers or *stūpika*s at the top, perhaps also including dormer windows. Some of the palaces have smaller shrines at the edges of the lower recesses.

A comparable theme of linked celestial palaces, or rather multi-foiled arches resting on massive pillars, with a Buddha at the centre can be found on the entrance wall of the Tabo '*du khang*, albeit in a much simpler form (Fig. 23).[28] Monks and bodhisattvas paying homage to the Buddha are depicted on the lateral borders, like the Buddha assembly on the Pooh frontispiece folio, as discussed below. In contrast to Tabo, the palaces at Nako have a more architectural

[28] However, the latter displays interesting features reflecting ritual practices such as the decoration of shrines with pearl bands and bells as well as the offering of streamers tied onto the pilasters by devotees.

22. Khorchag, lHa khang chen mo, portal, detail of upper lintel featuring Buddhas in their heavenly palaces (C. Kalantari, 2010).

23. Tabo *gtsug lag khang*, *'du khang*, entrance wall (C. Kalantari, 2009).

24. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, folio 337 *recto*: Green Tārā (courtesy, London, British Library, Or.6902).

25. Tārā image, depicted in the Nako Lotsāba *lha khang* (west wall) above an image of donors (C. Kalantari, 2009).

character, constructive logic and gravitation, recalling both the sacred architecture in the art of the Indian subcontinent and in contemporary Indian book art, particularly that from Bihar and Bengal (Fig. 24), and local built forms.[29] Significant commonalities between individual motifs in West Tibetan celestial palaces and Indian shrines or *śikhara* structures can be observed, in particular multi-tiered structures are absent in the architectural ornament of Kashmir.[30] The commonalities can also be studied in the temple with the oldest decorative programme at Nako, namely in the Lotsāba *lha khang*. A little-studied Tārā image above a donor representation—as if blessing the founder of the temple—(Fig. 25) is closely related to an ideal Indic architectural model, perhaps ultimately deriving from Pāla-style manuscripts. A comparative example is provided by a book cover in the LACMA, featuring a deity in a shrine identified as Tārā by Bautze-Picron (2010: fig. 30, "Book cover A") and dated to the 12th century. The sacredness of Indian architectural forms must have been in particular strong due to the inherent value of a witness (Riegl's "Zeugniswert") and the authentic transmission of a tradition. The faithfulness to an ideal model perhaps also enhances the idea of the transfer of the sacredness of a specific cult image. The construction of a tradition and the emphasis of an authentic, uninterrupted transmission is a constant strategy of legitimacy in the Tibetan cultural sphere. Architectural forms sanctified by tradition and their representation in different media of course plays a special role in this context; thereby real or imagined forms from the Buddhist heartland in India were overlain by locally developed traditions of sacred spaces.

Among the most characteristic elements of the celestial palaces in the Gongma temple at Nako is the combination of pilasters bearing multi-tiered palatial structures, reminiscent of multi-storey temples such as the Alchi Sumtsek (Figs. 26 and 27). At Nako massive pilasters rest on bases reminiscent of *pūrṇaghaṭa* crowned by capitals with volutes. Among the characteristic decorative elements on pilasters in India are rhomboid shapes with foliate ornamentation, also executed as triangles (cf. Bautze-Picron 1998: fig. 41). These motifs "move upwards" at Nako, where they crown the pilasters between the temples. In this transformed use they are similar to constructive elements in West Tibetan architecture, namely triangular or pediment arches that imitate wooden elements as well as the typical pent roof

[29] While this type of *śikhara* or shrine-like architecture is used on the late ca. 9th century door frame at Ribba for the main deities and in the Tabo *'du khang* for the central Buddha, thus indicating a hierarchy, in later phases it appears in representations of different iconographic types.

[30] Bautze-Picron (1998) was one of the first scholars to define the elements of Indian shrine depictions and trace their evolutionary history in Tibetan art. Some of these characteristic transformations of the Indian models are also to be observed in early (ca. 13th century) Tibetan thangkas (*ibid*.: figs. 1–2).

26. Alchi, Sumtsek, view of the veranda (C. Kalantari, 2000).

27. Alchi, Sumtsek, detail of veranda (C. Kalantari, 2000).

28. Kashmir, sun temple, Martand (C. Kalantari, 2004; WHAV).

29. Kashmir, sun temple, Martand (C. Kalantari, 2004; WHAV).

structures of the stone temples in Kashmir, which are a *leitmotif* in the art of this region, together with a wide variety of pillars (Fig. 21). The idiom of the pedimented trefoil arch resting on pilasters was also transferred to ornamental shrines or "blind niches" (Fig. 28), as first observed by Romi Khosla (1979: 34–35; Fig. 29).[31] The pillars on the first upper level are also significant, like struts supporting an overhanging roof. Together with the main pillars with bases resembling overflowing vases, they imitate wooden architectural ornamentation in the region, one comparative example being the richly carved pediment arches alternating with triple pilasters and ornamental features such as vases (*pūrṇaghaṭa*) carved in deep relief on the wooden elements of the Alchi Sumtsek's veranda (Figs. 26–27). The pitched roofs crowning the different levels at Nako (Fig. 30) can be also traced back to wooden temples in the region and in particular in Kinnaur (both in Buddhist and Hindu temples),[32] an example of the latter being the Lotsāba *lha khang* in Ribba (Fig. 31). A comparable type of superstructure can also be found in wooden buildings in Kashmir (Fig. 32) and in Baltistan (cf. the Mir Aref shrine and tomb at Tagas; Fig. 33). At Nako the roofs appear to be covered with coloured tiles;[33] however, it is possible that these may be intended to imitate the stone slabs that are a characteristic building material in these regions.

Tower-like structures and single-chamber, centralised buildings with pitched roofs must have also played an important role in the tradition of sacred spaces in historical Western Tibet. A tower with pitched roof is depicted in the Sadāprarudita legend in the Tabo ambulatory (Fig. 34). A related type of building appears to be reflected in the interior of the Alchi Mañjuśrī *lha khang*, ca. 1200 (Fig. 35); featuring an umbrella-shaped ceiling design with fanning beams. The latter system may have once also existed in the Padmasambhava *lha khang* at Nako, stemming from the 14th century.[34] At Lalung, there are ceiling designs resembling wooden coffins, which are raised in the

[31] Romi Khosla (1979) presented a genesis of the motif of tri-foliated arches in combination with gable roof motifs from Kashmir to Ladakh.

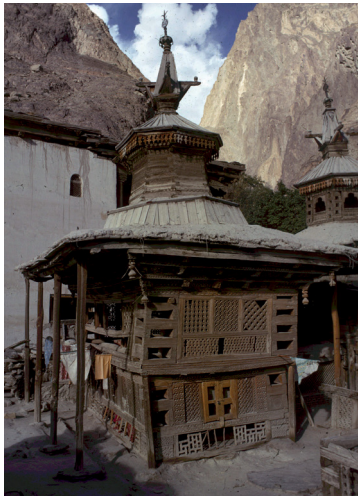
[32] Steep roofs in Kashmir are derived from wooden prototypes, but only in the "sub-Himalayan valleys of Himachal Pradesh [do] shrines built of deodar, the locally available cedar, still stand" (Michell 2000: 64). Pent-roofed temples are typical of various parts of Himachal Pradesh, in regions where the deodar played an important role in the construction of temples. The slanting roofs of slates in Kinnaur are adapted to the climate and the amount of rain and snow, whereas temples in Tibet are typically solid and flat, used for storage; however, there must have been a greater variety of roof forms in the early period. Some of the single-chamber buildings or those with superimposed (multi-storey) roofs of diminishing width may allude to the honorific function of umbrellas. In procession local devtas are carried in palanquins, and one ore more umbrellas held above them, the local deities are wrapped in clothes, protecting them from direct view (Papa-Kalantari 2008: fig. 193). Temples with a vertical repetition of multi-tiered towers with fanning beams, have an important role to play in the architecture in Buddhist Nepal and Hindu Buddhist temples in Himachal Pradesh. As Kramrisch has put (1976 I: 190): "The superstructure of superimposed and diminishing slabs of stone forming a stepped pyramid surmounted by an amalaka is a pristine type of superstructure of the temple. In decreasing size, slab upon slap are placed on the roof of dolmen type shrines in South India and the Himalayas as well," as examples she mentions Baijnath Temple, Kangra, founded at the beginning of the 13th century. The author further describes that the verticality or cosmic axis is most suitable fort he ideal of the spiritual ascent of devotee (*ibid*.: 184).

[33] This was first suggested by Di Mattia 2007: 65. Cf. also a building with a pitched roof (perhaps covered with blue ) depicted in the *jātaka* of the starving tigress at Zhag cave (cf. Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po and Kalantari, "Guge kingdom-period murals in the Zhag grotto in mNga' ris, Western Tibet", this volume, Fig. 19, p. 416).

[34] The author identified temple ceiling planks that were originally organised in a radial pattern and decorated with textile depictions (cf. Conservation Report 2002-2004, Nako Research and Preservation Project, University of Vienna).

30. Nako, detail heavenly palace, lHa khang gong ma, main wall (C. Kalantari, 2009).

31. Ribba, Lotsāba *lha khang*: roof structure (C. Luczanits, 2004).



central section, suggesting that ceiling alludes to a complex, stepped, roof system of a centralised space, as also seen in the heavenly palaces as abodes of main deities in the sculptures covering the walls (Fig. 36). In addition, at Lalung further types of tiered structures can be found on the main wall: one with five spires or turrets on the different levels, reminiscent of Buddhist and Hindu sanctuaries with four towers in the corners and a central cupola depicted on one of the bodhisattva's *dhotī* in the Alchi Sumtsek (Goepper 1996: figs. on pp. 59, 64).

Another type has a stepped superstructure, with *stūpika*s on the different levels (Fig. 37; cf. Luczanits 2004: fig. on p. 97).

In Ladakh specific types of *stūpa*s had both the function of a reliquary and a temple, one example being the "Great Stūpa"[35] at Alchi made of mud-bricks and with a wooden lantern ceiling (or rather a temple enshrining a *stūpa*; cf. Kalantari, "Note on the spatial iconography of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* in context", this volume, p. 263) featuring four turrets or elongated *stūpika*s in the corners and

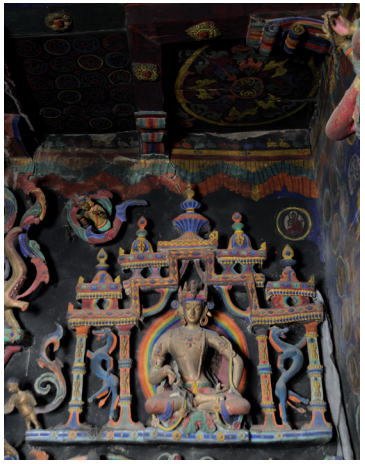
32. Srinagar (Kashmir), mosque (M. Klimburg, 2007).

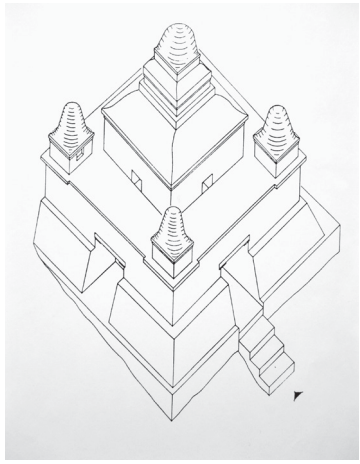
33. Baltistan, Mir Aref shrine and tomb at Tagas (M. Klimburg, 2001).

34. Tabo *gtsug lag khang*, ambulatory: Tower in the Sadāprarudita legend (C. Kalantari, 2009).

35. Interior of the Alchi Mañjuśrī *lha khang*, ca. 1200 (C. Kalantari, 2009).

[35] In the inscription the structure is called 'Bum mthong bkra shis sgo mangs (*mchod rten*), i.e. "The *Stūpa* with Many Auspicious Doors of the One Hundred Thousand Visions", first published by Goepper (1993: 115, 140). The inscription further states that the model is from India, "taking as an example the Svayambhū-śrī-Dhānyakaṭaka, as it exists in Central India" (*ibid.*: 115), which according to the author is perhaps an allusion to Amarāvatī, popular with Tibetan pilgrims. This article also discusses the designation of the *stūpa* by locals and the architectural context and genesis of this building type, which originally had four doors in the cardinal directions, comparable to the *pañcāyatana* temple complexes and *stūpa*s in Central Asia and Kashmir.





36. Lalung, gSer khang, heavenly palace (C. Kalantari, 2009).

37. Lalung, gSer khang, heavenly palace of the Buddha on the right-hand side (C. Kalantari, 2009).

38. "Great Stūpa" at Alchi (C. Kalantari, 2009).

39. "Great Stūpa" at Alchi, isonometric representation (drawing by G. Wiesel, Cologne; after Goepper 1993: 130).

40. *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, Tabo (Harrison 2009: cat. no. 1.1.2.7), folio depicting a bodhisattva in a shrine (E. Allinger, 2009).

41. Tabo, folio featuring Dharmodgata in the tower representing the teaching (E. Allinger, 1994).

a central cupola (Figs. 38 and 39).[36] At Lalung[37] this type of sacred space is reserved for the image of the Buddha on the main wall, representing the focus of devotion in the temple. Another example is a folio of a MS at Tabo featuring a bodhisattva in a temple with *stūpa*s in the corners (Fig. 40). Another Tabo folio, showing the tower of Dharmodgata and thus the realm of *dharmakāya*, features *stūpa*s on the horizontal levels and on the top of the superstructure (Fig. 41). This type of shrine is frequently also depicted in manuscripts from Dolpo, Nepal (see Allinger and Kalantari 2012: fig. 13; Heller 2009: fig. 77). It thus appears that the built architecture of the region (perhaps alluding to even specific pilgrimage places)—the *stūpa* as well as different types of centralized sanctuaries with superimposed turrets and *stūpa*s common in Western Tibet in particular—were gradually integrated into the symbolism of heavenly palaces. The second upper roof level of the Nako shrine is crowned by a characteristic *āmalaka* (Fig. 42) which here—in contrast to its Indian prototype—is treated as a purely decorative element, whereas the rows of petals together with characteristic rows of appendages resembling wooden pendants[38] between the different levels are closer to their models.

A consistent element in Western Himalayan art is the rich use of textile motifs: in Indian shrine depictions these originally adorn the cushions of the throne and also decorate the cloth draped over the front of its base. At Nako decorative elements deriving from textile art fill the spaces between the different recessive levels of the superstructure (Fig. 43).[39] This decorative system is reminiscent of the actual architecture in the region, and in particular the rich tradition of local mud-brick structures in which textile covers prevent dust from falling down through the mud-filled roof, as seen in historical buildings as actual textiles (Tabo, Tholing) or painted fabrics (Alchi, Fig. 44) well as in local buildings up to the present day.[40] The great variety of textile depictions and their careful rendering are typical

[36] Comparable complex superstructures are also found in the Tholing Gyatsa.

[37] Cf. also Goepper (1996: fig. 71) featuring a shrine with a Buddha image; there are three small *stūpa*s on the complex, funnel-shaped roof, perhaps imitating wooden constructions.

[38] Originally these were functional elements that channelled rainwater off the roof, thus protecting the façade of the temple.

[39] Interestingly, this tendency is also found at Pagan, as already noted by Bautze-Picron (1998: 34). The constant interest in textile patterns in throne depictions preserves the memory of the *vajrāsana*, the seat of the Buddha's Enlightenment set up in the time of Aśoka Maurya, and is thus part of the long and enduring tradition of the non-iconic representation of the Buddha.

[40] The same textile motifs can be found on the ceiling of the lHa khang gong ma at Nako and even in depictions of *maṇḍala* palaces on the side walls of the early temples at Nako.

42. Nako, lHa khang gong ma, main wall, detail: celestial palace (C. Kalantari, 2009).

43. Nako, lHa khang gong ma, main wall, detail: celestial palace (C. Kalantari, 2002; WHAV).

44. Alchi, Sumtsek, ceiling (C. Kalantari, 2000).

of this style and also provide evidence of the offering of sumptuous garments to the temple by pious donors as well as their ritual use in the attiring of Buddhist temples. The donation of precious textiles as a central component of Buddhist ritual practice is also shown in donor depictions portraying the local aristocratic elite at Tsaparang (Papa-Kalantari 2007). The Western Himalayan Tibetan ornamental style reflects the transferral of symbols and values from the culture of luxury and status of the local royal elite to aristocratic and decorative features in the medium of art designed to portray the deities residing in sacred spaces of colourful splendour. Another important element in the definition of sacred shrines is the aspect of devotion and sensual interaction with the holy image on the part of the devotee, which is reflected not only in the textiles decorating the various storeys but also in the depiction of ropes of pearls and bells hung on the shrine with the Buddha in it at Tabo (cf. Fig. 45).

The depictions of the Eight Bodhisattvas on the main wall display an ambivalent approach toward pictorial space: the sacred realm of the deities is defined by an illusionistic architectural structure as well as the two-dimensional hieratic throne frame. This artistic mode allows compositions that incorporate both temporal and spiritual space.

A slightly later date (12th century) can be assumed for the manuscript folios from Tabo monastery (cf. Figs. 40, 41). Here there is a fusion of the shrine type discussed above and a stepped frame with superimposed *stūpas*—its colour scheme alluding to an aureole. The result is a simplified, abbreviated architectural space transformed into to a planar frame for the divinity.

To sum up, the representation of divine imagery in their sacred abodes shows a transfer of models rooted in the art of the Indian subcontinent. As Bautze-Picron (1998: 41) has rightly pointed out, some elements of shrine architecture in India functioned as objects of iconographic value which were then transformed into decorative elements in later periods. While the overall architectural layout of the celestial palaces in Western Tibet takes up the tradition of the sacred images as replicas of the holy sites with multi-tiered, *śikhara*-type superstructures (in particular the Mahābodhi temple, where the Buddha experienced his Great Enlightenment),[41] the ornamental details integrate local ornamental language and elements of luxury art specific to the region as well as actual built forms in the Western Himalayas. As a result there is an evolutionary history from a planar, decorative throne frame with architectural features (such as in the YM) to an architectural throne frame (Nako) and finally to an illusionist temple or shrine as a throne and backdrop for deities, perhaps alluding to actual pilgrimage places. Among the most elaborate examples illustrating the latest stage of this development are images of sacred structures of various types at Dungkar (Cave II), in the lowest zone of the wall featuring enthroned deities and donors which flank a *maṇḍala*. One example features an Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara in an aureole in front of an illusionist temple with multiple roofs crowning the storeys of solid walls, resembling Tibetan mud-brick buildings (Fig. 47). Such tall, tiered structures of course are reminiscent of the famous temple architecture in the Kathmandu valley, Nepal (cf. Gutschow 2011: 54).

To sum up, while at Tabo and Nako elements of heavenly palaces may have been linked to the symbolism of sacred stone architecture—in particular the vertical, tower-like superstructure, the *śikhara*, of temples in India combined with wooden temples

[41] It was the premier site of pilgrimage, visited by great numbers of Tibetans, and many replicas were made of it and brought back to Tibet.

of the region—later this type was perhaps superimposed by the architectonic idea of the *stūpa*, which of course had a high status as building type in the Tibetan architectural tradition as well as by different types of single-chamber sanctuaries, perhaps designed for much-revered cult-images, with complex superstructures featuring turrets and *stūpa*s positioned in the cardinal directions, suggesting cosmological allusions in architecture, which developed in this region.

By virtue of this assembly of built and imaged forms in the architectural thrones and heavenly palaces of deities in the YM and at Nako, motifs of extreme visual complexity and colourful splendour are achieved in Western Tibet. In particular the decorative architectural throne in the YM does not represent real architecture but rather sacred spaces designed to enhance the majesty of the deity and that of the realm in which it resides. The artists integrated these elements, thus creating independent and innovative types of sacred space and styles of architectural ornament.

This type of Western Himalayan shrine is found as a significant feature both in wall paintings and manuscripts and in specific positions in the spatial layout, as will be demonstrated below, leading us to the question of its possible iconological function.

**Sacred Spaces and Lay Imagery in Western Himalayan Painting**

Another important independent feature of Western Himalayan book illumination and wall painting is the strong presence of royal and noble donors in the pictorial programme.[42] Indian sculptures often feature representations of donors shown as small kneeling figures on the base.[43] In the art of Kashmir, Ladakh and Baltistan these depictions of lay people commemorate the act of donation as a central form of Buddhist devotion. This tradition is continued in Western Tibet and features large-scale compositions that commemorate contemporary rituals and ceremonies. Portraits of the ruling elite even assume an important role in iconographic ensembles of religious imagery. In addition a synchronisation of lay imagery and religious iconography can be observed on different levels. In the lowest zone of the Nako main wall discussed above, the donor depictions are below the central Tārā of the Eight Perils in a mode of veneration featuring offerings in the centre, and they are also engaged in a ritual (Fig. 20). The composition resembles a manuscript folio in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.81.90.6 for an image see Pal 1983: 123) featuring a Prajñāpāramitā and, below, a symmetrically arranged group of lay donors and a monk. The group is shown in an offering scene with ritual paraphernalia at its centre.

The presence of the local elite in religious imagery as part of the whole religious programme, and in relation to a specific thematic assemblage with didactic imagery in particular, is a characteristic feature of West Tibetan art. The monumental assembly of the lay and monastic elite headed by the Royal Lama (*lha bla ma*) Ye she 'od in the Tabo entrance hall is a paradigm in this respect. By contrast, the dominant presence of donors is unknown in Indian manuscripts. Another specific feature in the evolutionary history of Western Himalayan donor depictions is the fact that the scenes become increasingly vivid, showing the ruling elite engaged in various actions reflecting actual rituals and historical events. They are often shown together with their families, or in genre-like scenes commemorating not only religious rituals but also different types of genre scenes, reflecting values of wealth (extended to the temple) and procreation and even echoing typologies found in representations of Indic tutelary gods (Kalantari, "Hārītī and Pāñcika at Tabo", this volume, pp. 301–325). One of the most fascinating examples of this genre-like type of donor depiction is shown on the final page of a *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript from Dolpo, featuring a female member of a noble clan depicted as a nursing mother; other genre scenes include, for example, a man spinning wool with a spindle (cf. Fig. 3). Such scenes in various media of West Tibetan art appear to provide a medium of self-representation for aristocratic donors in their striving for legitimacy and respectability vis-à-vis the local population and constitute a constant independent feature of this art. This reflects a religious landscape marked by the propagation of Buddhism by the royal and aristocratic elite. The programmatic text of the Pooh frontispiece (Fig. 2)—which contrasts with Indian manuscripts in terms of both content and structure—is a further indication of the function of this type of imagery.

The frontispiece is highly significant with regard to the form and function of donor depiction in Western Tibetan religious imagery. The assembly on the right-hand side of the folio shows a "Sacred Conversation"[44] or gathering of protectors, the lay and monastic

[42] In general, while in the early paintings in the Tabo entrance hall (*sgo khang*) the donor images represent a hieratic, ceremonial style, later images are more vivid, showing the ruling elite (perhaps of varying status) engaged in various actions and rituals.

[43] Among the most famous examples are medieval bronzes from Kashmir: e.g. a Buddha from the Norton Simon Foundation (see Pal 1975: figs. 22a, b) and sculptures from Kurkihar/Nālandā—for example a bronze statue of the Buddha showing *bhūmisparśamudrā* in the Patna Museum (see Huntington 1984: fig. 177).

[44] This term was coined in connection with European Renaissance painting and generally shows the enthroned Madonna in "conversation" with saints in a unified pictorial space; historical persons can be also be present in such compositions.

elite, crowned by an ensemble of Hindu deities above (among them Brahmā and Śiva). The text in the centre of the folio is significant by virtue of its unique content. It encourages the devotee to engage with the teaching of the Buddha (and with that of Prajñāpāramitā in particular) and to follow those who have attained perfect peace and joy through his wisdom.[45]

By virtue of its position at the beginning of the book, this combination of text and image—integrating the representation of the local elite—can be read as a conscious propagation of Buddhism in the region and as encouragement to follow the Buddha's path. This type of text appears to be related to didactic inscriptions in wall paintings.

**Sacred Ordering of Space in a West Tibetan Temple**

Interestingly, the combination of the "didactic" text and the sermon found on the Pooh frontispiece in certain ways resembles a configuration in the entrance hall (*sgo khang)* of the main temple (*gtsug lag khang;* ca. end of the 10th century) at Tabo, which has recently been cleaned by the Archaeological Survey of India. There a non-historical inscription below the depiction of a Buddha—making the boon-giving gesture (*varadamudrā*)—is shown in the upper left-hand corner of the entrance wall (thus positioned at the "beginning" of the temple's programme; cf. Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po and Kalantari, "Guge kingdom-period murals in the Zhag grotto in mNga' ris, Western Tibet", this volume, Fig. 5, p. 409). The image of the Buddha together with the caption below accompanies a *saṃsāracakra* (Wheel of Rebirths) as prescribed in the *Vinaya* (monastic regulations) of the Mūlasarvāstivādins concerning the decoration of entrance halls.[46] The inscription was first transcribed and translated by Luczanits (1999: 115–16). The verses encouraging conversion to Buddhism read as follows:

> "'Commence, go forth [and] join the Buddha's teaching! Destroy Māra's host, as an elephant [destroys] a reed-hut! Whoever conscientiously observes the [Buddhist] monastic rules (*dharmavinaya*) will leave the circle of rebirth, and reach the end of suffering', thus it is said." (Luczanits 1999: 116, n. 61; translation to a large extent following the German translation in Schmidt 1989: 79).

The text above the painting of the *saṃsāracakra* is related to the teaching of dependent origination and through its connection with the enlightenment can be regarded as the quintessence of the teaching of the Buddha (Zin and Schlingloff 2007: 124–125).[47] Its intention in the temple is to encourage conversion to Buddhism and to follow the Buddha's path towards ultimate liberation. The thematic assemblage represented in the Tabo entrance hall is reminiscent of the iconography on the veranda—corresponding to the entrance hall of a monastery—of the *vihāra*-type Cave XVII at Ajanta featuring a Wheel of Life plus "didactic" inscription and Avalokiteśvara as the saviour from dangers together with local protectors (for an image see Zin and Schlingloff 2007: Appendix).

As a contrasting feature at Tabo we find a monumental depiction of an assembly of eminent historical personalities together with the laity and the monastic community on the side walls flanking the entrance wall. At the centre of the ensemble of historical personalities (on the south wall) is the portrait of Ye shes 'od, the founder of the temple (according to the Renovation Inscription), who—perhaps together with *lo chen* Rin chen bzang po—was *the* principal personality responsible for the re-establishment of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Western Tibet from the late 10th century onwards (a period which later became known as *bstan pa phyi dar* or the "Later Diffusion of Buddhism").

Above the latter are ensembles of Indic protectors, while a local territorial deity (*srung ma*), described in an inscription below as Wi nyu myin and protectress of the main temple (cf. Luczanits 1999: 114), together with guardians of the temple watch over the sphere leading to the main hall. The Tabo *sgo khang* (comparable to the early old entrance hall of Shalu[48] is a unique early Buddhist example in the Western Himalaya, where donors/lay persons and Hindu

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[45] See the appendix by Gudrun Melzer in Allinger and Kalantari 2012 for a transliteration and translation of the text and the discussion of the content.

[46] As has been shown by Schlingloff (1988: 169), the text next to the Wheel of Rebirths in the Buddhist art of Ajanta is from the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (MSV). The thematic ensemble also conforms to the instructions on how to decorate the entrance hall of a temple in the MSV (cf. also Panglung 1981: 141; Zin and Schlingloff 2007: 22). Luczanits demonstrated that the MSV is also the source for the caption above the wheel at Tabo (Luczanits 1999: 115). The inscription on the entrance wall of the Tabo entrance hall and the wheel of rebirth is also mentioned in Klimburg-Salter et al. (1997: 81).

[47] The assemblage of themes: *saṃsāracakra*—image of the Buddha and the accompanying caption—reflects one of the "most essential tenets of the Buddha's teaching" (Bechert and Gombrich 1995: 28), namely the Chain of Dependent Origination resulting in the cycle of suffering and rebirth; a component of the Four Noble Truths expounded by the Buddha in the First Sermon after his enlightenment (*ibid*.: 49). The devotees entering the entrance hall or veranda of the temple at Ajanta perhaps equated the Wheel of Rebirths with their own existence and contemplated the possibility of escaping from the cycle of rebirth, as suggested by Zin (Zin and Schlingloff 2007: 157).

[48] While this strong presence of lay imagery is unknown in Indian art, it is a consistent feature in early Buddhist art in Tibet, e.g. in the old entrance hall of Shalu (Zha lu, Central Tibet; ca. 1030).

and Indic deities integrated as protectors into the sacred order of Buddhism occupy an independent space as opposed to the sacred sphere of the *maṇḍala* in the main hall.

In the sacred ordering of spaces at Tabo, not only the iconographic programme but also ornament plays an important role. Exemplary for this is the architectural ornament on the transition zone between assembly hall and ambulatory-cum-sanctum, which does not imitate textiles but rather carved wood, alluding to a monumental portal or *toraṇa*. Ornament here appears to signal the ritual use of the temple and its hierarchisation: it articulates a sensitive zone and demarcates the border to the space of highest spiritual rank, the sanctum. (Cf. Kalantari , "Note on the spatial iconography of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* in context", this volume, Fig. 6, p. 261.) Comparative material for specific elaborate ornament on portals is provided by the magnificent Khorchag portal (Fig. 22).

**The Heavenly Palace as Border and Interface**

A related composition of a "Sacred Assembly" organised in linked palaces appears above the portal of the chronologically later *'du khang* (assembly hall) at Tabo (Fig. 23), featuring a central Buddha (performing *dhyānamudrā*, the gesture of meditation) attended by Avalokiteśvara and Samantabhadra and flanked by a community of monks above a local territorial deity, perhaps Dorje Chenmo (rDo rje chen mo). The placing of the latter above the door leading to the sacred sphere of the *'du khang* appears to be significant. In this depiction above the *'du khang'*s portal, the Buddha is shown in a palatial structure flanked by the monastic community and gods, recalling the same theme depicted on the frontispiece of the Pooh manuscript. Although the Buddha images are shown making various *mudrā*s in the book illuminations and wall paintings of this theme, they are related to central moments in his life when he discovered the Chain of Dependent Origination, which was the basis of his enlightenment and thus the core of his teaching.[49] Another little known example of the decisive iconological function of "Sacred Assemblies" is to be found in a monumental depiction to the right of the entrance wall of the Nyag temple at Khartse (mKhar rtse, rTsa mda' District, mNga' ris Prefecture) featuring the Buddha within a large community of monks in Tibetan monastic robes. However, an elaborate throne architecture is absent in this example.[50] Regarding the position of heavenly palaces in the organism of the book, in contrast to the YM, in a Tabo manuscript (running no. 5) architectural representations are not only to be found on the frontispiece but also inside the book. On one folio Bodhisattva Dharmodgata is shown in a palace, which, as has been shown, refers to an episode in the respective story (Fig. 41). However, in this manuscript bodhisattvas are also depicted in shrines which are purely decorative and have no relation to the text. There are also Buddha images on various different architectural thrones in the Hanle (Waṃ le) MS (Ladakh), displaying the close relation between shrine and the figural image in this region. The shrines in which the figures reside are not related to the text, but are mainly designed to add stability, variation and a sense of visual wealth to the composition. This approach towards architectonic ornament appears to be characteristic for manuscripts in later periods of this artistic phase.[51]

**The Symbolism of the Tower in Literature**

The architectural throne, palace or tower with a niche-like opening not only reflects the close relation of figure and shrine in Buddhist religious imagery, it also features as a constant metaphor to illustrate the process of pilgrimage and salvation in West Tibetan painting. In the Sadāprarudita story, too, the tower represents the teaching and the *dharmakāya* (Fig. 34). The Sudhana legend—depicted as a complete cycle on the murals of Tabo—is exemplary for the progress of pilgrimage towards bodhisattva-hood. In one of the last chapters his teacher or spiritual advisor is Bodhisattva Maitreya, who sends the young man onward to visit the Buddha Vairocana's tower of inexhaustible adornment (Cleary 1993: 365).[52] The Vairocana tower stands for the splendid realm of *dharmadhātu*, which the devotee can enter. The text describes the majesty of the *vihāra*, as a delicately decorated tower of peerless beauty, with shining garlands of jewellery,

[49] Despite the chronological distance from Tabo, in this context it should be mentioned that the veranda of Cave 17 in Ajanta contains a depiction of a Great Assembly (*mahāsamāja*), in which gods from all regions and heavenly spheres came to be present during the preaching of the Buddha before his monks (Zin and Schlingloff 2007: 114). However, the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins prescribes the Great Miracle rather than this image (*ibid*.).

[50] In this, historical figures are represented as direct witnesses of the teaching Buddha and they are thus perhaps connoted with the religious prestige of the first disciples of the Buddha. The image documented by Tsering Gyalpo (see: Tshe ring rgyal po and Papa-Kalantari 2009: fig. 20) shows a large assembly of monks listening to the teaching of the Buddha, with one prominent monk to the left, most probably an eminent religious personality of that time associated with the foundation of the temple or another specific historic moment.

[51] I wish to thank Gudrun Melzer for allowing me to study the images (see Allinger 2017: figs. 1–80, pp. 153–171).

[52] "'Go into this great tower containing the adornments of Vairocana and look—then you will know how to learn the practice of enlightening beings, and what kind of virtues are perfected in those who learn this.' Then Sudhana respectfully circumambulated the enlightening being Maitreya and said, 'Please open the door of the tower, and I will enter.'" (Cleary 1993: 365).

45. Tabo *gtsug lag khang*, Assembly Hall (*'du khang*), wall leading to sanctum (l.) (*dri gtsang khang*): Vairocana's tower (P. Sutherland, 2009).

46. Tabo *gtsug lag khang*, Assembly Hall (*'du khang*), wall leading to sanctum (r.) (*dri gtsang khang*): first scene of the Life of the Buddha (P. Sutherland, 2009).

and as a realm of the highest spiritually developed Mahāyāna adept, the bodhisattva. The elaborate three-dimensional architectonic frame of the freestanding four-bodied Mahāvairocana at Tabo—seated on a lotus throne and in front of the cella that allows for circumambulation—may allude to the abode of Vairocana descibed in the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* in which the devotee can enter through meditation.

Among the most elaborate architectonic forms in West Tibetan painting, in the last scene in the Sudhana legend at Tabo—next to passage leading to ambulatory—the abode of Samantabhadra (Fig. 45), a key figure in the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* can be seen described as splendid realm filled with light and adorned by flowers, jewels, fragrant trees and garlands (Cleary 1993: 378ff.).[53] In this realm Samantabhadra blesses Sudhana who realized the states of consummate knowledge (*ibid*.: 384). These towers are typically depicted at Tabo and Nako at decisive positions in the temple leading from one space to spiritually more elevated ones (see also Fig. 46 featuring the first scene of the Life of the Buddha on the opposite wall leading to the ambulatory at Tabo).

### The Tower as an Architectural Threshold

It should be mentioned in this context that Linrothe (2010: 125, 134) suggested an interlocking of sacred texts, sculptures, wall paintings and architecture in his article presenting a new interpretation of "the western and eastern tower of the future Buddha at Mangyu." He proposed that they may function as a thresholds with resemblances to the towers "described in the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*, when Sudhana encounters Maitreya who lead him to the tower of the adornment of Vairocana and encourages him to enter" (*ibid*.: 134). Thus the tower appears to represent the enlightening vision that is Sudhana's goal. This space is actually represented as tower and threshold to the temple at Mangyu and Alchi.[54] It can thus be assumed that in the medium of painting architectural representations also serve as images of contemplation for the devotee—the deepening of the teachings—when physically performing the meditative walk in the temple, moving through spaces of increasing sacredness.

To summarise, the motif of the heavenly palace as the setting for a "Sacred Conversation" has hitherto also been admired as a purely decorative element. However, such architectural themes have specific iconological functions. In particular the multi-tiered palatial structure of the Buddha assembly in the *Yum chen mo*/*Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript at Pooh marks a symbolically decisive border: it shows the devotee the path to the sacred realm of the teaching of the Buddha, a core element of the doctrinal system of that time. It is thus also a border and interface between the mundane and the transmundane.

The local elements in this type of shrine architecture in various media signal that the guide between these spheres can be provided not only in distant lands of the Buddha but also in the temples newly established by the local Buddhist elite in the Land of Snow. Accordingly, the portal of a temple or the threshold between

47. Dungkar (Cave II), enthroned deity, flanking a *maṇḍala*, lower zone of wall (courtesy Rob Linrothe, 2001).

[53] On a formal level it echoes the first scene of life of the Buddha on the wall to the right side of the entrance to the sanctum.

[54] Cf. also Luczanits 2010 for a discussion of the translation of religious ideas into built architectural forms.

48. Tabo *gtsug lag khang*, Assembly Hall (*'du khang*): folio with a book in an aureole (E. Allinger, 1994).

49. *Śatasahasrika Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, Tabo (Harrison 2009: cat. no. 1.1.1.23), folio featuring Sadāprarudita and devotees in veneration of the book (E. Allinger, 1994).

distinctive spaces in a temple are meaningful locations for this theme.[55]

The palace represented in the first folio of the *Prajñāpāramitā* (*Yum chen mo*) manuscript at Pooh is thus also a portal to the sacred sphere of the Buddha. Accordingly, the frontispiece of the manuscript with its text commanding the reader to approach the teaching—usually not found in Indian manuscript tradition in this position—can perhaps be regarded as the spatial equivalent of the ordering of space in a temple, which is a unique feature found only in Western Himalayan book illumination.[56] The religious content of the space in which humans (lay and monastic personalities) and gods listen to the teaching of the Buddha, both in the temple—represented in the entrance hall or above the portal—and at the beginning of a sacred book, is to create a cohesion between the local population, the monastic community and the world of the "Enlightened One".[57]

**On the Relation between Text, Image and Temple**

In the Tibetan cultural sphere holy scripts are representatives of the word of the Buddha (*gsung rten*). Thus great respect is shown in their use, they are treated like cult images. In early West Tibetan Buddhist culture in particular, sacred texts were essential elements and parts of the accoutrements of temples. An inscription in the "Great Stūpa" at Alchi states that the temples there were built as manifestations of "body, speech and mind" of the Buddha; thus, the book, representing speech, is an integral part of the ensemble of a temple's foundation and was perhaps commissioned in relation to the erection and decoration of the temples.[58] These books may have been regarded like icons, as seen in a folio at Tabo (Fig. 48). Another 11th–12th-century illustration from Tabo features donors/devotees in veneration of a book (Fig. 49). It shows donors and the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata, who preaches the teaching of the "Perfection of Wisdom" which is represented as a book.[59] Another example is a folio from the Pritzker collection, the last page of a manuscript, which perhaps illustrates the consecration of the book in the presence of the donors (Fig. 3).[60]

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[55] One example is an image on the wall leading from the *'du khang* to the sanctum or *dri gtsang khang* at Tabo; Fig. 46. In the earliest phase of decoration of the Tabo *tsug lhag khang* the entrance hall appears to have had this function as border and interface, reflecting the horizontal tripartite hierarchy of spaces.

[56] When reading the text the devotee is thus also present in a virtual sense in a world ordered according to Buddhist precepts. While such temple depictions are found on the frontispieces of manuscripts or on the entrance walls (Tabo) in earlier phases, they are later represented in the lowest zone of a complete composition, as found on the main wall at Nako. Accordingly, the rows of temples depicted in the lowest zone of the main wall in the Nako lHa khang gong ma temple are not only decorative; they delineate and protect the space on the border zone with the *maṇḍala* represented in the centre of this wall. Accordingly the Eight Bodhisattvas are also conceived of as guarding their respective direction. The palaces are thus also windows or "gateways" to the sacred sphere—both stylistically and on symbolic level—comparable to the verandas which are a constant feature in the spatial layout of West Tibetan temples.

[57] This space represents a border zone between the worldly and the sacred realm. In addition, the division of the (public) entrance hall and (sacred) main hall perhaps reflects specific cultic needs: while the first appears to be mainly a place where the devotee performs ritual offerings (which is still the case, as noted by Christian Jahoda, verbal communication, 2.2011), the latter is mainly dedicated to the liturgical ceremonies of the monastic community, and the devotee is not usually admitted while rituals are being performed. Buddha Śākyamuni flanked by devotees can also be considered in the Buddhist doctrinal system as a one of three Buddha manifestations, namely that of the fragile temporary body (*nirmāṇakāya)* of the Buddha, an aspect of the Buddha intended to instruct mankind. The iconological content of such scenes is clearly to propagate the teaching of the Buddha and to provide a place for the devotee at the "entrance" of the manuscript or to the temple in order that he or she might deepen contemplation and the meditation on the teaching.

[58] The Alchi inscriptions in the 'Great Stūpa' describe that Tshul khrims 'od donated as Symbols of Speech (*gsung gi rten*) fourteen volumes of the large version of the (most probably) *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* "on extremely precious paper, not caring about price and costs" (Goepper 1993: 114, 143). I am grateful to Christian Jahoda for directing my attention on this inscription.

[59] For the sacredness of scripts see also Losty (1982); for the cult of the book Schopen (2005), describing how sacred scripts even had the status of "shrines"; cf. also Kim (2008). A related aspect of the cult of the book is practised at Nako where children walk under them, held aloft by women.

[60] Books must have been positioned in central positions in temples or kept in separate structures. Specific architectonic types of single spaced structures may have been used for their storage in Western Tibet. As observed by Luczanits (2010), there is a tower in front of the Alchi 'Du khang (recalling descriptions of sacred architecture in relevant texts popular at that time), flanking the entrance portal, which may have served for storage of books and perhaps also as sacred spaces for veneration. Towers were also used as temple forms as can be seen on one of the *dhotī*s of sculptures in the Alchi Sumtsek, featuring a multi-storey tower topped by a funnel-shaped roof with a cult image (Tārā) in the uppermost part (Goepper 1996: 59). Of course old manuscripts are also to be found in *stūpa*s, reflecting different forms of devotion.

As a characteristic feature of the early Buddhist tradition of this region and the specific culture of donorship of the local religio-political elite, strong interrelations between sacred texts and decorative programmes in temples existed at the early Buddhist period of temples in the region; exemplary of this is a group of folios at Tabo (running no. 5), which was identified by Allinger and Luczanits ("A Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* in a *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript of Tabo monastery", this volume, pp. 343–361) as a Dharmadhātuvāgīśvaramañjuśrī *maṇḍala*. While the paintings appear to be independent of the text in the book, they represent an iconographic ensemble that can also be found in the Tabo *gtsug lag khang*, where the MS was found, as well as at Nako. Another example is folios from Tabo showing episodes of the Sadāprarudita story (*ibid*.: Figs. 8–11, pp. 345–346). The illustrations appear in the respective chapter of a manuscript (i.e. the last chapters of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*, namely the story of Sadāprarudita in the search of the Perfection of Wisdom) (Fig. 49). Not only is this close text-image relation unknown from the manuscript tradition in India, in addition the story is depicted in the Tabo ambulatory, as a narrative identified by Luczanits as the story of Sadāprarudita. The story is thus depicted in the space of the highest sacredness in the temple, representing the highest spiritual level represented by this last part of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*, associated with the "Perfection of Wisdom" (cf. Luczanits 2010).

In particular, the Prajñāpāramitā teachings must have been very popular in Western Tibet and they were prominently represented in temples from earliest times around the mid-11th century. As already mentioned, they can be found on the walls of the ambulatory around the sanctum of the Tabo *gtsug lag khang*. A folio in the LACMA (11th century), from Tholing, features the veneration of Yum chen mo as a deity by donors, symmetrically arranged like donor images at the Nako Gongma temple (Figs. 19, 20).[61] At Nako she is prominently

50. Khorchag, single manuscript folio (Tsering Gyalpo, 2004).

depicted in sculptural form flanking the sanctum in the Lotsāba temple and at the centre of a *maṇḍala* in the Gongma temple.

Not only are the text and the goddess objects of veneration as books or icons but, as has been shown, also on a formal level—i.e. with regard to the arrangement of the illustrations in the Pooh YM—there are interactions and mutual influences with the decorative programme of temples.

With regard to the overall programme of the YM, the individual Buddhas most likely represent the spiritual programme of the 1000 Buddhas, which appears to be independent of the text on which it is written, while the theme is frequently depicted in the temples of this region. The theme of the 1000 Buddhas is comparable to the space surrounding the sanctum or shrine at Tabo or the *stūpa* at the Zhag cave as well the space outside the *maṇḍala* in the early temples at Nako. Thus the first two pages featuring a Buddha assembly (with donors and protectors) and a second folio, with the beginning of the text illustrated with a discourse scene guarded by a protectress, leads from *nirmāṇakāya* to the realm of the 1000 Buddhas, giving it a cosmological dimension. This spatial opposition is comparable to spatial hierarchy in a temple.

Clear mutual influences and interrelations between book illuminations and wall paintings can also be found at a stylistic level and with regard to workshop organisation. Perhaps the same groups of artists were often commissioned by aristocratic donors, as appears to be the case at Tholing (Gudrun Melzer, forthcoming). At Tholing a unique case of close similarities between folios collected by Tucci, now in the LACMA and wall paintings from ca. 11th century correspond, giving important insight into workshop processes and also providing actual evidence of the possibility of mutual exchanges between these genres. In motifs and style there are astonishing parallels between paintings in Nako and those of the *Yum chen mo*

Due to the increasing number of books in a temple they were often also placed in raised shelves along the side walls in the temple also giving opportunity to walk under them during the meditational walk inside the temple as can be seen at Samye, Shalu and Khorchag. Books were perhaps later stored in places that provided special protection; one such place are towers typical of Himachal Pradesh (examples are temples—plus storehouse—at Sarahan; Gondhla tower near Rohtang pass, the latter was perhaps originally a fort or palace). Towers are also to be found in Ladakh (e.g. Hanle [Waṃ le]).

[61] Elements of the programme, such as donors in the entrance hall, protectors above a portal and narratives running along the lower part of the wall to the sanctum, give a dynamic perception of space (typical of the Tabo *gtsug lag khang*, with its tripartite, longitudinal layout), reflecting traditions of devotion like circumambulation. Later, such as at Nako, featuring single-chamber buildings, the focus of worship is on the back wall, featuring more symmetric compositions, representing objects of contemplation, such as thangkas or images in manuscripts.

51. Khorchag, Jo khang, side wall of assembly hall, raised shelves (*kun dga' ra ba*, literally meaning "pleasure grove"), housing books and statues for the honorific walk below by the devotee (P. Sutherland, 2010).

manuscript, and further between Tabo and a single folio at Khorchag (Fig. 50). The latter represents a unique painterly style rather related to the medium of wall paintings rather than illuminations suggesting the artist was also responsible for wall paintings in temples.

To conclude, interrelations between manuscripts and temples are observable at various levels:

1. With regard to iconographic themes and spiritual programmes;

2. At the level of donor depictions, namely regarding their dominant presence on the first or last page in MS and in compositions in wall paintings;

3. At the level of sacred ordering of space in books and temples;

4. Perhaps also at the level of workshop organisation, although too few examples are known today to arrive at a final conclusion at this point.

The study of the relationship between text and image and in particular of the spatial arrangement of lay imagery in Western Himalayan manuscripts is at present in its infancy. This preliminary study shows that there are parallel characteristics both in book illumination and wall painting. Accordingly, it is also relevant as regards questions relating to the spiritual programmes and sacred ordering of space in temples as well as to problems of chronology in West Tibetan art. Both the spiritual anchoring of the miniatures in the book, as well as the anchoring of the book in the temple (Fig. 51) and its connectedness with other elements of the sacred space such as cult images and *stūpas*—perceived as manifestations of body speech and mind of the Buddha—are essential for the understanding of illuminated manuscripts and their ritual use in West Tibetan culture.

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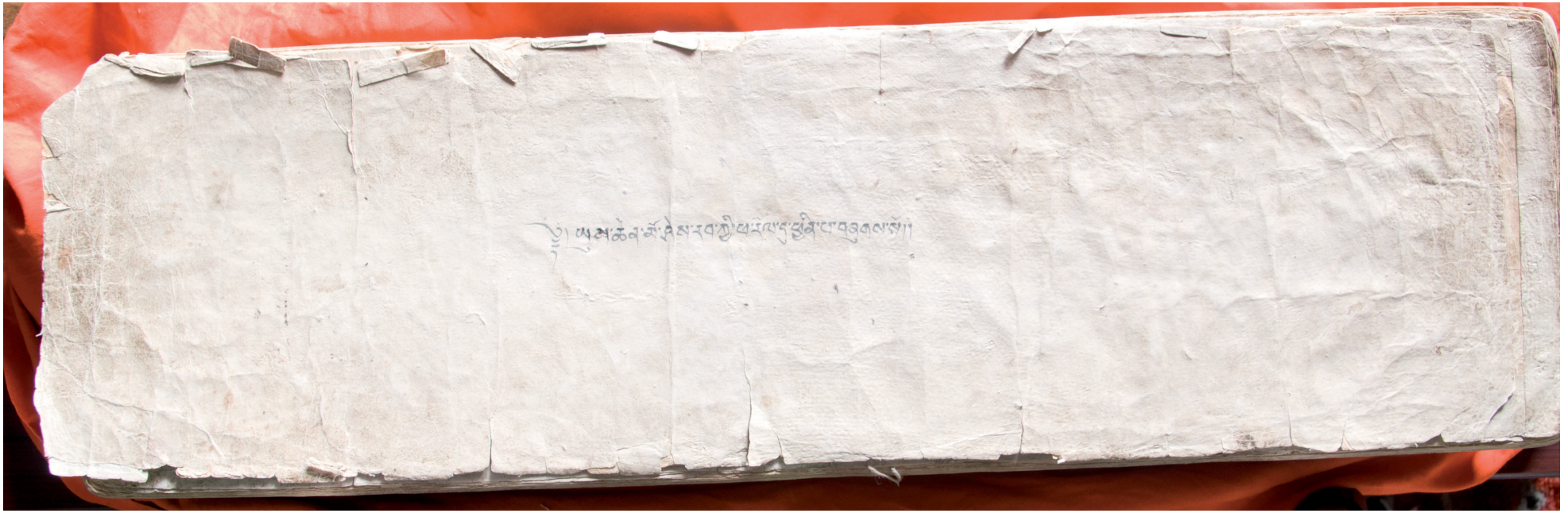
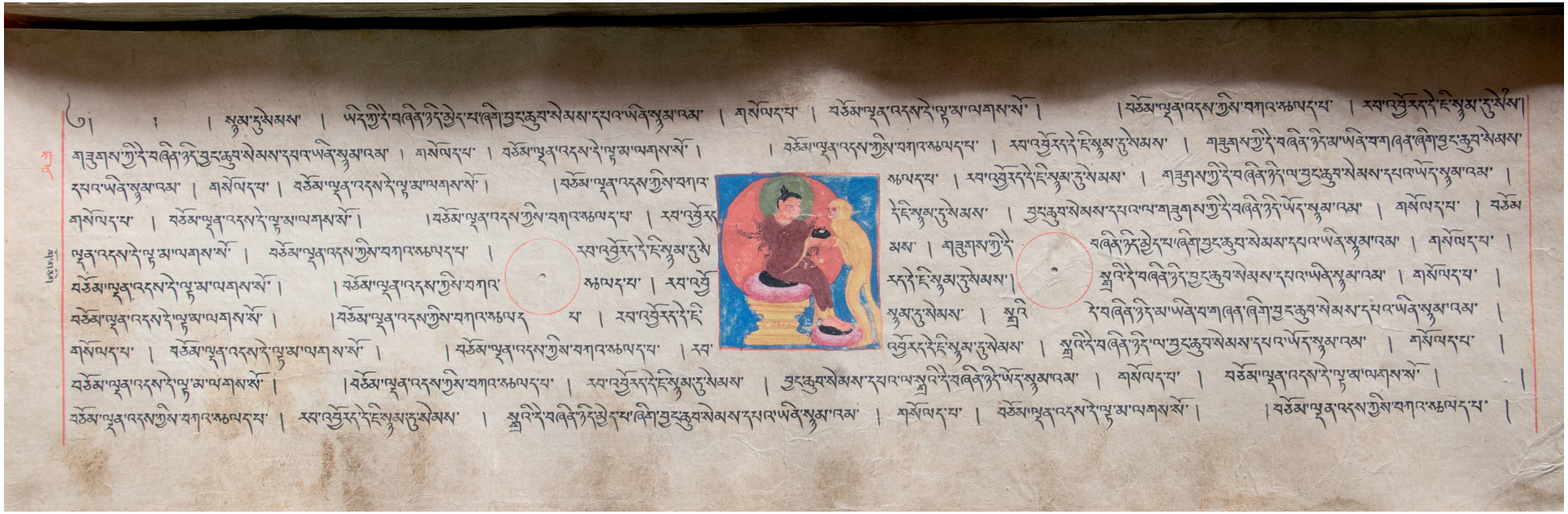
Cat. no. 1: *Prajñāpāramitā* (*Yum chen mo*) manuscript, wooden book cover (ca. 13th century), Pooh (all photography by C. Kalantari, 2009).



Cat. no. 2: *Prajñāpāramitā* (*Yum chen mo*) manuscript, folio 1 *recto* (no pagination).

Cat. no. 3: *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (*Shes rab kyi pha rold tu phyin pa stong phrag brgya pa*) manuscript, folio 1 *verso* (no pagination): frontispiece featuring Māravijaya (left), an intervening panel with an invocation text and a Buddha assembly (right).



Cat. no. 4: *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (*Shes rab kyi pha rold tu phyin pa stong phrag brgya pa*) manuscript, folio 2 (*Ka* 2), *recto*: Cundī (left), two seated figures (a Buddha and a monk) in discussion (centre), a green Bodhisattva (right).

Cat. no. 5: folio 191 (*Ka Na* 91), recto: scene from the life of the Buddha featuring the "Gift of the monkey to the Buddha at Vaiśālī".

Cat. no. 6: folio 193 (*Ka Na* 93), recto: scene from the life of the Buddha featuring the “First Bath of the Buddha”.

Cat. no. 7: folio 316 (*Ka Nga* 16), recto: Buddha.

Cat. no. 8: folio 2 (*Ka* 2) recto: Cundī; Cat. no. 9: folio 2 (*Ka* 2) recto: green Bodhisattva; Cat. no. 10: folio 191 (*Ka Na* 91), recto: scene from the Life of the Buddha featuring the "Gift of the monkey to the Buddha at Vaiśālī".

Cat. no. 11: folio 193 (*Ka Na* 93), recto: scene from the Life of the Buddha featuring the "First Bath of the Buddha"; Cat. no. 12: folio 200 (*Ka Na* 100), recto: scene from the Life of the Buddha (preaching Buddha seated on an elaborate throne); Cat. no. 13: folio 200 (*Ka Ma* 20), recto: scene from the life of the Buddha (preaching Buddha seated on an elaborate throne).

Cat. nos. 14 -19: folio 3 r. (Ka gnyis); folio 4 r. (Ka 4); folio 5 r. (Ka 5); folio 6 r. (Ka 6); folio 7 r. (Ka 7); folio 8 r. (Ka 8).
Cat. nos. 20 -25: folio 9 r. (Ka 9); folio 10 r. (Ka 10); folio 11 r. (Ka 11); folio 12 r. (Ka 12); folio 13 r. (Ka13); folio 14 r. (Ka 14).
Cat. nos. 26 -31: folio 15 r. (Ka 15); folio 16 r. (Ka 16); folio 17 r. (Ka 17); folio 18 r. (Ka 18); folio 19 r. (Ka 19); folio 20 r. (Ka 20).
Cat. nos. 32- 37: folio 21 r. (Ka 21); folio 22 r. (Ka 22); folio 23 r. (Ka 23); folio 24 r. (Ka 24); folio 25 r. (Ka 25); folio 26 r. (Ka 26).

Cat. nos. 38-43: folio 27 r. (Ka 27); folio 28 r. (Ka 28); folio 29 r. (Ka 29); folio 30 r. (Ka 30); folio 31 r. (Ka 31); folio 32 (Ka32).
Cat. nos. 44-49: folio 33 r. (Ka 33); folio 34 r. (Ka 34); folio 35 r. (Ka 35); folio 36 r. (Ka 36); folio 37 r. (Ka 37); folio 38 (Ka 38).
Cat. nos. 50-55: folio 39 r. (Ka 39); folio 40 r. (Ka 40); folio 41 r. (Ka 41); folio 42 r. (Ka 42); folio 43 r. (Ka 43); folio 44 (Ka 44).
Cat. nos. 56-61: folio 45 r. (Ka 45); folio 46 r. (Ka 46); folio 47 r. (Ka 47); folio 48 r. (Ka 48); folio 49 r. (Ka 49); folio 50 (Ka 50).

Cat. nos. 62-67: folio 51 r. (Ka 51); folio 52 r. (Ka 52); folio 53 r. (Ka 53); folio 54 r. (Ka 54); folio 55 r. (Ka 55); folio 56/57 r. (Ka 56/57).
Cat. nos. 68-73: folio 58 r. (Ka 58); folio 59 r. (Ka 59); folio 60 r. (Ka 60); folio 61 r. (Ka 61); folio 62 (Ka 62); folio 63 (Ka 63).
Cat. nos. 74-79: folio 64 r. (Ka 64); folio 65 r. (Ka 65); folio 66 r. (Ka 66); folio 67 r. (Ka 67); folio 68 (Ka 68); folio 69 (Ka 69).
Cat. nos. 80-85: folio 70 r. (Ka 70); folio 71 r. (Ka 71); folio 72 r. (Ka 72); folio 73 r. (Ka 73); folio 74 (Ka 74); folio 75 (Ka 75).

Cat. nos. 86-91: folio 76 r. (Ka 76); folio 77 r. (Ka 77);: folio 78 r. (Ka 78); folio 79 r. (Ka 79); folio 80 r. (Ka 80); folio 81 r. (Ka 81).
Cat. nos. 92-97: folio 82 r. (Ka 82); folio 83 r. (Ka 83); folio 84 r. (Ka 84); folio 85 r. (Ka 85); folio 86 r. (Ka 86); folio 87 r. (Ka 87).
Cat. nos. 98-103: folio 88 r. (Ka 88); folio 89 r. (Ka 89); folio 90 r. (Ka 90); folio 91 r. (Ka 91); folio 92 r. (Ka 92); folio 93 r. (Ka 93).
Cat. nos. 104-109: folio 94 r. (Ka 94); folio 95 r. (Ka 95); folio 96 r. (Ka 96); folio 97 r. (Ka 97); folio 98 r. (Ka 98); folio 99 r. (Ka 99).

Cat. nos. 110-115: folio 100 r. (Ka 100); folio 101 r. (Ka Na 1); folio 102 r. (Ka Na 2); folio 103 r. (Ka Na 3); folio 104 r. (Ka Na 4); folio 105 r. (Ka Na 5).
Cat. nos. 116-121: folio 105 r. (Ka Na 6); folio 107 r. (Ka Na 7); folio 108 r. (Ka Na 8); folio 109 (Ka Na 9); folio 110 r. (Ka Na 10); folio 111 r. (Ka Na 11).
Cat. nos. 122-127: folio 112 r. (Ka Na 12); folio 113 r. (Ka Na 13); folio 114 r. (Ka Na 14); folio 115 r. (Ka Na 15); folio 116 r. (Ka Na 16); folio 117 r. (Ka Na 17).
Cat. nos. 128-133: folio 118 r. (Ka Na 18); folio 119 r. (Ka Na 19); folio 120 r. (Ka Na 20); folio 121 r. (Ka Na 21); folio 122 r. (Ka Na 22); folio 123 r. (Ka Na 23).

Cat. nos. 134: folio 124 r. (Ka Na 24); folio 125 r. (Ka Na 25); folio 126 r. (Ka Na 26); folio 127 (Ka Na 27); folio 128 r. (Ka Na28); folio 129 r. (Ka Na 29) .
Cat. nos. 140: folio 130 r. (Ka Na 30); folio 131 r. (Ka Na 31); folio 132 r. (Ka Na 32); folio 133 (Ka Na 33); folio 134 r. (Ka Na 34); folio 135 r. (Ka Na 35).
Cat. nos. 146: folio 136 r. (Ka Na 36); folio 137 r. (Ka Na 37); folio 138 r. (Ka Na 38); folio 139 (Ka Na 39); folio 140 r. (Ka Na 40); folio 141 r. (Ka Na 41).
Cat. nos. 152: folio 142 r. (Ka Na 42); folio 143 r. (Ka Na 43); folio 144 r. (Ka Na 44); folio 145 (Ka Na 45); folio 146 r. (Ka Na 46); folio 147 r. (Ka Na 47).

Cat. nos. 158-163: folio 148 r. (Ka Na 48); folio 149 r. (Ka Na 49); folio 150 r. (Ka Na 50); folio 151 r. (Ka Na 51); folio 152 r. (Ka Na 52); folio 153 r. (Ka Na 53).
Cat. nos. 164-169: folio 154 r. (Ka Na 54); folio 155 r. (Ka Na 55); folio 156 r. (Ka Na 56); folio 157 r. (Ka Na 57); folio 158 r. (Ka Na 58); folio 159 r. (Ka Na 59).
Cat. nos. 170-175: folio 160 r. (Ka Na 60); folio 161 r. (Ka Na 61); folio 162 r. (Ka Na 62); folio 163 r. (Ka Na 63); folio 164 r. (Ka Na 64); folio 165 r. (Ka Na 65).
Cat. nos. 176-181: folio 166 r. (Ka Na 66); folio 167 r. (Ka Na 67); folio 168 r. (Ka Na 68); folio 169 r. (Ka Na 69); folio 170 r. (Ka Na 70); folio 171 r. (Ka Na 71).

Cat. nos. 182-187: folio 172 r. (Ka Na 72); folio 173 r. (Ka Na 73); folio 174 r. (Ka Na 74); folio 175 r. (Ka Na 75); folio 176 r. (Ka Na 76); folio 177 r. (Ka Na 77).
Cat. nos. 188-193: folio 178 r. (Ka Na 78); folio 179 r. (Ka Na 79); folio 180 r. (Ka Na 80); folio 181 r. (Ka Na 81); folio 182 r. (Ka Na 82); folio 183 r. (Ka Na 83).
Cat. nos. 194-199: folio 184 r. (Ka Na 84); folio 185 r. (Ka Na 85); folio 186 r. (Ka Na 86); folio 187 r. (Ka Na 87); folio 188 r. (Ka Na 88); folio 189 r. (Ka Na 89).
Cat. nos. 200-205: folio 190 r. (Ka Na 90); folio 191 r. (Ka Na 91); folio 192 r. (Ka Na 92); folio 193 r. (Ka Na 93); folio 194 r. (Ka Na 94); folio 195 r. (Ka Na 95).

Cat. nos. 206 -211: folio 196 r. (Ka Na 96); folio 197 r. (Ka Na 97); folio 198 r. (Ka Na 98); folio 199 r. (Ka Na 99); folio 200 r. (Ka Na 100); folio 201 r. (Ka Ma 1).
Cat. nos. 212-217: folio 202 r. (Ka Ma 2); folio 203 r. (Ka Ma 3); folio 204 r. (Ka Ma 4); folio 205 r. (Ka Ma 5); folio 206 r. (Ka Ma 6); folio 207 r. (Ka Ma 7).
Cat. nos. 218-223: folio 208 r. (Ka Ma 8); folio 209 r. (Ka Ma 9); folio 210 r. (Ka Ma 10); folio 211 r. (Ka Ma 11); folio 212 r. (Ka Ma 12); folio 213 r. (Ka Ma 13).
Cat. nos. 224-229: folio 214 r. (Ka Ma 14); folio 215 r. (Ka Ma 15); folio 216 r. (Ka Ma 16); folio 217 r. (Ka Ma 17); folio 218 r. (Ka Ma 18); folio 219 r. (Ka Ma 19).

Cat. nos. 230-235: folio 220 r. (Ka Ma 20); folio 221 r. (Ka Ma 21); folio 222 r. (Ka Ma 22); folio 223 r. (Ka Ma 23); folio 224 r. (Ka Ma 24); folio 225 r. (Ka Ma 25).
Cat. nos. 236-241: folio 226 r. (Ka Ma 26); folio 227 r. (Ka Ma 27); folio 228 r. (Ka Ma 28); folio 229 r. (Ka Ma 29); folio 230 r. (Ka Ma 30); folio 231 r. (Ka Ma 31).
Cat. nos. 242-247: folio 232 r. (Ka Ma 32); folio 233 r. (Ka Ma 33); folio 234 r. (Ka Ma 34); folio 235 r. (Ka Ma 35); folio 236 r. (Ka Ma 36); folio 237 r. (Ka Ma 37).
Cat. nos. 248-253: folio 238 r. (Ka Ma 38); folio 239 r. (Ka Ma 39); folio 240 r. (Ka Ma 40); folio 241 r. (Ka Ma 41); folio 242 r. (Ka Ma 42); folio 243 r. (Ka Ma 43).

Cat. nos. 254-259: folio 244 r. (Ka Ma 44); folio 245 r. (Ka Ma 45); folio 246 r. (Ka Ma 46); folio 247 r. (Ka Ma 47); folio 248 r. (Ka Ma 48); folio 249 r. (Ka Ma 49).
Cat. nos. 260-265: folio 250 r. (Ka Ma 50); folio 251 r. (Ka Ma 51); folio 252 r. (Ka Ma 52); folio 253 r. (Ka Ma 53); folio 254 r. (Ka Ma 54); folio 255 r. (Ka Ma 55).
Cat. nos. 266-271: folio 256 r. (Ka Ma 56); folio 257 r. (Ka Ma 57); folio 258 r. (Ka Ma 58); folio 259 r. (Ka Ma 59); folio 260 r. (Ka Ma 60); folio 261 r. (Ka Ma 61).
Cat. nos. 272-277: folio 262 r. (Ka Ma 62); folio 263 r. (Ka Ma 63); folio 264 r. (Ka Ma 64); folio 265 r. (Ka Ma 65); folio 266 r. (Ka Ma 66); folio 267 r. (Ka Ma 67).

Cat. nos. 278-283: folio 268 r. (Ka Ma 68); folio 269 r. (Ka Ma 69); folio 270 r. (Ka Ma 70); folio 271 r. (Ka Ma 71); folio 272 r. (Ka Ma 72); folio 273 r. (Ka Ma 73).
Cat. nos. 284-289: folio 274 r. (Ka Ma 74); folio 275 r. (Ka Ma 75); folio 276 r. (Ka Ma 76); folio 277 r. (Ka Ma 77); folio 278 r. (Ka Ma 78); folio 279 r. (Ka Ma 79).
Cat. nos. 290-295: folio 280 r. (Ka Ma 80); folio 281 r. (Ka Ma 81); folio 282 r. (Ka Ma 82); folio 283 r. (Ka Ma 83); folio 284 r. (Ka Ma 84); folio 285 r. (Ka Ma 85).
Cat. nos. 296-301: folio 286 r. (Ka Ma 86); folio 287 r. (Ka Ma 87); folio 288 r. (Ka Ma 88); folio 289 r. (Ka Ma 89); folio 290 r. (Ka Ma 90); folio 291 r. (Ka Ma 91).

Cat. nos. 302-307: folio 292 r. (Ka Ma 92); folio 293 r. (Ka Ma 93); folio 294 r. (Ka Ma 94); folio 295 r. (Ka Ma 95); folio 296 r. (Ka Ma 96); folio 297 r. (Ka Ma 97).
Cat. nos. 308-313: folio 298 r. (Ka Ma 98); folio 299 r. (Ka Ma 99); folio 300 r. (Ka Ma 100); folio 301 r. (Ka Nga 1); folio 302 r. (Ka Nga 2); folio 303 r. (Ka Nga 3).
Cat. nos. 314-319: folio 304 r. (Ka Nga 4); folio 305 r. (Ka Nga 5); folio 306 r. (Ka Nga 6); folio 307 r. (Ka Nga 7); folio 308 r. (Ka Nga 8); folio 309 r. (Ka Nga 9).
Cat. nos. 320-325: folio 310 r. (Ka Nga 10); folio 311 r. (Ka Nga 11); folio 312 r. (Ka Nga 12); folio 313 r. (Ka Nga 13); folio 314 r. (Ka Nga 14);folio 315 r. (Ka Nga 15).

Cat. nos. 326-331: folio 316 r. (Ka Nga 16); folio 317 r. (Ka Nga 17); folio 318 r. (Ka Nga 18); folio 319 r. (Ka Nga 19); folio 320 r. (Ka Nga 20); folio 321 r. (Ka Nga 21).
Cat. nos. 332-337: folio 322 r. (Ka Nga 22); folio 323 r. (Ka Nga 23); folio 324 r. (Ka Nga 24); folio 325 r. (Ka Nga 25); folio 326 r. (Ka Nga 26); folio 327 r. (Ka Nga 27).

Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po and Christiane Kalantari

# Guge Kingdom-Period Murals in the Zhag Grotto in mNga' ris, Western Tibet

A remarkable number of Buddhist temples, monasteries, cave sanctuaries and *stūpa*s were founded in the political domain of the kings of Purang and Guge in Western Tibet (mNga' ris) from the 10th century onwards. A specific type of sacred space that seems to have assumed a special role in this area is that of cave sanctuaries. The task of this paper[1] is to present new aspects of the religio-artistic context of the cave sanctuary of Zhag in Be ('Bye) valley, Tsamda (rTsa mda') County, Western Tibet (Ngari [mNga' ris] Prefecture of the Tibet Autonomous Region). The cave lies about 8 km north of Dungkar (Dung dkar, etc.) and ca. 30 km north of the Sutlej river (Glang chen gtsang po)—in an area which was once part of Guge Byang ngos—and of Tholing monastery, the former religious centre of the old Guge kingdom.

The cave is at the northern head of the Be valley (in Tibetan *'bye* means "open")—see Figs. 1-4. In the centre of this valley are ruins of a historic temple called Be *lha khang*, suggesting that a major religious centre may have existed in this region in former times. The relatively large number of caves (mainly in the south of the valley, mostly unpainted) also support this assumption. To the north-east of this temple (or monastery)—5 km away, across a plain—is the

1. Be ('Bye) valley, Tsamda County, Western Tibet (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2009).

[1] This paper is a result of a documentation of West Tibetan cave temples carried out by the late Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po since the 1990s. A first discussion of specific aspects of the programme and function of the Zhag cave temple was presented by Tsering Gyalpo on the occasion of the 12th seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies (IATS), Vancouver 2010. Further analysis was carried out in collaboration with Christiane Kalantari and Christian Jahoda within the scope of the research projects P21806-G19 "Society, Power and Religion in Pre-Modern Western Tibet: Interaction, conflict and integration" and P20637-G15 "Oral and Festival Traditions", both directed by Christian Jahoda, at the Institute for Social Anthropology (ISA), Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna. The projects were financed by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF).

Valuable suggestions and critical remarks during various stages of the preparation of this paper are by Eva Allinger and Gudrun Melzer as well as by Kurt Tropper (with regard to the inscription).

2. Be ('Bye) valley, Tsamda County, Western Tibet (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2009).

3.–4. View of caves, Be valley (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2009).

Zhag cave temple. Zhag is the name of this upper valley as well as of the cave. This name is still used by the local population and it is mentioned in a wall inscription.[2]

In general Ngari Prefecture is strewn with cave sanctuaries, of various sizes and quality of interior decoration, cut into the steep cliffs. Some of the caves have extensive internal decorations consisting of murals on the walls and ceilings—often combined with clay sculptures. Despite their historical significance, many of the caves in Tsamda County are still hardly known in the West. The earliest known (and one of the largest) examples of this type of religious space with an internal programme of the founding phase almost intact is the Nyag cave temple in Khartse valley, which is renowned as the ancestral village of the family of the Great Translator (*lo chen*) Rin chen bzang po (958–1055).[3] Other grottoes are already well-known for their visual and religious complexity and the artistic virtuosity of their decorative programmes; for example, the three cave temples of Dungkar—situated in another nearby valley—which may have been founded by local aristocratic rulers. In particular the Dungkar paintings represent a high point of artistic and technical achievement in Western Tibet as already remarked by Giuseppe Tucci (1937: 174–75). The paintings in the Zhag cave temple in Be valley are closely related to this distinctive artistic tradition within early Western Himalayan art of the second half of the 12th century.[4]

Among the first surveys of the Western Tibetan cave temples are expedition reports by Giuseppe Tucci (1988a [1935], 1988b [1936], 1937). Thomas Pritzker (1996) provided an introduction to various sites of Buddhist cave sanctuaries in this region accompanied by excellent photographic documentation. He also published narrative wall paintings in the Zhag cave, but without identifying them, while Helmut Neumann (2002) focused on an image of a *saṃsāracakra* (*srid pa'i 'khor lo*, "Wheel of Rebirths") on the opposite side of the narrative in the entrance hall of the Zhag cave. The task of this paper is a preliminary survey of the overall composition, the identification of the narrative and its artistic and iconographic context and in particular the attempt to identify a specific class of "heroic" protector divinities and its iconographic content. The second part of this short essay looks at the possible religious-cultic function of this type of sacred space and its ritual use at present. A comparative study of the layouts, interior programmes and related ritual actions aims at

[2] The name for the cave used by Neumann (2002: 75, *passim*) is Pedongpo (Pad [ma'i] sdong po, "the stalk of the lotus"), who dates the paintings in the cave to the end of the 11th or to the first half of the 12th century (*ibid*.: 82–83), while in Pritzker (1996: 26, *passim*) it is called Dumbu (perhaps a rendering of the Tibetan sDong po).

[3] The first scholarly publications on Khartse valley were by David Pritzker (2000) and Thomas J. Pritzker (2008). A study by Tshe ring rgyal po and Christiane Kalantari in collaboration with Christian Jahoda (2009) provides a preliminary survey of the different caves and monuments of that site. The as yet little-studied cave's wall paintings feature unique stylistic trends and iconographic themes dating from ca. the mid-11th century, with a strong relation to Indic traditions with regard to style and iconography. A more comprehensive study of the sacred landscape of Khartse valley and its historic context is in preparation.

[4] Luczanits proposes a 12th-century dating based on stylistic (2004: 116–118) as well as on iconographic basis (*ibid*.: 223).

classifying different concepts and methods of creating hierarchies and of stratifying sacred space, providing a potential insight into how these spaces were conceived.

**General Description and Remarks on the State of Preservation**

The topographic position of the Zhag cave is remarkable. Carved into the east-facing hills of the valley, it is situated at an altitude of ca. 3,870 m. The entrance door, which can be reached via a pathway, faces south and opens into a vaulted corridor (Fig. 5). The latter functions as an entrance hall (*sgo khang*) featuring a distinctive iconographic ensemble. The central space or main hall of this comparably small sanctuary is roughly square, with the east-west walls and the north-south walls about 3.4 metres long with a ceiling around 6 metres high. It has a simple earth floor, at the centre of which are the remains of a *stūpa*. The walls of the central space, the ceilings and the side walls of the corridor are adorned with (original) paintings from the early phase of Buddhism in Western Tibet.

The iconographic programme of the main hall features paintings of the popular religious theme of the Thousand Buddhas (*sangs rgyas stong sku*) of the Bhadrakalpa (present auspicious age or Fortunate Aeon that has one thousand Buddhas), which completely cover the four walls and surround the *stūpa* at the centre of the temple (Fig. 6). The lowest areas of the four walls are decorated with a frieze of lotus vine ornament or undulating rhizomes growing out of a central lotus stem, thus binding the overall compositions together. The lower sections of the corners of the slightly sloping walls of this space are filled with characteristic standing or walking Buddhas—which are also characteristic distinctive features at Dungkar—vertically connected by lotus pediments.

The murals are executed using costly, luminous pigments and minerals (Fig. 7).[5] The figures in the main hall are painted on a bright, sky-blue background typical of the mural style of the 11th to 13th centuries. The colour scheme appears further dominated by red, white and black. While the paintings in the main hall are applied in thick layers the images in the entrance hall have more sober colours and motifs that are partly incomplete, leaving the reddish outlines and lines (perhaps drawn with a string) separating individual pictorial sections visible. It is probable that most elements of the composition were similarly delineated. On other sections the upper layer of paint has obviously been lost. Unfortunately, the lower parts of the walls have suffered from colour fade or paint loss.

5. Zhag cave: view into the vaulted corridor (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2009).

6. Main hall: central *stūpa* (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2009).

7. Detail, Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2009).

**Vestibule**

The paintings in the southern part of the cave, i.e. the vestibule or entrance corridor (*sgo khyams*), can typologically be compared with those in the entrance hall (*sgo khang*) of Western Himalayan temples, an important example being the *sgo khang* in the Tabo *gtsug lag khang* (ca. 1000). They feature on each side iconographic sets organised in a vertical hierarchy; the themes are arranged in mirror-like symmetry to each other. Related to the worldly realm is a *jātaka*, depicted on the lower right (east) side, while an image of a *saṃsāracakra* (*srid pa'i 'khor lo*, Wheel of Rebirths) is shown on the

[5] According to local tradition, semi-precious stones such as corals, turquoises, pearls and different kinds of gemstone of special significance in the Tibetan cultural sphere were applied indicating perhaps a specific (blessing) power associated with these materials. Also the frequent use of gold from the 12th century onwards indicates that the most precious materials were used as effective attributes of divine imagery.

8. Entrance corridor, west wall, *saṃsāracakra* (*srid pa'i' khor lo*, Wheel of Rebirths) (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2009).

9. Depiction of protectors above *saṃsāracakra* (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2009).

10. *Saṃsāracakra*: detail of the upper middle section (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2009).

11. Mahākāla and royal ram-rider (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2009).

lower left (west) side (Fig. 8, Fig. 10). When entering the sacred site the practitioner first contemplates these didactic themes designed to lead him to the teaching of the Buddha and to escape the cycle of rebirths. Directly above the upper section of the *saṃsāracakra* are the donors, accompanied by inscriptions, while different classes of protectors who guard the threshold to the temple are shown on the uppermost level of both sides, in the transition zone between wall paintings and ceiling decorations representing textiles.

The *saṃsāracakra* represents one of the core concepts of Buddhist thought taught by the Buddha. The example at Zhag features six realms into which humans can be reborn, placed in sections of a wheel: the world of gods is placed in the uppermost, central, and thus most prestigious position. To the right is the world of *asura*s and to the left the world of human beings. The latter are all clad in West Tibetan robes of the local aristocratic elite. Some figures in this realm are shown performing various activities, some are in fighting poses armed with shields and swords typical of the region. In the bottom zone are lower, unfavourable realms into which a human can be reborn (see Neumann 2002 for a detailed description). The position of the *saṃsāracakra* in the corridor conforms to the prescription in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* given by the Buddha. It can be compared with the representation of the same theme in the *sgo khang* of the Tabo *gtsug lag khang* executed at the beginning of the 11th century (see also Kalantari, "Hārītī and Pāñcika at Tabo", this volume, pp. 303–304).

Above the *saṃsāracakra* is a depiction of donors engaged in a ritual, plus an inscription placed in a separate red text cartouche, which will be discussed in detail below (Fig. 8, Fig. 14). Directly to the left of the donors is a deity whose upper body is fused with a lotus pedestal and who holds a vase, who can be identified as the Earth Goddess (*sa'i lha mo*) Bhūdevī (Gudrun Melzer, verbal communication, February 2012) as discussed later. On top of this frieze are images of local protectors. In the uppermost section, between ornamental strips simulating lengths of textiles and a row of hybrid creatures and a male rider, is a triangular blue space in which fragments of a larger deity are visible. The figure is grey with black outlines, corpulent, seated on a human corpse in *lalitāsana*, with the left leg hanging, holding a curved knife in his raised right hand. His

12. Hybrid creatures as followers of ram-rider (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2009).

13. Dungkar, Cave 2: Protectors above the portal, featuring royal rider flanking Mahākāla (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2009).

head is adorned with a diadem of skulls. The sum of characteristics suggests an attribution as a two-armed Mahākāla with the attributes of the knife and skull bowl. The apotropaic function and position of Mahākāla as well as local protectors is usually above the portal, which in the vaulted entrance hall of the Zhag cave temple corresponds to the uppermost zone of its figure depictions.

The figure below Mahākāla appears to be a significant element of the religious-political landscape in the Western Himalayas but it is still little discussed and understood (Fig. 11). The depiction features a male divinity riding on a ram, accompanied by remarkable images of hybrid creatures with fearsome weapons, i.e. humans with heads of elephants, bears (?), a gazelle or antelope and perhaps a goat, in fighting poses, all adorned with red ribbons (Fig. 12).[6] The mythic creatures are whirling shields and swords as if performing a martial dance. An identical group of four mythical animals and a ram-rider can also be found in two temples in Dungkar (Fig. 13), thus most likely representing an iconographic set.[7] The mounted figure/ram-rider in the Zhag cave appears to be the leader of this group. He is attired in the lavish garb of a local nobleman, wearing a precious robe and characteristic overlong-sleeves (under which a whip is visible). He is further adorned with a broad-brimmed hat and a hairdo consisting of two long braids studded with turquoises hanging down in front, while the proper hairdo consists of half-length hair.[8] The weapons are precisely executed: a tiger-skin quiver and a bow are placed on either sides, suggesting the figure is a hunter and/or warrior. In his hand he holds reins that end in a small weapon, a *vajra* (*rdo rje*), clearly identifying him as a protector deity.

A comparable configuration of Mahākāla and a local mounted god can be found nearby at Dungkar (Fig. 13). This type of mounted male protector appears to have become popular from the 12th century onwards with the rise of Mahākāla. The assumption that Mahākāla and mounted warriors may represent an iconographic whole is even more evident in an image of a male divinity on horseback accompanied by a shield-bearer, depicted as an attendant of Mahākāla, in the Alchi 'Du khang (Ladakh); (Fig. 33, cf. Papa-Kalantari 2010).[9] He is positioned in the right corner and is depicted as an armed horseman in the garb of a local prince or aristocratic ruler, holding a lance (*mdung*) and accompanied by a shield-bearer below.[10] Both at Alchi and Zhag one or a group of birds are depicted

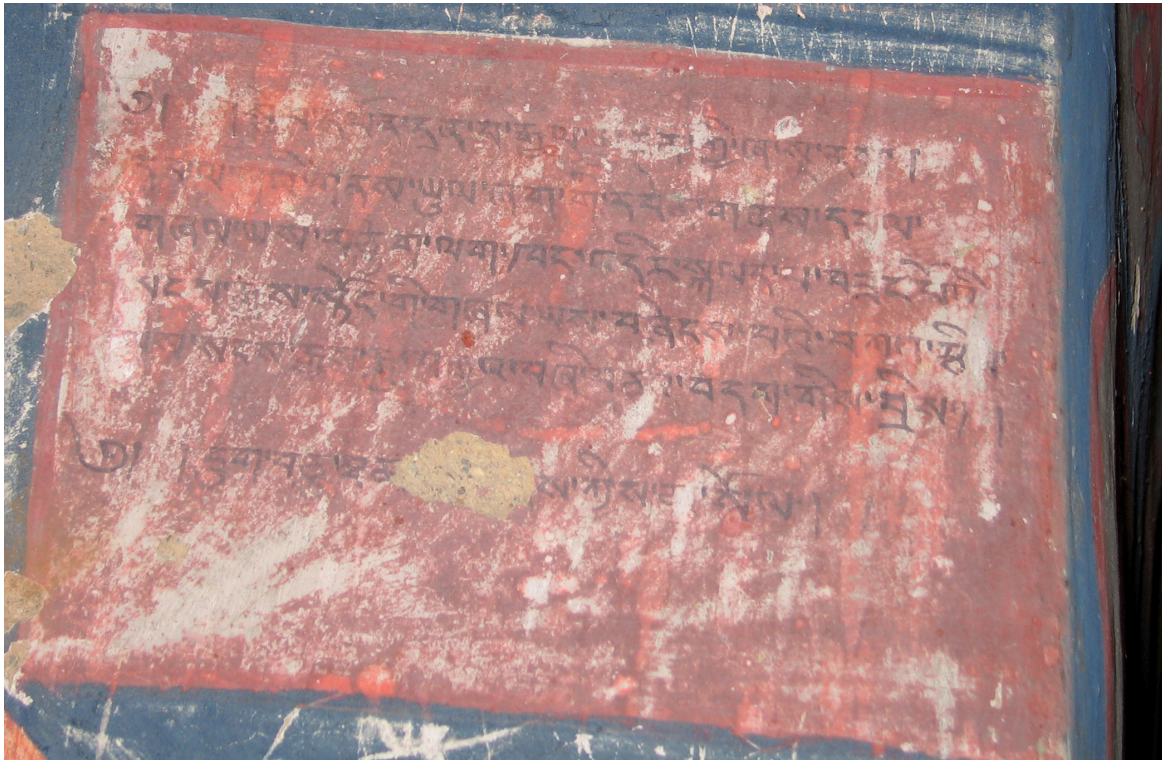
6 Animal-headed beings (birds and dogs) are in the retinue of a Mahākāla from Central Tibet (now in the Rubin Museum, New York) from the 13th century (Linrothe 2004: 53).

7 Above the portal of this cave there is also Rematī, a local female protectress with her retinue. She can also be associated with the rise of Mahākāla in Western Tibet, perhaps integrating older indigenous spirits.

8 According to Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 11, Pe har wears a broad-brimmed hat called a *sag zhu*, perhaps related to a black silk hat worn by the divinities of the *rgyal po* class.

9 Further examples of male protectors on horseback are depicted in the Alchi Sumtsek, as well as in the little-studied small sanctuary of Saspotse in Ladakh (above the portal). We wish to thank Gudrun Melzer who made us aware of this relation at Alchi.

10 There Mahākāla—holding the typical hooked knife in his raised right arm and trampling on a prone corpse—is depicted in a setting of a cremation ground with different attendants, animals and female spirits (cf. Papa-Kalantari



14. Text cartouche with historical inscription placed near the donor depiction, entrance corridor (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2009).

15. Zhag cave, entrance corridor: wall painting of the temple's founders (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2009).

nearby (in addition a dog or jackal at Zhag) perhaps alluding to the burial ground associated with Mahākāla. The historical context of the appearance of this class of protectors is likely a socio-political situation marked by the importance of martial guardian deities. As an innovative notion in this period they appear to reflect the warrior-like ethos of the ruling elite, which is also a dominant feature in donor representations and in relevant texts. Their iconographic function may be as protectors of trade routes and as defenders of the border regions of the political domain. Their cult is perhaps reflected in contemporary religious performances up to the present day (cf. Appendix).

The temple's founders are depicted in the register below in close relation to the local territorial gods (Fig. 15). Of historical significance is of course the inscription on the same wall set in a text cartouche. This is placed near the *saṃsāracakra*, but it is related to the donor images on the same wall (Fig. 14). The text states:

In the presence of the teacher (*slob dpon*, *ācarya*) Dran pa rgyal

2010: fig. 3). One of the female spirits is perhaps dPal ldan lha mo (or Rematī). Jackals, black dogs, crows and vultures represent the animals of the cemetery ground which are considered messengers of the protector.

mtshan were painted by me [the painter] in this magnificent immeasurable *gtsug lag khang* of the hermitage in the glorious sacred place of Zhag 940 Buddhas instead of the prescribed immeasurable one thousand Buddhas of the Fortunate Aeon (Bhadrakalpa).

[?] 60 were not effected.

(Translation: Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, Christian Jahoda)[11]

[12][l. 1] @/ : / slob . dpon . dran . pa . rgyal . mtshan . gyi . zha . snga . nas . / [l. 2] dpal . zhu'i . gnas . yul . zhag . gi . dben . gnas . dpal . [l. 3] gzhal . yas . gtsug . lag . khang . 'dir . skald . pa . bzang . po'i . [l. 4] sangs . rgyas . stong . gi . gzhal . yas . bzhengs . pa'i . bka' . rtsis[13] . [l. 5] las . sangs . rgyas . rgu[14] . brgya' . bzhi . bcu . bdag . gis . bris . / /

[l. 6] @/ : / drug . bcu . tham [a few syllables are no longer extant] s . kyis . ma[15] . sol . / /

(Transliteration: Tsering Gyalpo, Christian Jahoda)

The donor group is headed by a male figure in local long-sleeved coat combined with a monk's robe holding a *mālā* in his hand.[16] Due

11 According to Neumann (2002: 81–82), in the inscription "the artist calls it [the cave]: a *gtsug lag khang* for the 1000 Buddhas of the Fortunate Era".

12 Editorial signs: @ = *yig mgo*; _ = uncertain reading.

13 Or *rtsi kyi*?

14 Read *rgu* for *dgu*; or *rgya*?

15 Or *cha*?

16 Another strategy for the construction of legitimation, charisma and continuity appears to be the embedding of the royal elite into a Buddhist cosmogonic vision. The combination of donors and cosmological imagery is also present

to its close proximity to the local protectors, the image appears to commemorate perhaps not only the consecration of the temple—making sacred space effective as manifestations of divinities—but may also be related to rituals in which the deities are "invited" (cf. Jahoda 2011: 29) to the temple and which serve to secure the benevolence and protection of the temple and the territory, as is still tradition for example at Khorchag monastery today.[17]

The earth goddess depicted to the left of the donor, and a group of snake gods symmetrically arranged on the opposite side are significant for the interpretation of the scene. As described in the *Kriyāsaṃgraha*,[18] a compendium of ritual texts from the 12th century (however the rituals may draw upon much earlier tradition), *nāga*s and earth gods are appeased in a ritual before generating the *maṇḍala* ground:

> "The teacher executes the three concentrations (*samādhitraya*) at the centre of the purified ground, and offers a mentally produced act of worship (*manomayīpujā*) to the resident gods (*deva*), the protectors of the cardinal directions (*dikpāla*), the *nāga*s, the earth goddess Vasudhā, and the Buddha and Bodhisattvas. He presents them with the water for the face and other items of worship, [...] and transforms the ground into emptiness. Then [...] he envisages it as having the nature of *vajra*-particles [...]. After that, he envisages and summons the knowledge Pṛthivī holding a golden vase (*kalaśa*), offers her worship, makes request to build a *vihāra*, and then envisages her dissolving into the ground." (Skorupski 2002: 60).

16. Entrance corridor, north wall, depiction of *nāga*s above the *jātaka* narrative (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2009).

The position of the earth goddess close to the portal, the transition zone between the outside (profane, or earth) and inside of the sacred space is also significant.

The *nāga*s are represented on the same level on the opposite side (Fig. 16). These are also depicted prominently in the Nyag cave temple at Khartse (cf. Tshe ring rgyal po and Papa-Kalantari 2009: fig. 18) featuring eight snake spirits above the portal. In addition, the earth goddess occupies a prominent position in both temples: at Khartse she is placed above a group of *dikpālas* depicted in the lowest level, on the right of the portal and near to the large assembly scene on the side-wall. This position in the transition zone between the mundane and sacred world may allude to her function as guardian of the *bodhimaṇḍa* (the place of enlightenment of the Buddha) and the throne on which the whole temple rests.

The following request is recited during the ritual of propitiation of the earth goddess: "O goddess, surrender to the superior paths of practice and conduct (*caryānaya*), the spiritual stages (*bhūmi)*

in the self-representation of the ruling elite at Tabo. As explained by Davidson, "the valorization of political and social stratification in the affirmation of extant Tibetan society and the rule of its leaders was incorporated in the cosmogonic narrative", "most relying on that of the early Buddhist schools, especially as adopted in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda*'s story of the origin of kingship and the lineage of Śākyamuni's clan." (Davidson 2003: 65). "[In] the *sūtra* and *Vinaya* texts the kingly cosmogony becomes embedded in the narrative life of the Buddha. In these latter instances, the frame story of the kingly cosmogony operates as an extension of Śākyamuni's hagiography" (*ibid*.: 72; cf. Panglung 1981: 84 for the relevant passage in the *Vinaya*). The programme also reflects the relationship of the imperial line and the cosmos in the sense of an "invocation of Buddhist cosmology organized around the three bodies of the Buddha", as Davidson (2003: 80) has put it. The *jātaka* stories or other narratives with the local elite as 'actors' is another feature of this system. This also demonstrates the importance of uninterrupted continuity as a means of legitimisation of the authority of a tradition which is also the basis for the concept of lineages of teachers up to present. The notion of a cosmologically founded basis of power and legitimisation is found in contemporaneous rituals in various regions of historical Western Tibet (see Jahoda 2011). Tibetan kings were regarded as being descended from the Buddha himself through the bodhisattvas' various incarnations. Certain texts, such as *bKa' 'chems ka khol ma* attributed to Atiśa (11th century), propose "a direct lineal descent of Srong-btsan sgam-po from the Buddha's own previous incarnation" (Davidson 2003: 75).

17 The Namthong festival is celebrated every year to rememorate and renew the invitation and the instalment of the local territorial deity.

18 According to Melzer the text represents the oldest source mentioning the *Vairocanasūtra*—verbal communication, February, 2012.

17. View on the east wall of the entrance corridor, featuring *jātaka* and protectors above (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2009).

and the perfections (*pāramitā*) of all the protecting Buddhas. Just as the protector Śākyasiṃha has overcome the host of Māra, so will I destroy the host of demons and construct a *vihāra* and other buildings." (Skorupski 2002: 29).

At Zhag, each of the *nāga*s is seated on a lotus pedestal, shown in vivid movements alluding to water as their dwelling place and holding a branch of leaves representing lotus rhizomes.[19]

The iconographic ensemble in the entrance hall/corridor featuring donor images engaged in rituals combined with the Wheel of Rebirths and protectors can also be found in the *sgo khang* of the Tabo *gtsug lag khang*. This thematic set is in line with the *Vinaya*, prescribing the decoration of the entrance hall of a *vihāra*-type temple (see Kalantari, "Hārītī and Pāñcika at Tabo", this volume, pp. 303ff.). In the text the Buddha himself is alleged to have ordered that the *saṃsāracakra* should be painted in the vestibule of every monastery so that the devotee can be reminded of all possible forms of existence (cf. *ibid*.). As is also the case at Tabo, in the entrance hall donors are shown in rituals of consecration as well as in specific forms of worship, while Indic and local protectors depicted above guard the transition zone from the entrance hall to the sacred space of the assembly hall and shrine.

The corridor's right (north) wall is dominated by a narrative composition, namely a *jātaka* (Fig. 17). While narratives at Tabo are depicted in a processional direction along the lowest zones in the *'du khang* and ambulatory (*skor lam*), here they are shown in a vertical panel in the entrance hall. As already mentioned, eight seated *nāga*s (*klu)* are depicted above in two registers, representing the subterranean snake spirits converted as "lower" protectors of the Buddha and the temple.[20] In a segment above a dancing spirit is shown holding a garland as an offering. Stripes with textile patterns are depicted in the curved ceiling above.

The *jātaka* composition in the lower section of this wall has not yet been accounted for, nor has the narrative been identified as yet. The painting features Avalokiteśvara in the upper left corner presiding over a composition of narrative scenes (Fig. 18). Avalokiteśvara is depicted as a white seated figure in *lalitāsana* (royal ease) on a lotus throne framed by a halo emitting light.[21] He has six arms and the image of a Buddha Amitābha is depicted in his hair-knot. Two of the six hands are in *varada* and *abhaya* poses (combined with a jewel), holding a lotus, a water-pot, a staff with three horns (*tridaṇḍa*; in the upper hand) and a rosary (hardly visible), identifying him as Sugatisandarśana Lokeśvara. This iconographic type was very popular and is also found at Dungkar,

[19] Their realm is the lakes and thus their function is close to that of the earth goddess. The ritual in the *Kriyāsaṃgraha* describes the pacification of the *nāga*s before the construction of the temple also mentioned in the *Nātyaśāstra*. Cf. also Sørensen and Hazod (2005: 58) for a text (*Khra 'brug gnas bshad*) on the rituals of pacification of the *klu* before the foundation of Khra 'brug, Tibet's first Buddhist temple. The prominent position of the eight *klu* recalls a space in this temple called *klu khang*, close to the mGon po *lha khang* (see Sørensen and Hazod 2005: plan by Reinhard Herdick on p. 327).

Vases flanked by *nāga*s in the bottom zone as the source of the *maṇḍala* at Sumda may allude to the same theme and related rituals (cf. Luczanits 2004: figs. 276 and 276 for this theme at Nako).

[20] These spirits of Indian mythology are similar to the Tibetan *klu*, which "dwell primarily in different types of water, springs, rivers, lakes and wells […]. They guard the palaces and treasures of deities, control the weather.." (Kélenyi 2003: 13).

[21] The description of the six-armed form can be found in the *Sādhanamālā* (Bhattacharyya 1987: 141).

where Avalokiteśvara is in a *maṇḍala* on the entrance wall (cf. also Pritzker 1996: fig. 16).[22] Two standing local males adorned with large circular hats and a kneeling figure, a devotee, which appears to be being blessed by Avalokiteśvara, are at his side (with a text cartouche to their right) and at his feet (Fig. 18). Unfortunately the text is only fragmentary. In general, the depiction of popular tutelary deities in close proximity to images of donors—securing their personal salvation and protection—is a constant feature in the art of this region.[23] However, their integration in a narrative is a new element. The combination with a *jātaka* perhaps emphasises the aspect of Sugatisandarśana Lokeśvara as the one who shows the various favourable ways of life which lead to liberation, as suggested by Melzer (personal communication, May 2013), based on the name signifying "the one who shows the favourable/good forms of existence."

The *jātaka* can be identified as the popular *jātaka* of the starving tigress, the *Vyāghrī-* or *Mahāsattvajātaka*—the story of self-sacrifice in previous births of the Buddha as described in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra* (Fig. 19).[24]

The famous *jātaka* of the starving tigress is also depicted at Alchi (on the *dhotī* of Maitreya in the Sumtsek) and at Mangyu (Linrothe 2010: 125ff. and Linrothe 2011). There the narrative is represented on the loincloth of a monumental bodhisattva image in clay.[25] While at Alchi and Mangyu a restricted number of isolated key scenes are arranged in an ornamental grid of lozenges adapted from textile surface patterns, in the narrative at Zhag various scenes are placed in a unified setting that covers a vertical panel of the side wall in the entrance hall. Exemplary of the popularity and importance of Buddhist (educative, moral/edifying) stories in early Western Himalayan Buddhist art are images in the Tabo *'du khang* (assembly hall) and ambulatory (ca. mid 11th century), featuring wall

18. *Jātaka* painting: detail of Avalokiteśvara in the upper left corner. Local devotees paying homage to Avalokiteśvara (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2009).

paintings of complete narrative cycles. Those in the assembly hall are complemented with cartouches containing texts. These inscriptions are designed and arranged to represent the whole story—"the sūtra itself" (Steinkellner 1999: 250)—and do not just represent excerpts from the texts or aids for oral presentations (*ibid*.: 249f.). With regard to the compositional type of imagery, the Sudhana frieze at Tabo, for example, features a continuous chronological narrative arranged in a horizontal band in the lowest section of the east, south and west walls, with the main character being shown in various successive phases of the action. The individual scenes are often expressed in depictions of buildings, where the encounters of the hero—Sudhana—and his teachers or *kalyāṇamitra*s take place. The story runs from the entrance wall to the sanctum, so the devotee can follow the progress of the story in a chronological way when circumambulating the main hall. Thus this mode also reflects the ritual use of the temple and the direction of the ambulation. The ensemble of different narratives in the temple complements the spiritual progress represented in the overall iconographic programme in the different parts of the temple.

In the Zhag cave the tigress story mainly follows the popular *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra*[26] but in contrast to Tabo the story (representing a different legend, the story of Sudhana) does not

[22] Cf. also Kashmir-style bronzes in US collections and in Srinagar (Pal 1975: figs. 50–52).

[23] Avalokiteśvara is not only a saviour from hardship and bestower of peace but also regarded as guide of souls to the halls of paradise, thus watching over human destiny. Precious silk banners with his image were frequently donated to temples at Dunhuang to worship Avalokiteśvara with the aim of ensuring his benevolence and his assistance in the desire for a favourable rebirth. A silk banner from Dunhuang (holding a triple banderole mounted on a hook) documents that this idea was well established at Dunhuang by the 9th century (cf. Whitfield and Farrer 1990: pl. 15).

[24] The theme is also shown in Khartse (Kalantari, in preparation) and must have been popular in India as well, where no wall paintings of this theme have survived. However, the story is frequently depicted in Pāla-style manuscripts.

[25] Interestingly, at Mangyu the deity lives in a tower that functions as a threshold to the temple, resembling towers described in the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* as first described by Linrothe (2010: 125) and Luczanits (2010).

[26] A detailed reading will be provided in an article by G. Melzer (forthcoming).

19. *Jātaka* of the starving tigress (*Vyāghrī-* or *Mahāsattvajātaka*), upper half of the narrative panel (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2009).

unfold as a continuous linear frieze. Zhag shows a singular narrative type not found in previous phases of this artistic-religious tradition, namely a spatial organisation of themes with episodes from different chronological phases of the story shown in a unified spatial setting creating a three-dimensional space.

The type of landscape setting for a narrative painting is also a new element in the Zhag cave. The composition shows a close frontal view of landscape elements such as trees, combined with a view from the distance.

The story begins with a group of three princes shown at the centre, with Prince Mahāsattva in their midst. They are in the forest, which reaches up to the top of the composition; to their right is the self-sacrifice of the prince—in compassion for the hungry tigress who is too weak to feed her cubs. The *stūpa* with his relics is depicted below. To the left lower side is a single-chamber house with a pointed roof in which the queen dreams of bad omens as signs of her son's death, while below is depicted the palace with the king and queen discussing sorrowfully the dream.

The style is reminiscent of paintings on this theme at Dunhuang: in Cave 254 (ca. 6th century) the scenes are also arranged vertically, situated between two niches on the side wall featuring the three bodhisattvas at the centre and the sacrifice on the right (cf. Whitfield 1996 I: 19; for a survey of the versions of this story and comparative study of representations see Schlingloff 2000: 161–64).

Three main settings can be identified in this composition: 1) The forest in the centre and top zone, with the main event, the beholding of the hungry tigress by Mahāsattva (Sems can chen po) and the two other princes (Mahādeva and Mahāpanada) in the centre. 2) In the right-hand third of the panel is the self-sacrifice and below is the place with the remains of the body, i.e. the bones, after Mahāsattva has been eaten by the tigress. The spot was immediately transformed into a place of pilgrimage as is also indicated by the *stūpa* in the lower right-hand corner. 3) On the lower left-hand side is the tower, representing the royal court (also providing an opportunity to depict the local Tibetan architectural environment of the ruling families). In a small building with a pitched roof the queen had a baleful dream,

while in the tower below she is talking to the king about the dream and receiving the message of the course of the events.

Another characteristic feature of the narrative structure is the fact that actions from different chronological phases of the story take place in each of these three settings. Each of these sub-settings or isles are episodes of different phases of the story that happen here. For example, the forest setting in the centre and top section of the image includes the first scene with the three bodhisattvas, the sacrifice, the discussion between the princes, and the servants looking for Mahāsattva: the sequence of these events starts at the centre and then the story runs in a clockwise direction to the top of the image with the servants. Thus the story is only readable for onlookers familiar with the content. Each scene is not separated into individual spaces, forming a band running in a frieze from left to right as at Tabo, but the artist achieves an aesthetically pleasing composition of the area as a whole (cf. Schlingloff 1988: 237). The settings are arranged in such a way that they can be read as a unified composition featuring an overall landscape composition.[27] The creation of a three-dimensional pictorial space is a completely new achievement compared to the previous Indo-Tibetan schools of Spiti and Upper Kinnaur (10th–12th centuries). In the latter, compositions of neutral screens for planar symmetrical arrangements of motifs dominate.

At Khartse neither the continuous action of the story nor a detailed representation of various events in a "landscape" can be found; here the story is reduced to the most significant elements, with the jungle forest as the setting.

Concerning the inscriptions at Zhag, text cartouches typical of narrative imagery in this region, in red are left empty. However, as a unique feature, short texts are inserted in direct relation to the figures (Fig. 19); their purpose appears to be primarily to emphasise the action or emotion shown in the respective scene. Thus the close relation of text and images in the Zhag cave temple serves to facilitate the reading of the images for the devotees, which is a feature hitherto unknown from all the temples in previous periods in this region.

The depiction at Zhag is also unique for the precise and detailed portrait of nature and material culture: the different episodes of the *jātaka* story are shown in a landscape setting featuring a tranquil forest above and a palace in the lower left section; parrots, peacocks and monkeys are shown in the trees, alluding to an Indian landscape setting. This interest in nature and trees in particular gives these scenes a flavour of vividness and individuality.[28] The architectural and sartorial conventions reflect local Western Tibetan culture. For example, dwellings on the left feature a house with carved wooden pillars and a pointed roof, perhaps covered with blue tiles. Such roof types may have been common architectural forms, as can also be concluded from historic examples of this type of temple in Nako (Upper Kinnaur).[29] The scene inside this house displays further interesting local features, showing the queen on her bed with a characteristic wooden head bolster. She wears the typical long white upper garment (with lapels?) and a round hat. Together with specific shoes, the accoutrements appear to represent examples of historic costumes that still exist in mNga' ris today.[30] Below this single-chamber building is an interesting tower-like, multi-storey structure, perhaps representing a castle or fort, on the top storey of which the couple discusses the omen. The dwelling recalls historic all-corbelled forts (cf. Devers, "An archaeological account of Nyarma and its surroundings, Ladakh", this volumepp. 214–216) who provides a documentation and drawings of this type of architecture at Nyarma).

In general, narrative scenes featuring *jātaka* stories—and the life of the Buddha in particular—are a characteristic genre in the decorative

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[27] A completely different form of surface composition is shown at Mangyu and Sumda (ca. beginning of 13th century; cf. Linrothe 2010 and 2011), where single (key) sequences of the story are inserted into a ornamental pattern of lozenges depicted on the *dhotī* of monumental bodhisattva statues—a mode that I categorised as medallion style (Papa-Kalantari 2000 and 2002). This type is perhaps derived from Central Asian ceiling compositions featuring medallions as frames for episodes of Buddhist stories.

[28] The tree above the dead corpse has a specific shape and colour and is described in the texts as bamboo. However, a specific symbolism may be associated with the trees: while most of them have red twigs with strong green leaves, the colour of the tree above the dead prince is different, it is white and there are no animals on it. Its branches hang down, as if in mourning and alluding to the death and the sorrow. Such elements recall Newari as well as Chinese conventions of landscape painting, but systematic studies of this genre in Tibetan painting are needed to arrive at a secure basis for any hypothesis. The tree appears to respond to human emotions and reflect the unbearable pain of the self-sacrifice. Trees also appear to enforce the emotions of the people depicted at Alchi (Sumtsek, upper storey); there fields of the Five Tathāgatas feature trees in full bloom and bowed almost as if venerating and celebrating the presence of the Buddhas.

This phenomenon has a parallel in Chinese nature symbolism (cf. Chinese landscape settings during the Western Wei I and the philosophical background (neo-Taoist) of the correspondence between man and nature (Chen 1995: 254), and the metaphorical language of nature to characterise man's personalities.

[29] Cf. Nako, Padmasambhava *lha khang*, where 14th century ceiling planks covering a pointed roof can be identified (Papa-Kalantari 2002).

[30] The blue colour of the roof suggests the use of glazed tiles. Comparable roof decorations can be found in the depictions of heavenly palaces on the main wall of the lHa khang gong ma at Nako, Upper Kinnaur (cf. Allinger and Kalantari 2012). A pointed roof with original ceiling decorations stored in the Nako temple can be viewed in the Padmasambhava *lha khang* of Nako village, ca. 14th century.

20.–24. Main hall, theme of the Thousand Buddhas as recounted in the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* (*sKal pa bzang po'i mdo*) (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2009).

programmes of early West Tibetan temples in various media (e.g. in wall paintings, wood carvings on portals). In contrast, in life stories of the Buddha from India and Nepal of that period, depictions of events related to specific sacred spaces are popular; examples can be found in manuscripts[31] but complete continuous narratives are less frequent. The donors and designers of such programmes clearly aimed at promoting the (new) Buddhist life ideal in the region. In particular, *jātaka*s serve as models of virtuous behaviour of every human in the form of previous births of the Buddha.

### The Main Hall

As observed by Neumann, the theme of the Thousand Buddhas in the main hall is recounted in the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* (*sKal pa bzang po'i mdo*) (Figs. 20–24). He remarks that there are actually 787 Buddhas (Neumann 2002: 81).[32]

The depiction of the Thousand Buddhas blessing the present aeon of the Bhadrakalpa is known in India—such as Ajanta—from very early on.[33] The *sūtra* was translated into Tibetan in the 8th century during the reign of Khri Srong lde btsan (755–ca. 800) (Chandra 1996: 4; Dotson 2010: 228).

The first known example of this theme in the Western Himalayas can be found in the ambulatory of the Tabo *gtsug lag khang* (Figs. 25–26). At Tabo, images of the Thousand Buddhas are shown surrounding the sanctum, which is reserved for the highest spiritual level, represented by Vairocana. They are depicted in the uppermost zone of the outer wall and the inner wall of the ambulatory.[34] Below them—on the rear wall of the ambulatory—there is a row of the Buddhas of the Past plus Maitreya presiding over bodhisattvas on the side walls, while narrative images are depicted in a vertical hierarchy

[31] Cf. the Newari *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript (Cambridge University Library, AsP Add. 1643), 11th century, dated 1015, deities images labelled with topographical names, thus specific images of pilgrimage places in Buddhist Asia, among which are some of Nepal.

[32] According to Neumann (2002: 81) the number in the *maṇḍala* ceiling cave in Dungkar is 996, however there they do not show Buddhas.

[33] Bechert and Gombrich (1995: 72) explained that the theme foreshadows the emergence of Mahāyāna beliefs and rituals, where the repetition of prayers and action is given prime importance. "Sheer numbers acquire a mystical efficacy, and Halls of a thousand Buddhas reinforce the worshipper's faith" (*ibid*.: 72).

A Khotanese scroll of the Thousand Buddha names ends by pointing out blessings secured by those who recite these names "and all sinful deeds disappear of those who do homage to the names of the divine lords" (Lokesh Chandra 1996: 5).

[34] The Thousand Buddhas are frequently depicted outside the *maṇḍala* in wall paintings at Nako, Lotsāba *lha khang*, and in Ladakh (Mangyu).

below. Such a configuration of the Seven Excellent Buddhas of the Past (Sangs rgyas rabs bdun) and Maitreya is also to be found on the rear wall of Dungkar Cave 2, with multiple bodhisattva images (representing the theme of the Thousand Bodhisattvas) covering the side walls and a *maṇḍala* dominating the whole ceiling. In the centre of this space at Dungkar is a *stūpa* comparable to the Zhag cave (Fig. 27; cf. also Pritzker 1996: fig. 17).[35]

The single seated Buddhas in the main hall are typically shown on lotus thrones wearing robes of different colours and patterns indicating their individuality.[36] As a characteristic feature, one fold of the robe is often held up in the left hand. The *mudrā*s, most of them are variations of canonical hand gestures, primarily serve the purpose of variation as do the costumes and the shapes and colour schemes of the lotus bases. This capacity and sense of variation is a characteristic feature of the quality of this artistic phase and it is reminiscent of the style also found in contemporary book paintings such as those in the *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript at Pooh (sPu) in Upper Kinnaur (Khu nu).[37] See also Kalantari, "Shaping space, constructing identity: the illuminated *Yum chen mo* at Pooh, Upper Kinnaur", this volume, pp. 363–405.

A contrasting feature, however, is the interest in naturalism, the physical presence of figures and almost "portrait-like" emotions. Characteristic are standing or walking Buddhas, shown in three-quarter profile, one arm hanging down with the hand stretched out to the side, the feet face the direction of movement. The folds of the monk's habit create loops at the hem; all these elements chronologically recall later Tibetan manuscript paintings, such as a colophon page from Dolpo in present-day Nepal (ca. 13$^{h}$–14$^{th}$ century; see Heller 2009: fig. 61 [Vol. Ca, N192] and another folio from this manuscript (*ibid*.: fig. 69, [vol. Ga, N405]). An earlier manuscript (Heller 2009: fig. 13 [Cambridge University Library, AsP Add. 1643, folio 216v] is also relevant for the illustration of the Newari-inspired West Tibetan artistic context of this school. Thus, while in the *Yum chen mo* manuscript it is luxury art and material culture that creates supramundane sacred realms that are intended to be splendid and glorified, at Zhag it is figural individuality and "the holy smile" of the Buddha that reflects supreme enlightenment.

A significant feature is that each of the Buddhas at Zhag is accompanied by inscriptions adding to the merits achieved by the donors, while the respective cartouches in the sanctum of Tabo have been painted but they are left empty.[38]

Another characteristic feature are short accompanying texts in the *jātaka* paintings. We also find such additional descriptive texts under images in the Tibetan manuscripts at Dolpo mentioned above.[39] This text-image relation contrasts to inscriptions representing the complete story, typical of the early phase of temples in the region, such as at Tabo, when Buddhism was introduced and essential truths were taken to the population.

In general the layout of the iconography recalls images of Thousand Buddhas at Dunhuang, a theme frequently depicted in this period (Fig. 28). Like in the Zhag cave, the Buddhas typically cover the whole side walls of the sanctuary and surround a central pillar on which one or a group of images of historical Buddhas are placed.

25.–26. Tabo *gtsug lag khang*, theme of Thousand Buddhas in the sanctum (*dri gtsang khang)* (C. Kalantari, 2009).

[35] A three-dimensional *maṇḍala* with Mañjuśrī at its centre (Dharmadhātu-vagīśvaramañjuśrī *maṇḍala*) is represented on the ceiling.

[36] Closer examinations of the ensemble will perhaps reveal signs of incisions or outlines of the overall layout of the repeat motifs, however the individual Buddhas show slight variations and thus were not made with stencils.

[37] Eva Allinger (2006) discussed the process of manufacture and workshops applied in the manuscript from Pooh and to the knowledge of the authors she was the first who worked on the workshop structure and practice in the medium of book-paintings.

[38] These captions may reinforce the depiction and their magical efficacy "on the level of speech" (cf. Luczanits 2010: 7) but may also double the merit "accrued through its donation and veneration" (*ibid*.).

[39] Such descriptive texts are later typical in complex thangkas with multiple images. Zhag is thus perhaps an early example of this phenomenon.

27. Dungkar, Cave 2, a group of images of historical Buddhas on the back wall, Thousand Bodhisattvas, in the centre a *stūpa*, ceiling covered with a *maṇḍala* (C. Kalantari, 2007).

28. Dunhuang, (replica) cave of middle or late Tang period, ca. 9th century (C. Kalantari, 2010).

The Buddha in the centre or the *stūpa* with the Thousand Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa surrounding it allude to the universal aspect of the Buddha, the sacred continuum of the *dharma*, and reinforce the cosmological symbolism of the temple.[40] The temple's structure and programme can be interpreted as a realisation of the *trikāya:* the *stūpa* in the centre represents *dharmakāya*, the Buddhas emanating from this centre in all directions of the universe *saṃbhogakāya*, while the *jātaka*s, donors, represent the *nirmāṇakāya*, placed in the corridor, representing the border between the profane and the sacred sphere.[41] A different, conservative conception of architectural space can be observed at Tabo, featuring a sanctum at the rear of the temple, where the image of the Buddha is venerated in a sacred enclosure.

**Cosmopolitan Taste and Local Style: The Ceiling Compositions**

The textile cover in the barrel-vaulted entrance hall mimics strips of cloth attached to the ceiling, achieving almost a *trompe l'oeil* effect (Fig. 29). Such textile depictions reflect local architectural traditions and materials of mud, rubble, stones and timber. These simple structures are covered with wooden ceilings decorated with textile representations. The ornaments also give an insight into various ritual actions and performances of devotion in the temple, such as the donation of costly items such as fabrics and ritual accoutrements of precious clothes. Gregory Schopen (1996: 112–14) explains how monastics were obliged to make use of the donations given as a way of generating merit for these donors (cf. also Rotman 2009: 55). The use of textiles as objects of achieving merit and as ritual paraphernalia in the temple was then also translated into the medium of painting emphasising the glory of the Buddha and his realm. The motifs in the corridor allude to Indian cotton prints and take up patterns and elements of material culture used in previous phases such as at Tabo (cf. Kalantari 2016).[42] This notion of continuation of elements of material and ornamental culture and their variation is a distinctive feature in this artistic tradition and it plays an important role in the construction of a distinctive West Tibetan visual identity.[43] As will be

[40] The conception is reminiscent of the Lotus *sūtra*, where the timelessness of the teachings and the infiniteness of the Buddha are propounded.

[41] For a discussion of the temple as representation of the *trikāya* the inscription in the Alchi Sumtsek is indicative, which has been discussed by Goepper (1996: 269).

[42] For specific aspects focusing on the *maṇḍala* ceilings in Dungkar see Klimburg-Salter (2001) and Neumann (2007); for comparative analyses of representations of textiles and of the symbolism of motifs on ceiling compositions of early West Tibetan temples see Papa-Kalantari 2000 and 2007, and Tshe ring rgyal po and Papa-Kalantari (2010) .

[43] The adoption of ornaments from earlier periods mimicking Indian printed cottons in the corridor is remarkable insofar as the textiles of the Buddhas

29. Zhag cave, textile depictions in the barrel-vaulted entrance corridor, decoration mimics strips of cloth (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2009).

30. Fragments of centralised ceiling composition above the main hall (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po, 2009).

shown, it also demonstrates the close evolutionary relation to early Western Himalayan schools with distinctive regional characteristics.

The effect of a vertical boundary or protective fabric cover in the textile depictions in the corridor contrasts with the more elaborate (perhaps originally) centralised composition in the main hall following a new conceptional and stylistic trend in this region (Fig. 30). It shows lotus tendrils, alluding to pedestals for deities and almost opening the ceiling to heaven. This "open composition" is in contrast to the dominance of architectonic ceiling structures at Tabo and Nako, to which textile depictions are subordinated alluding to a sheltering cover, whereas *maṇḍala* ceilings at Dungkar and "domes of heaven" in Zhag and Nyiwang (Nyi dbang) reflect a new interest in the vertical dimension of space. In this artistic trend all dimensions of space in the temple are integrated into a unified vision of the Buddhist world system in which the royal elite and the practitioner are embedded.

The decorative style of the extant ceiling paintings in the Zhag cave perhaps alludes to intricate silks from Central Asia. Similar ceiling decorations can be found at Dunhuang, featuring a synthesis of honorific covers and cosmological allusions. Dorothy Wong (2008: 57) has shown that Chinese and Indian cosmologies co-existed on the ceilings of early Buddhist temples in Dunhuang (with celestial

do not display these textile motifs. Thus we can assume that the fabrics were no longer known from direct experience by the artists. The keeping up with characteristic themes and elements of local material culture consecrated and sanctified through tradition in the West Tibetan temples in the region of various periods and regional variations is a conscious method of legitimisation and continuation and sense of belonging.

symbols, nature spirits and airborne beings alluding combining Chinese conceptions of the heavenly realm with Indian concepts of the cosmos, centring around Mount Meru).

With regard to the cosmological allusions, a small cave sanctuary at Nyiwang in the Tiyag (gTi g.yag) area (for an image see Tshe ring rgyal po 2006: illustration section, before p. 1) features a ceiling composition that imitates an opening to a heaven, in which dwell airborne divinities, sacred geese, wind gods, swirling lions and pearl circles, alluding to the stars. In this cave, too, the Thousand Buddha-theme covers the side walls and it is also closely stylistically related to the Dungkar-Phyang (Phyi dbang)-Zhag school.[44]

This progression in elaboration and scale of ornament implies that decorative elements on the ceilings were perceived as elements of differentiation between distinct kinds of sacred space. The spiritual hierarchy is also reflected in the ceiling composition at Tabo.[45] The lotus ornament (*padma*) is an important element with iconographic significance as symbol of the Buddha, and plays a role in the shaping and hierarchisation of sacred space in India both in Hindu and Buddhist architectural traditions from very early on.[46]

The scientific reconstruction of the artistic context is still in its infancy. The ornamental language at Zhag appears to translate Sinocising Central Asian features, and in particular those of the Tangut Xia dynasty (982–1227). A tentative comparison is provided by a silk tapestry (Watt and Wardwell 1997: cat. no. 24, p. 91), dateable to the early 13th century, representing characteristic floral vine scrolls across the bottom and borders of U-shaped bows with dots in the centre. These are found as separating elements between the ceiling and the walls. Significant parallels are also to be found in centralised ceiling decorations at Dunhuang (Papa-Kalantari 2000: fig. 12), featuring compositions of lotus tendrils in the centre framed by valance-like bows, which allude to chains of lotus petals.[47] Concerning the historical context of this cultural interrelation, the Xi Xia (Western Xia) Buddhist state in Gansu Province controlled a line on oases along the Silk Route and traded large quantities of silk (Watt and Wardwell 1997: 12). Most thangkas from this period have been found in Central Tibet and Khara Khoto. The close ethnic and religious ties with Tibet were perhaps the basis of a substantial intercultural transfer and trade in luxury items are a possible medium of this exchange contributing to a specific West Tibetan stylistic idiom with Chinese Central-Asian features. As Luczanits pointed out, the art of Dungkar (featuring complex ceiling decorations which include exotic, Sinocising motifs and cosmological symbolism) also marks the beginning of new religious trends with an emphasis on Anuttara Yoga teachings (*bla na med pa'i rgyud*), with the teacher as the living Buddha, which may have arrived via Central Tibet (cf. Luczanits 2004: 7; 210; 213). It is possible that Nepal functioned as a corridor of communication in this process of religio-artistic flows, as stylistic parallels in the figural style suggest.

## Observations on the Interrelation of Spatial Structure, Programme and Ritual

The architectural structure of the Zhag cave contrasts with the typology of sacred space, with a focus of worship in a cella, enclosure or niche, positioned on the opposite side of the portal, representing an Indic system of a horizontal hierarchy of space. The latter reflects specific forms of devotion, namely forms of the cult of the Buddha, and focus of devotion in a chamber that shelters the cult image similar to Hindu forms of ritual devotion. This type of chamber is also typical for early single-chamber Buddhist temples in Himachal Pradesh (Lotsāba *lha khang* in Ribba, Mirkulā Devī in Udaipur) sheltered by a wooden façade or portal featuring intricate wood-carvings. In contrast, at Zhag the spiritual focus of space is free-standing and placed at the centre of the main hall featuring a *stūpa*. The latter is ritually circumambulated by the devotee and offerings are placed there. As a significant contrasting feature, this centre does not represent an enclosure with one opening towards the assembly hall, but it is free-standing and thus oriented towards

[44] This distinctive conception of centralised ceiling designs is related to single-chamber sanctuaries at Dungkar, with their characteristic raised niches in the rear wall in which sculptures are placed combined with three-dimensional structures of the ceilings. One of them features a centralised decorative scheme alluding to honorific and devotional textiles combined with cosmological allusions (Papa-Kalantari 2000 and 2007, Kalantari 2016). These spatial traditions are reminiscent of cave temples at Dunhuang from the Tang to the Western Xia periods, some of them featuring niches and trapezoid sloping roofs mimicking specific architectural traditions with pagoda-like roofs combined with lantern ceilings (cf. Klimburg-Salter 2001; Neumann 2007).

[45] Giuseppe Tucci (1935) was the first to interpret early Western Himalayan temple's ceilings as symbolic representations of canopies, which was later adopted by Klimburg-Salter (1997) in the interpretation of various different and diverse types of ceilings in Afghanistan and Western Tibet.

[46] Cf. e.g. Ribba, Lotsāba *lha khang*.

[47] Horizontal friezes featuring rectangles in alternating colours are derived from stylised railings on the uppermost section of walls, above which typically there are deities making music and celestial dancers showering their offerings on the Buddhas below.

For a comparative analysis between Western Himalayan temples and decorative programmes in the Dunhuang caves, see Papa-Kalantari (2000), cf. also Klimburg-Salter (2001: 165) proposing analogies between *maṇḍala* ceilings in Dungkar and Xi Xia-period ceilings in Yulin and Dunhuang.

all directions of space. The programme of the walls is closely related to the centre of devotion, the *stūpa* (cf. *The Fortunate Aeon* 1986). Examples of this spatial concept are temples with a roughly square ground plan featuring four-fold Vairocana images as the ritual focus (e.g. at Lalung) as well as the Alchi-*stūpa*s with an inner *stūpa* for circumambulation at their centres; the Sumtsek at Alchi also has a *stūpa* at its centre.[48] The cave temples in Western Tibet are among the most consequent representations of this concept reflecting specific religious functions and ritual demands. Longitudinal temples (with cultic centres at the opposite side of the portal) combine the function of spaces for monastic rituals as well as centres for personal worship by the devotee through ritual actions of circumambulation and donation.[49] Centralised single-chamber temples with a focus on devotion (*stūpa* or cult image) in the centre—as found at Dungkar and Zhag—may be mainly associated with meditative, devotional needs of practitioners, as well as specific ritual needs such as initiation. Dungkar Caves 1 and 2 are examples of sacred spaces lacking a sanctum for circumambulation or a niche featuring a focus of worship. Instead of a static hierarchy with the highest spiritual level at the centre of the wall opposite the portal, at Dungkar there is a programme that indicates a dynamic perception, which is further emphasised by the narrative of the Life of the Buddha running around the whole temple at Dungkar Cave 1. These architectonic types of cave temples in Dungkar and Zhag perhaps developed—if also certainly not exclusively—in interaction with cave temples in Central Asia such as Dunhuang featuring a ritual focus, often a figurative pillar for ritual circumambulation—placed in the centre of sacred space (accordingly they are called pillar caves, *stūpa* pillar caves). However, the evolutionary history and complex stratigraphy of these types of spaces, in conjunction with their programme and ritual use, is a task for future research. They contrast to a more "conservative" architectonic type with a sanctum at the end of a longitudinal structure found in the early phase of the Tabo *gtsug lag khang* around the beginning of the 11th century. However, the Tabo renovation phase (mid-11th century) displays a transformation of spatial organisation to centralised hierarchies, as reflected in the interior decorations of the *'du khang* and the sanctum-cum-ambulatory, transforming these spaces to mandalic sites. This new system is shown in the paintings of the sanctum, and most strikingly in the free-standing four-fold Vairocana clay image in clay in the *'du khang*, thereby combining a conservative spatial organisation with an innovative iconographic concept and symbolism of space. As an additional indicative feature the programme of the sanctum-cum-ambulatory of the Tabo renovation period (mid-11th century) appears to represent a program closed within itself and guarded by protectors depicted on the wall above the portal.[50]

This "modern" tendency coincides with the emergence of new religious trends with an emphasis on Five-Buddha-configurations and images facing the cardinal directions of space. This concept is also reflected in a four-fold bronze of Vairocana from Taglung monastery Central Tibet (cf. Luczanits 2004: fig. on p. 200), which has strong parallels to the four-fold image in the centre of the Tabo *'du khang*. This marks a significant shift in the perception and ritual use of sacred space in the evolutionary history of early Western Himalayan temple art.

To summarise the overall programme in the entrance hall or corridor features a thematic set of the *saṃsāracakra*, donors' images plus inscriptions and protectors. A narrative (*jātaka*) complements this thematic set, which in earlier temples is typically reserved for the lowest zone following the direction of circumambulation; one example is the Tabo *'du khang* and ambulatory. At Zhag the *saṃsāracakra* and the Tiger *jātaka*—featuring episodes from the previous lives of the Buddha and portraying a prince who attains a high degree on the path of awakening consciousness—are shown in a spatial relationship. Both themes share the ideas of favourable

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[48] Temples with niches in the cardinal directions, such as the Alchi Sumtsek also have central cult images, but their ground plan may derive from different architectural traditions. This is in particular the case for complex structures such as the Tholing *gtsug lag khang* with a mandalic ground plan and internal spatial configuration. Interestingly, Kozicz (2008–2009) first drew attention to the presence of niches in the ambulatory of the sanctum at Nyarma (see also Hubert Feiglstorfer, "The architecture of the Buddhist temple complex of Nyarma", this volume, pp. 233–236, for new aspects on this spatial concept). See also Kalantari, "Note on the spatial iconography of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang*", this volume, pp. 262–263, for typological comparisons of centralised spatial layouts.

The centralised and cruciform layout with four doors/niches in the cardinal directions and a central *garbhagṛha* is known as a *sarvatobhadra* temple and described in the *Vāstu śāstra*s (cf. Pāhārpur and Mainamati). Cf. Kramrisch 1976: 418f.

[49] While at Zhag the theme of the Thousand Buddhas covers the whole main hall, as a contrasting feature at Tabo the space representing the highest level of wisdom represented in the cella and the ambulatory around the centre of devotion. There the uppermost zone and inner walls of the ambulatory are adorned with images of the Thousand Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa. All this reflects a horizontal hierarchy and a dynamic spiritual progression towards the sanctum typical of the earliest phase of temples in the region founded at the end of the 10th century.

[50] See also Luczanits and Neuwirth (2010: 81) describing the three floors of the Alchi Sumtsek as three superimposed temples with a consistent iconographic progamme inside.

The position of protectors in the cella perhaps reflects a similar phenomenon to the niches in the ambulatory of Nyarma, situated on the side and rear walls, reminiscient of the portals of a *maṇḍala*.

rebirths due to an ethical life and even the possibility of the rebirth as kings and bodhisattvas, expressed in the *saṃsāracakra*. They thus emphasise the didactic values designed to encourage the devotee to contemplate the basic truths of Buddhism when entering the temple.

Both the entrance hall and main hall reflect conservative religious trends; the first relates to Mahāyāna beliefs of early Buddhism, with an emphasis on instructions given in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*—as also frequently depicted in early Buddhist temples such as at Ajanta. The main hall features a *stūpa* at the centre—representing *dharmakāya*—generating Buddhas dwelling in all directions of space.[51] The programme of images of the Thousand Buddhas, rather oriented towards conservative Mahāyāna Buddhist thought—which is found as a parallel phenomenon at Dunhuang—with little tantric iconography.[52] The images of Thousand Buddhas are arranged around a central image *stūpa* as the centre of devotion. There the devotee pays respect by various ritual actions such as circumambulation and veneration through offerings.

The Zhag cave still serves as an offering place (*mchod khang*) for veneration by local practitioners and pilgrims from outside as well as a place of meditation for great masters today. Its function of course contrasts to that of free-standing temples, which were mainly designed for ceremonies of monastic communities and which also meet the religious demands of the local population. Especially during festive days (*tshe bzang dus bzang*), such as the 5th, the 8th, the 15th, the 25th and the 30th day of the month, devotees pay respect to the Buddhas and worship the *stūpa* in the Zhag cave, where they accrue merits by offering butter lamps, water, food and sacred scarves.

The typology of the Zhag cave and its features is very common in mNga' ris, with examples found in the Ruthok (Ru thog) gTing chung *lha khang* and in several painted *stūpa*s in Alchi (e.g. the Great Stūpa), in the Sangs rgyas stong sku *lha khang* in the Ru thog dBod byang area, in the Wa chen grotto (Tshe ring gyal po 2012), and in sanctuaries in the Riba (Ri pa) area in Western Tibet (see Tshe ring rgyal po 2006: 314f.). Related programmes can also be found in the three grottoes at Dungkar (today referred to by the local population collectively as "Dung dkar za sgo phug gsum"; cf. *ibid*.: 231) which are close to the Zhag cave, on the same side of Sutlej river (Glang chen gtsang po). As regards the Zhag cave's sect affiliation, the programme in the Zhag cave temple suggests a relation with the sNgags gsar ma, "Secret New Mantra" or "New Translation school" (of "New" Tantras). This school was very strong in this area in the 12th century and the sects adhering to them had close relations with the early Guge kingdom, which presided over the area during the period in which the cave's programme was developed.

This conservative general programme is in line with the intention of the religious elite and their goal of establishing core Buddhist truths in the region. In contrast to the rather conservative programme, there are innovative features consistent within this political and religious-artistic phase of the 10th–13th centuries: firstly the prominent representation of donors as devotees and engaged in various rituals. The detailed depiction of donors in the entrance hall in close relation to cosmological imagery and the *saṃsāracakra* is a distinctive feature of West Tibetan art. Sponsors of the temple and aristocratic practitioners are integrated into the whole programme and their function appears to go beyond the mere commemoration of the act of donation as religious merit. They appear to be portrayed in rituals related to the consecration and sanctification of the temple ground and as embedded in a cosmogonic narrative strengthening their legitimising roots.[53] They are typically accompanied by extensive written eulogies to their deeds.

The second new feature is the dominant role of local protectors related to the ruling elite, which perhaps incorporates various local (pre-Buddhist) features (see Appendix). All this establishes a distinctive relation of political sovereignty, religious authority and (military) power, perhaps also efficacious against external adversaries. This confrontation/configuration of conservative and innovative features creates a specific Tibetan articulation of religious art of this region under royal West Tibetan patronage.

## Appendix (Christiane Kalantari). The Royal Ram-rider at Zhag: Some Remarks on His Iconographic, Artistic and Religio-Political Context

Concerning the identity of the mounted warrior (Figs. 31–34) I have discussed aspects of the history of this type of local territorial deity in Western Tibet elsewhere (Papa-Kalantari 2010), giving insight into the religious landscape in Western Tibet which was not only shaped by spiritual concerns but also by pragmatic political interests and military concerns. The popularity of these spirits can be understood as an aspect of a socio-religious atmosphere, marked by the interest

[51] How the cult of the *Bhakrakalpikasūtra* was performed in the temple and how Buddhist thoughts generate specific types of temple is question for future research.

[52] We are indebted to Eva Allinger for discussions on various topics in this paper and her deep insights regarding religious and stylistic questions.

[53] This prominent depiction was less typical in the Indian heartland during the period of the Pāla dynasty, which existed up to the 70s of the 12th century, but was more frequent in Central Asia, e.g. Dunhuang, perhaps also in Nepal at that time.

31. Rider in the corridor at Dungkar, Cave 1 (C. Kalantari, 2007).

32. Rider above the opening to the main hall at Dungkar, Cave 1 (C. Kalantari, 2007).

in guardian deities designed to grant security and military protection of trade routes and outer borders of the political domain. This group of male guardians complements and perhaps partly replaces the dominance of female spirits in earlier periods, and may have integrated ancient indigenous spirits as protectors (*srung ma*) of Buddhist temples (cf. Jahoda 2006).

The (ram-)rider appears to merge the military and the holy embodying ideals of protection associated with martial culture and local equestrian/hunting traditions also including military status culture and insignia of the ruling elites. The military ethos of the religious-political elite as reflected in the warrior-like guardian with fearsome weapons is also referred to in an edict (*chos rtsigs)* issued by Ye shes 'od. Among the *rgyal khrims*, the secular laws, a prominent position was given to the defence of the kingdom as well as to military training, to which all were called to contribute (cf. Vitali 1996: 212). One of the guardian spirits that can tentatively be associated with this class of guardian in early West Tibetan temples—and who is mentioned in relevant texts—is Pe har, who had a complex career in Central Asia and Tibet. He was seen as guardian of treasures of the kingdom in Central Asia and as a tutelary deity of the local dynasty of Khotan (see also Hazod 2005: 284f.). He was transferred to Tibet and bound on oath to protect the monastery of Samye (bSam yas).[54]

The earliest written evidence of Pe har in the Western Himalayas can be found in this religious edict, according to which members of the royal family had to take a solemn oath of its regulations with Pehar as witness. In addition, the biography of Rin chen bzang po, possibly written by one of his disciples in the 11th century, describes how female spirits bound by oath on the occasion of the monastery's consecration were made to promise to protect the Buddhist religion and to guard the possessions of the temple. One passage characterises a male spirit as follows: "Putting the Oblate Goat-Skin-Clad under oath, he made him work as personal attendant and made him responsible for guarding the possessions of all the temples of Rong-chung. This one is master of the demons [...]. [a]lso known as [...] Pehar" (Snellgrove and Skorupski 1980: 93).[55] The text demonstrates the close relationship of

[54] According to the Tibetan legend, on initiative of Padmasmabhava Pe har was caught by a *yakṣa*, a companion of Vaiśravaṇa. He was then brought to Samye and appointed to the position of the tutelary deity of the monastery where he was bound by oath to protect the monastic treasure. His cult may have been transferred to Western Tibet very early on by the descendants of the old dynasty and their aristocratic allies. In general the transfer of a tutelary deity is a constant theme of political theology in Tibet, and Pe har was appointed to guard the treasures of the temples in Western Tibet, reflecting a process already undertaken during the time of the old Tibetan monarchy.

[55] The variation in the appearance of the mounted hero in Himalayan art reflects the different geographic-cultural contexts and political units. At Dungkar the deity is mounted on a ram with emphasis on the aura of the nomadic hunter, while the emphasis at Alchi is on powerful protection and martial arts, the ideal of the courageous equestrian, mounted warrior, reflecting the pride of the aristocratic elite and powerful rulers of small kingdom in Ladakh with their Iranianising culture. The armed riders are a paradigm for the demonstration of the ethos of rule in lower Ladakh, and a demonstration of military and economic prowess as the basis of security in the region. The role of landowner and land is also protecting trade routes on the Indus and thus the prosperity of the region.

The kaftan of the horseman at Alchi is made of a precious medallion silk featuring lions and ducks, while the band on his forearms recalls the *ki'la* robes of honour from the Islamic courtly sphere, which may have been traded in the region. The decoration of the shield is precisely executed, probably signalling the individuality of the owner. Images of horses are part of the self-representation of the Tibetan ruling elite from very early on. The horse is depicted as a sign of sovereignty of the ruling elite at Nako (Lotsāba *lha khang*). The riderless horse

33. Mahākāla configuration in the Alchi 'Du khang (Ladakh) above the portal, royal horse rider in the right upper section (courtesy J. Poncar, 1983).

34. Mahākāla-configuration in the Alchi Mañjuśrī temple ('Jam pa'i *lha khang*) (Ladakh) (C. Kalantari, 2009).

the ruling elite to patron deities, which are still a central element in the religious practice today.[56]

The popularity of this type of local territorial spirit may have been superimposed by the emergence of the powerful protector of the *dharma*, Mahākāla, one of whose attendants according to textual sources is a male warrior. A specific aspect of the nature of Mahākāla is his entourage or "court", called ministers.[57] Among the various companions are also mounted horsemen, while some are messengers (*pho nya*), frequently animals, collectively called the *spyan gzigs* (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 21). In the Alchi Sumtsek, a Mahākāla depiction features a horseman in local garb in the upper left-hand corner holding a human head and a sword, with an attendant bearing a skull cup. He thus shows the closest resemblance to the attributes found in canonical Mahākāla iconography.

Relevant in this context is the complex history of the flying black *bse* mask—summarised by Vitali[58]—which can traced back to the West Tibetan Mahākāla tradition associated with Rin chen bzang po. According to his biography, he received the mask and the instructions associated with it from his teacher, a Kashmiri master, serving later on for the protection of the new teachings in Western Tibet (see also Hazod 2005: 284). Vitali 2001: 37, n. 44) poses the question of the flight of the *bse 'bag* mask to Western Tibet having not only religious implications*:* "Can the fact that mGon.po granted warlike powers be applied to the case of lo.chen [Rin chen bzang po]. In other words, was lo.chen also serving the purpose, with the appointment of Ma.ha.ka.la as the protector of West Tibet, of the

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in the donor image appears to signal readiness for battle. The strong cultural force of equestrian and military pride as a component of local status culture is an important element in the visual construction of political as well as religious authority.

[56] The relation between rDo rje chen mo (which perhaps integrated pre-Buddhist local divinities) and the kings of Guge is a paradigm for their role. The rider at Alchi wears exactly the same robes of protector as in drinking scene, perhaps the founding generation, related to the ancestral village deity, which was present and summoned to guard the temple at the time of its foundation.

[57] Cf. Linrothe 2004: 49. One example is a thangka of the Sakya (Sa skya) lineage dateable to the 12th century featuring Raudrantika (the killer of Raudra) typically depicted holding a lance (sometimes also a sword) and a skull bowl and riding a black horse (*ibid*.: 61). This mounted heroic spirit is regarded as one of the four members of his outer retinue. The Alchi Lotsāba *lha khang* features protectors showing eight riders each holding a flag; the latter attribute is typical of early Raudrantika images just mentioned.

[58] Vitali's summary (2001) is based on a 17th-century text, which is connected with the mythic history of Gur mgon of the Sakyapa (Sa skya pa); see also Hazod (2005: 284f. for a summary); for further descriptions of Mahākāla's history see: also Linrothe 2004: 44. Various Anuttara Yoga Tantras teach various forms of Mahākāla; the principal texts are the Twenty-Five and Fifty Chapter Mahākāla Tantra.

defence of the Gu.ge Pu.hrang kingdom against the enemies from the borders, a necessity promoted by a law in Ye.shes.'od's *bka'.shog chen.mo*, which laymen and monks were equally called to observe?"[59] His assumption appears to match well with representations of heroic local protectors and the visual construction of power and authority in this period. It is thus possible that in Western Tibet the heroic type of male protector was included in the cult of Mahākāla, which has overlapping functions.

Evidence of the cult of a group of martial territorial deities is found not only in imagery and texts, but also in popular Buddhist practice, such as in folk epic and festival traditions in Kinnaur and in popular ritual practice in Western Tibet (Khorchag). Pe har, together with Dabla (dGra lha, also sGra bla)[60] is still collectively worshipped today at Pooh (a village of historical significance which may have had a considerable position during the Guge kingdom period). Dabla (still present at Khorchag in the form of a male warrior; cf. Jahoda and Kalantari 2012: 140–41, fig. 94) previously lived in a specific sacred space on the uppermost storey of the Khorchag Jo khang temple.[61]

Concerning the wider religious-political function in Western Tibet, further interdisciplinary studies will be necessary to investigate their role as protectors of the borders. Relevant in this context may be the classification among the different protective tasks, in particular one attributed to the *mtshams (gyi) srung (ma),* signifying "border guardian" (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 5). For example Dabla—which perhaps played an important role in historic times—belongs to a group of nine brother-and-sister divinities, imagined as guardians of a federation of villages, perhaps related to a political-administrative function (cf. Jahoda 2011 and 2012: 39).[62] In this way a sacred landscape is shaped that is protected by guardians who have their abode at some locality close to the border and whose special task is to prevent hostile foreigners from entering the political domain and to defend its temples and institutions against adversaries. While the religio-political role of the warrior/hunter god in the Western Himalayas can be partly reconstructed, the definition of the complex stratigraphy of its identity must remain a task for future interdisciplinary research.

[59] A Sakya hierarch was renowned for his power to summon mGon po in aid of the Mongol armies (Cf. Vitali 2001).

The cult of Mahākāla, his martial power and protective ferocity were linked to Mongol emperorship. The Mongols' patron relationship enabled Qublai Khan to dominate Tibet in a joint secular and religious rulership with Lama 'Phag pa in the 13th century. Mahākāla was used as war standard under the Mongols (http://www.himalayanart.org/news/archives.cfm/category/mahakala). Qing emperors supported Tibetan Buddhism and Mahākāla, claiming the heritage of Mongol empire "most crucially its military prowess and its political relationship to religion" (Waley-Cohen 2006: 102).

[60] The function of Dabla is to protect people and their possessions (concerning dGra lha, see also Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 318–40).

[61] During joint fieldwork (with Christian Jahoda) at Pooh in mid-October 2009, the performance of the Sherken festival featuring cults that display a synthesis of pre-Buddhist (denominated by locals as Bon), Buddhist and Hindu traditions and also seem to preserve a memory of Pe har, was studied. Rituals include the worship of local village deities (*yul lha*), represented by *gtor ma*s. During the festival offerings in form of animals are also donated to the main protective deities, which besides Dabla (at Pooh conceived as a female divinity and also as *yul lha*, local village deity) also include Besara, perhaps Pe har (cf. Jahoda 2011: 27 and 2012: 40). According to the local master of the ritual, one of these stands for Besara (or Pesara), as represented by a sheep. In ancient times Besara appeared during specific ceremonies and his medium (*lha bdag*) was still alive one generation previously in Pooh village, while another medium is still active at Namgya. An informant further stated that this god is worshipped in private house chapels, and is regarded as the supporter of the king.

[62] Significant in this context is the fact that the Pooh temple is denominated 'border-protecting temple' in relevant Tibetan historical sources (see Jahoda, "The foundation of the Nyarma gtsug lag khang, Ladakh", this volume, pp. 284–287).

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# List of Contributors

EVA ALLINGER, independent art historian, Vienna

QUENTIN DEVERS, Research Centre for East Asian Civilisations (CRCAO), French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS), Paris

TSERING DRONGSHAR, Institute for the Cultural and Intellectual History of Asia and Institute for Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

HUBERT FEIGLSTORFER, Institute for Comparative Research in Architecture, Vienna University of Technology, Vienna; Institute for Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

GUGE TSERING GYALPO (1961–2015), Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences (TASS), Lhasa

CHRISTIAN JAHODA, Institute for Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

CHRISTIANE KALANTARI, Institute for Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

CHRISTIAN LUCZANITS, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, London

ROBERTO VITALI, independent scholar, Dharamshala

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